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Frederick Holbrook

VERMONT IN THE CIVIL WAR.

A HISTORY

OF THE PART TAKEN BY THE

VERMONT SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

IN THE

WAR FOR THE UNION,

1861-5.

By G. G. BENEDICT

VOLUME II.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

When volume I of this history was issued, the work of preparation of volume II was well advanced toward completion. But the effect of the publication of the first volume was to delay the publication of the second; for it awakened many of the Vermont veterans, seemingly for the first time, to the fact that a careful history of the Vermont troops was in preparation. As a consequence, documents, diaries, war-letters and reminiscences, for which I had long been asking in vain, poured in upon me. Conflicting accounts of many important matters were received. Questions which I had considered settled were reopened and had to be investigated and decided anew. So much important additional material was thus received, that the manuscript for this volume had to be wholly rearranged and most of it rewritten. While this occasioned an amount of delay which can have been regretted by no one as much as by myself, it has certainly added enough to the interest and value, as well as to the size of the work, to compensate the subscribers for their waiting. When all was done, the bulk of the completed work proved to so largely exceed the limits of size upon which the contracts with the publishers and subscribers were based, that a third revision and extensive condensation of the work became imperative; and after all I have been obliged to omit some matters, including extracts from official reports and orders and a list of native Vermonters who served in other than Vermont organizations, which I had planned to include in an appendix to this volume. If there should seem to be a demand for these, they may possibly be published at some future day in a supplementary volume.

My acknowledgements for valuable contributions to this history are due to General E. H. Ripley of the Ninth regiment, Colonel W. G. Veazey of the Sixteenth, Lieut. Colonel L. E. Knapp of the Seventeenth, and Lieutenant Curtis Abbott of the Sharpshooters, in addition to those mentioned in the preface to Vol. I. To a faithful helper who prefers to remain unnamed, and to all who have assisted in any way in supplying needed information and aid, my thanks are also gratefully tendered. G. G. B.

Burlington, 1888.

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The service of the first six regiments, as we have seen, was confined to the theatre of war within one hundred and fifty miles of the national capital. The scene now changes to a region a thousand miles away; from the Potomac to the Mississippi; from the red soil and rugged surface of Virginia to the level and luxuriant cane fields of Louisiana.

In his message to the Legislature which met in October, 1861, Governor Holbrook announced that two more regiments would be required, in addition to the six three-years' regiments already raised, to fill the quota of Vermont under the existing calls for troops. Bills were accordingly enacted, one authorizing the governor to raise one regiment specially designated to form a part of the division which General Benjamin F. Butler was then organizing for service in the far South, and another authorizing the governor to raise and equip a regiment "to serve in the army of the United States

until the expiration of three years from the first day of June, A. D. 1861," without further designation. The Seventh regiment was recruited under the latter act.

The recruiting officers and stations were as follows: Middlebury, Henry M. Porter; Brandon, William Cronan; Burlington, David B. Peck; Swanton, Albert B. Jewett; Cavendish, Salmon Dutton; Poultney, Charles C. Ruggles; Johnson, Samuel Morgan; Northfield, David P. Barber; Woodstock, Mahlon M. Young; Rutland, John B. Kilburn. Recruiting began at once and was completed in about ten weeks. The companies organized as follows—the order of the companies being determined by Adjutant General Washburn:

A, Burlington,	organized	January	14,	1862,	Captain	David B. Peck.
B, Brandon,	"	"	6,	"	"	William Cronan.
C, Middlebury,	"	"	15,	"	"	Henry M. Porter.
D, Rutland,	"	"	7,	"	"	John B. Kilburn.
E, Johnson,	"	"	9,	"	"	Daniel Landon.
F, Swanton,	"	"	9,	"	"	Lorenzo D. Brooks.
G, Cavendish,	"	"	31,	"	"	Salmon Dutton.
H, Woodstock,	"	February	3,	"	"	Mahlon M. Young.
I, Poultney,	"	"	1,	"	"	Charles C. Ruggles.
K, Northfield,	"	"	1,	"	"	David P. Barber.

The rendezvous was at Rutland and by the 4th of February the companies had all arrived there. The camp was designated as "Camp Phelps," in honor of Brig. General John W Phelps. The field and staff officers of the regiment were announced as follows:

Colonel—George T. Roberts, Rutland.
Lieut. Colonel—Volney S. Fullam, Ludlow.
Major—William C. Holbrook, Brattleboro.
Adjutant—Charles E. Parker, Vergennes.
Quartermaster—E. A. Morse, Rutland.
Surgeon—Frank W. Kelley, Derby Line.
Assistant Surgeon—Enoch Blanchard, Lyndon.
Chaplain—Rev. Henry M. Frost, Middlebury.

The regiment was well officered. Its colonel was a native of Clarendon and of revolutionary descent. His grandfather on his father's side was General Christopher Roberts of the continental army. His mother's father was Dr. Silas Hodges, who was a surgeon in the same army and for a time attached to General Washington's military family. Colonel Roberts, when the war broke out, was the manager of the marble quarries at West Rutland, of which his brother-in-law, General H. H. Baxter, was the principal owner. He enlisted upon the first call for volunteers, and went out with the First regiment as first lieutenant of the Rutland company. He had attracted the favorable notice of General Phelps, as an efficient officer, and it was upon General Phelps's recommendation that he was appointed colonel of the Seventh. He was in the prime of vigorous manhood, 38 years old, of fine face and figure, soldierly in bearing, large of heart and loyal in every fibre. Lieut. Colonel Fullam was captain of company I of the Second regiment, when appointed lieutenant colonel. Major Holbrook, though not yet of age, had seen a year's service as first lieutenant of company F of the Fourth regiment. Quartermaster Morse had been the efficient quartermaster of the First regiment. Surgeon Kelley was a graduate of the medical department of the University of Vermont and had been practicing his profession for a short time in Alabama, just before the war. Chaplain Frost had recently taken orders in the Episcopal church. Of the line officers, Captains Peck, Cronan and Dutton had been officers of the First regiment, and others had served in the ranks of that regiment. There was thus a good proportion of experienced soldiers among the officers. The rank and file was of the best Vermont material, many of the men having also served in the First regiment, which was more numerously represented in the Seventh than in any other of the three-years' regiments. The regiment was armed with new Springfield rifles. It remained at Rutland

for five weeks during a time of severe cold and snows of almost unprecedented depth ; but the men were comfortably quartered in barracks and did not suffer. The customary run of measles was experienced. On the 12th of February it was mustered into the service of the United States by Captain J. W Jones, U. S. A., with 1014 officers and men.

Though the Seventh had not been raised as a "Butler regiment," the fact became known before it left the State that General Butler had obtained from the war department an assignment of the regiment to his division. This assignment was not agreeable to the officers and men, who would have preferred to join the Army of the Potomac ; but it was accepted with little murmuring.

On the 10th of March the regiment left Rutland, by railroad, for New York, where it had a cordial reception. On the evening of the 13th the officers of the Seventh were entertained by the "Sons of Vermont," at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where a levee was held in honor of the regiment. Hon. E. W Stoughton, president of the Association of Sons of Vermont, presided at the supper and proposed the health of the officers. Colonel Roberts responded and speeches were made by Hon. E. D. Culver, Parke Godwin, Major Holbrook and others. On the 14th the regiment embarked on two sailing transports, the "Premier" and "Tamerlane," which proceeded to sea under sealed orders. They were detained at Sandy Hook for several days, by unfavorable weather. On leaving their anchorage the ships parted company, and neither saw anything of the other till they arrived at their destination. This proved to be Ship Island, in the Gulf of Mexico—a fragment of the State of Louisiana over which the United States flag then floated.

The voyage was long and in part tempestuous and the men suffered much from sea sickness and confinement in their close and ill-arranged quarters on shipboard. Two men, James P. Hutchinson, of company H, and Frank Price,

of company I, died during the passage, the latter from the effects of an accidental wound, and were buried at sea.

The Premier, conveying the right wing of the regiment, under Colonel Roberts, was the first to arrive. It sighted Ship Island on the 5th of April, after a voyage of twenty-two days, and on the 7th the five companies disembarked and pitched camp on the island, on the right of the camp of the Eighth Vermont regiment, which had preceded them from New York by a day or two and landed at Ship Island the same day that they did. The Tamerlane arrived on the 10th. The Vermonters here found themselves on a narrow strip of snow-white sand, thrown up by the waves, about seven miles long and from one-quarter to three-quarters of a mile wide. The only vegetation upon it was a grove of pines at the northeastern end, from which the troops rafted wood for the cook-fires. The other end of the island was covered with the camps of the regiments of General Butler's division, numbering 7,000 or 8,000 troops on the ground. Though the barren sand was in strong contrast with their visions of tropical verdure, the men were glad to exchange the troop-ships for any kind of terra firma, and were also glad to be assigned to the command of General Phelps, the old commander of the First Vermont. General Phelps had been on the island for four months, having occupied the island with the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts, Ninth Connecticut and a battery in December, 1861, when he signalized the event and inaugurated the friction between himself and General Butler and the government at Washington which finally resulted in his resignation, by issuing his famous proclamation, addressed to the loyal citizens of the Southwest, declaring slavery to be incompatible with free government and its overthrow to be the aim and object of the government in the prosecution of the war.

Ship Island was now a scene of no little military stir. General Butler had arrived a few days before, had estab-

lished there the headquarters of the new Department of the Gulf, and was preparing, in connection with Farragut and the fleet, for the operations against New Orleans which were the first object of the expedition. In the organization of the troops of the Department of the Gulf, by order dated March 31st, the Seventh was assigned to the First brigade, General Phelps, consisting of the Seventh and Eighth Vermont, the Ninth, Tenth and Thirteenth Connecticut, the Eighth New Hampshire, Seventh and Eighth Maine, Fourth Massachusetts battery, First and Second Vermont batteries and a company of the Second Massachusetts cavalry. The regiment had barely landed when the trouble with General Butler, which lasted as long as the regiment was under his command, began.

For the disembarkation of the troops, as shoal water compelled the transports to lie off the shore, Quartermaster Morse had obtained the use of the "Saxon," a small steamer appropriated by General Butler for his headquarters' service. The permission did not in terms include the landing of the tents and baggage; but in order that the men might have shelter from sun and storm the quartermaster landed the tents with the troops. The slight delay occasioned by this operation displeased General Butler; and it is said that an accidental rap over the head from a tent pole, received while he was storming round among the men, as they were bringing the tents on shore, did not tend to allay his wrath. He forthwith placed Quartermaster Morse under arrest; but did not keep him long, for a furious storm, which arose that night and lasted for two days, in which but for the tents and cooking apparatus so landed the men would have suffered both from rain and hunger, fully vindicated the quartermaster's action.[1]

[1] Captain Morse was subsequently placed in very responsible positions by General Butler and stood high in his confidence.

During their stay at Ship Island the men lived on salt rations, the barrels containing which were rolled by hand for miles, and drew their water from shallow wells sunk in the sand. They were occupied chiefly in company drill, the deep sand making battalion drill difficult and indeed dangerous, as was shown by many cases of hernia occurring among the troops.

During the exciting scenes of the last week in April, attending Farragut's silencing of Forts Jackson and Saint Philip and the occupation of New Orleans, the Vermont regiments remained on Ship Island. They heard the booming of the cannon, a hundred miles away, and at times the smoke of the conflicts and conflagrations was drifted over them by the southwest wind; and they awaited impatiently the outcome of the enterprise. There was great rejoicing when, on the 2d of May, the news came that New Orleans had fallen, and that they were wanted there. General Shepley, who had been left in command at Ship Island, was directed to occupy Forts Pike and Woods, guarding the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain, which had been abandoned by the confederates, with the other defences of New Orleans. The detachment sent to Fort Pike consisted of companies B, C and thirty men of company D of the Seventh Vermont, under Major Holbrook. They proceeded thither in the gunboats "New London" and "Calhoun" and occupied Fort Pike on the 5th of May. They found it a strong bastioned and casemated work, surrounded by a moat, and armed with heavy guns. In forty-eight hours they had removed the spikes from the guns and placed the fort in condition for defence. They remained in it for several weeks, during which period company B, Captain Cronan, was sent up Pearl River in a gunboat, with a company of the Thirtieth Massachusetts, and captured there the steamer "White Cloud." They were fired on by guerrillas, during the expedition, and one man, Croydon B. Rowell of company B, received a

wound from which he died four days after—the first wound and death from a hostile bullet, in the regiment.

When ordered to New Orleans the regiment embarked on the steamer "Whitman," an ill-fated craft which a few months after took fire and sank on the Mississippi, carrying down with her a considerable number of sick and wounded Union soldiers. Three hours after she started, in the early hours of the morning, the assistant engineer reported to Colonel Roberts the startling fact that the engineer was a rebel and that he was evidently preparing to blow up the boat. He had then let nearly all the water out of the boiler, doubled the head of steam and made ready a small boat, in which he evidently designed to make his escape, leaving the agencies he had put in motion to effect the explosion of the boiler. Colonel Roberts at once placed him under arrest and ordered the assistant to take the boat back to Ship Island, where a trusty engineer was secured and the "Whitman" started again. The passage was made by the shortest route, through Lake Pontchartrain, and on the 16th of May the regiment reported to General John W Phelps, in command at Carrollton, six miles up the river from New Orleans. It had a cordial welcome from General Phelps, and was comfortably quartered in the buildings of the United States arsenal. Here the regiment had three and a half miles of earth-works to guard. The men at first enjoyed the new scenes, the groves of orange and lemon trees, and the blackberries, which grew abundantly about the camp. But during the month spent there the camp became unwholesome in consequence of the flooding of the ground around by a crevasse in the levee. The men had some severe fatigue duty, in protecting the camp from the incursions of the water, and when this receded, the air was contaminated by decomposing animal and vegetable matter left by the water. Colonel Roberts was prostrated with fever; malarial diseases made a large sick-list; the regiment had received no pay

since leaving Rutland; and much discontent prevailed. The heat was oppressive, and the men found even two hours of daily drill, morning and evening, a burden.

On the 6th of June an order from General Butler directed Lieut. Colonel Fullam, commanding, to prepare the regiment to embark on the steamer "Iberville," for some point not stated. On the 15th, after nine days of waiting, and while Lieut. Colonel Fullam was in New Orleans, where he spent a day in a vain endeavor to procure an interview of a few moments with General Butler, in order to represent the condition of the regiment and ascertain something about its probable destination, the "Iberville" appeared, bringing an order for immediate embarkation. The regiment went on board in haste, leaving much of its camp equipage, and was landed next day at Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, 75 miles above New Orleans in a straight line, and double the distance by the river. There Lieut. Colonel Fullam reported to Brig. General Thomas Williams, in command at that point, and there Major Holbrook, with company B, rejoined the regiment, leaving company C and the detachment of company D, under command of Captain Porter, to garrison Fort Pike.

At this time, though Baton Rouge and Natchez had been taken by the fleet, a formidable obstacle to the opening of the Mississippi remained at Vicksburg. Here the bluffs, 200 feet above the river, afforded a commanding position; and here the confederate general Martin L. Smith, a West Point graduate and officer of engineers in the United States army before the war, had been sent, after the fall of New Orleans, with a large force, to finish and man the batteries which had been begun in April, upon a plan proposed by General Beauregard. Six batteries had been completed and armed with heavy guns sent up from Pensacola, and other works were in active progress, when, on the 18th of May, the advance of Farragut's fleet summoned the city

to surrender. General Smith declined the invitation, and as a reconnoissance satisfied General Williams that his force was insufficient to reduce the works, the expedition returned to Baton Rouge. A more formidable demonstration was made against Vicksburg a month later, in which the Seventh took part.

On the 16th of June, General Butler ordered General Williams to take his brigade of three regiments, which was to be strengthened by the addition of the Seventh Vermont, a battery and a small cavalry force, and "proceed to Vicksburg with the flag officer and take the town or have it burned at all hazards." Under an evident impression that this might not be as easy to accomplish as to order, General Butler further ordered General Williams to "send up a regiment or two at once and cut off the neck of land beyond Vicksburg, by means of a trench across." This trench he directed to be made "about four feet deep and five feet wide." "The river," added General Butler," will do the rest for us." This project for changing the channel of the Mississippi opposite Vicksburg was not a new idea. A line for such a canal had been laid out several years before by the State of Louisiana, during a dispute with the State of Mississippi over their boundaries, which the former State hoped to settle by threatening to cut off Vicksburg from the river. The idea was eagerly adopted by General Butler, and was earnestly attempted by General Williams, and the attempt was subsequently renewed, in vain, with immense outlay of labor, by General U. S. Grant, under instructions from Washington, though he had little faith in the project.

On the 20th of June the Seventh embarked on the "Ceres" and "Morning Light"—to participate in this second expedition to Vicksburg. The naval force was a powerful one, comprising three ships of war, ten gunboats and 16 mortar-boats, all under Captain Farragut. The infantry force was insignificant for its purpose. General Williams's

command consisted of the Ninth Connecticut, Thirtieth Massachusetts and Fourth Wisconsin regiments, eight companies of the Seventh Vermont, Nim's Massachusetts battery and two sections of Everett's battery, numbering all told about 2,500 men and 10 guns. The Seventh Vermont took ten days' rations but no camp equipage save a few cooking utensils; and for some reason only a week's supply of medical stores. The eight companies, with the field and staff officers, numbered about 750 men, about 100 being left in hospital at Carrollton in charge of Surgeon Kelley, and 30 at Baton Rouge. Colonel Roberts and Adjutant Parker were left sick at Carrollton. Major Holbrook accompanied the regiment but was soon taken ill, and a full third of the line officers were ailing and really unfit for duty. As the expedition approached Grand Gulf, where the previous expedition had been fired into, an infantry force was landed, including a battalion of the Seventh under Lieut. Colonel Fullam, with orders to make a detour and approach the place from the rear. The march was commenced about mid-day; the heat was intense, drinking water scarce, and a number of the men fell out on the march. The village was approached, as planned, from the rear, but might as well have been reached by a direct approach, as the confederate force there had decamped, and no resistance was offered, except the firing of a few stray shots from some houses in the outskirts. In retribution for the attack made on the previous expedition and as a warning to other towns along the river General Williams ordered the village to be burned. The torch was accordingly applied that night and the forces proceeded up the river by the light of the blazing houses. The effect of the severe example thus made was such that no more attacks of the sort were made from inhabited towns, though the Union transports were repeatedly attacked by batteries established by the enemy at Grand Gulf and in the thick forests lining the shores of the river, to which but slight

response could commonly be made by the small arms of the infantry on board.

The transports bearing the regiment reached Vicksburg June 25th and made fast to the river bank a little below the enemy's batteries, just out of range of their guns. Next day the bombardment of the confederate works began and was continued by day and night, with no decisive result. Collecting a force of 1,200 negroes from the neighboring plantations, General Williams set them to work on the canal. In order to toughen the men of the Seventh he ordered them to drill daily with knapsacks. To this was soon added severe fatigue duty upon the canal. The health of the command at once began to suffer. Having no tents, the men were kept in confined quarters on board the transports, till the number of sick became so great as to require all the room on board, when the portion of the regiment fit for duty was directed to encamp on shore, where, sleeping on the ground and managing with the aid of boughs and drift-wood and a few shelter tents to secure only an imperfect protection from the night damps, their condition was little if any bettered.

The peninsula opposite Vicksburg, on which they were encamped, was partially protected from overflow by levees; but, nevertheless, a considerable portion of it was annually, and sometimes oftener, submerged for weeks. At the time the regiment reached Vicksburg the river was still high from the Spring freshets, but it soon began to fall at the rate of nearly a foot a day, leaving here and there large pools of stagnant water covered with a thick green scum, containing, in the language of Assistant Surgeon Blanchard, "as much death to the square inch as it would be possible for the laboratory of nature to compound." At night the lowlands were shrouded in dense fogs, surcharged with poisonous exhalations. The sickness inevitable amid such surroundings was greatly aggravated by the want of wholesome food, use of impure water, and lack of suitable medical stores, the small

stock brought from Baton Rouge being soon exhausted, and only a scanty supply being obtainable from the fleet surgeons. The hopeless character of their task added to the depression of the troops. The garrison of Vicksburg consisted of five brigades—Helm's, Bowen's, Preston's, Statham's and Smith's —with a corresponding number of field batteries, in addition to the heavy guns upon the works, making an army of upwards of 15,000 men, or more than four times the number of troops under General Williams. The confederate commander, General Van Dorn, was actively strengthening the fortifications and mounting on the bluffs heavy guns brought from Mobile and Richmond. Under date of July 2d Farragut reported: "General Williams has with him about 3,000 men. * * The army officers have shown a great anxiety to do everything to help us, but their force is too small to attack the town. * * I am satisfied that it is not possible to take Vicksburg without an army of 12,000 to 15,000 men." That the Federal force was utterly inadequate, was as apparent to every private as to Farragut and General Williams. The troops also soon lost their faith in the canal project. The soil was a stiff clay, and an excavation six or seven feet in depth failed to disclose the sandy substratum essential to the success of the project. Moreover, as the current of the river set against the shore opposite to the mouth of the canal, the river rendered no assistance, and finally, to make the scheme still more hopeless, the river began to fall faster than the canal could be deepened. The soldiers christened the trench "Butler's Ditch" and "Folly Creek," and anticipated no more from it than the confederates feared.

In a letter to Adjutant General Washburn at this time Quartermaster Morse reported Colonel Roberts still sick at Carrollton; Major Holbrook recovering from illness; Adjutant Parker sick; Captains Peck, Ruggles, Young and Cronan, and Lieutenants Clark, Fish and Gates more or less disabled; the weather hot and debilitating; the men all

weak and hardly able to be on duty; the effective numbers of the Seventh very small, as of the other three Union regiments at Vicksburg,—while confederate prisoners taken reported an army of from 15,000 to 20,000 men behind the rebel works.

The utter hopelessness of success in the object of the expedition, which pervaded the entire command, in time changed to apprehension for their own safety. Their position was in fact a perilous one. The fleet was their only protection from capture; and this was not secure from attack. Some of the mortar-boats, anchored close to the Vicksburg shore, were much annoyed by sharp-shooters hidden on the thickly-wooded banks, and it was feared that an effort might be made to capture these vessels. For their better protection an infantry force, including a detail from the Seventh regiment under Lieutenant Jackson V Parker of company B, was sent to the Vicksburg side of the river and posted in the swamps a short distance from the mortar-boats. The arrangement was calculated to invite an attempt to capture the infantry guard, which was soon made by the enemy, who also hoped to take a "blacksmith shop" or two—that being the name given by them to the mortar vessels, on account of the quantity of iron scattered from their 13-inch shells.

The attack was made with considerable force; the Federal pickets were driven in; and the detachment fell back to the edge of the stream, closely followed by the enemy. As the latter emerged from the woods, they were met by a shower of grape and canister from howitzers on the boats and beat a hasty retreat. A number were killed and wounded, and for days afterward the Union forces were collecting muskets and cartridge-boxes thrown down in their flight, and shoes left sticking in the mud. Lieutenant Parker and his men spent about ten days in this dangerous position, continually

exposed to scattering musketry fire from the confederate outposts.

By the middle of July so many men were prostrated with disease that I was with difficulty the regiment could furnish its complement of soldiers for guard duty. In fact in the whole regiment, after the first fortnight, there were not at any one time over four officers and one hundred men fit for duty. Hardly a day passed without a death in the regiment, and in one day three men from one company died between rise and set of sun. In time their numbers became so reduced that none could be spared for funeral escorts and those who died were necessarily buried without any ceremony, in the army clothing in which they died. Malarial diseases pervaded the entire command. In one day seven men died in one of the other regiments. The stock of medicines became exhausted. The sickness on the flotilla also increased, until nearly every vessel bore the appearance of a hospital, filled with sufferers from swamp fever, ague, dengue, dysentery and general debility. Dr. Blanchard, assistant surgeon of the Seventh, and the only physician they had with them, although himself weakened by the malaria, was untiring in his labors, and did all that patient skill could accomplish for the care of the sick; but in spite of his care and that of his assistants, the sick list increased till it largely outnumbered the roll of effectives.

On the 8th of July officers and men were cheered by the arrival of Colonel Roberts, who, having recovered, resumed command of the regiment. His passage up the river was not without danger, the transport which bore him and Lieutenant Clark having to run the gauntlet of some confederate batteries at Grand Gulf. The cabins and staterooms were riddled with shot, some of which passed entirely through the boat, wounding several of the crew.

On the 15th of July a new peril was added to the situation. On the morning of that day the formidable confederate

iron-clad ram, Arkansas, which had been built up the Yazoo River, which empties into the Mississippi just above Vicksburg, suddenly made her appearance, driving before her two of the three light-draft gunboats which had been sent up earlier in the morning to look for the ram and had found her sooner than they expected to. The Arkansas passed down through the fleet, which was now above Vicksburg, receiving without damage the broadsides of Farragut's ships, none of which had steam enough up to enable them to engage her more actively, and proceeded to the shelter of the confederate batteries. This exploit of the Arkansas was a matter of deep mortification to Farragut, as it was of exultation to the enemy, while the apparent immunity of the ram to injury from the fire of the fleet caused consternation among the Federal forces, especially those upon the unarmed transports and on shore. In apprehension of an immediate attack, General Williams issued orders to disembark the sick from the transports and move them across the peninsula, to be nearer the fleet. Surgeon Blanchard, describing the execution of this unnecessary order, says: "By "some means, I scarcely know how, we got three hundred "sick and helpless men over to the levee opposite Vicks-"burg, without tents or blankets, and without food or med-"icines. Just at night it began to rain in a drizzling sort of "way. I managed to get a limited supply of crackers and "tea and spent the night wading through the mud distribut-"ing these articles of nourishment, which were all I could "obtain. The next morning we received orders to return to "the transports."

This last order was a result of Farragut's determination to take his fleet that night back to its former position below Vicksburg. About nine o'clock his ships got under way, and shortly afterwards the mortar-boats and Union batteries opened a furious bombardment. The enemy, anticipating Farragut's movement, at once set fire to tar bar-

rels and bonfires to light up the river in their front, and as the vessels of the fleet came within range of the Confederate guns, a terrific cannonade was begun. For over an hour the roar of hundreds of pieces of heavy ordnance filled the air. By midnight the entire squadron had passed the batteries, and anchored opposite the Union transports below Vicksburg. It had been part of the plan to attack and endeavor to destroy the Arkansas in the passage; but as she lay in the shadow of the bluff, Farragut, who had intended to grapple her with his flag ship, failed to find her, in the darkness, and she was not harmed. An attempt, three days later, to destroy her, by the Union ram Queen of the West, had no better success. Although the fleet was not seriously damaged in re-passing the batteries it was felt by Farragut and Williams that the Union position was a hazardous one. Supplies were nearly exhausted, and it was with the greatest difficulty and danger that the line of communication was kept open. The Confederates had established new batteries at Grand Gulf, and no vessel could reach Vicksburg except under the convoy of gunboats. The river was rapidly falling, and Farragut became anxious lest his larger vessels should not be able to return to deep water. All welcomed the order, which came July 20th, to return to Baton Rouge.

An incident attending the departure greatly enhanced the gloom which prevailed in the Seventh regiment. The transport Ceres, which was still little else than a floating hospital, was sent, at night, to take a cargo of the negroes who had been digging on the canal to a point twelve miles below Vicksburg. A number of sick officers and men, including Colonel Roberts, Captains Peck, Dutton and Mosely, and Lieutenants Harris and Gates, remained on the steamer; and a guard, under Captain Lorenzo Brooks of company F, was placed on board. The enemy, noticing the departure of the Ceres without the escort of a gunboat, ran a light

battery from Vicksburg down to a point about six miles below, where the river made a bend and the current was strong; and after the transport had landed her load and was on her return, opened fire on her from the shore. Owing to the curve in the channel, the steamer was within range for a long distance, and but for the facts that the night was dark, and that all her lights were immediately extinguished, she would probably have been sunk. As it was she was struck twenty-three times by six-pound solid shot and shells. The second shot struck Captain Brooks, killing him instantly. Eight shots passed entirely through the boat, some of them below the water line, and one struck one of the engines, stopping it and leaving the boat turning round in the channel in front of the battery. The injury to the machinery, however, proved to be only the knocking of a lever-rod out of place. It was promptly replaced and the Ceres started along. The leaks were stopped by stuffing the shot-holes with pieces of mattresses and clothing, and the boat soon passed out of range without further loss of life. The death of Captain Brooks was the first death among the commissioned officers of the Seventh, and was deeply felt throughout the regiment.[1]

A second death among the line officers occurred the next day, in the hospital at Carrollton—that of Captain Charles C. Ruggles of company I. He had been left sick at Ship Island on the departure of the regiment for New Orleans, and was subsequently transferred to the hospital at Carrollton, where upon convalescence he was placed in command of the soldiers in convalescent camp. Here, while engaged in the over-zealous discharge of his duties, he sustained a

[1] Captain Brooks was commissioned in January, 1862, and had proved himself an efficient and popular young officer. His body was taken to Baton Rouge, on the return of the regiment thither, the day after his death, and there buried with military honors. His remains were subsequently removed to his home in Swanton.

sunstroke, from which he died July 24th, 1862. His untimely death, in the 24th year of his age, was deeply deplored by the officers and men, with whom he was deservedly a favorite.[1]

A third death of an officer occurred four days later—that of Second Lieutenant Richard T. Cull, of company E, who succumbed to sickness and died, in his 43d year, at Baton Rouge, July 28th, 1862. He was buried at that place, with military honors. He was a faithful and capable officer and was sincerely mourned.

A little expedition was undertaken by Quartermaster Morse about this time in order to procure some fresh meat, which was much needed, especially for the sick. Taking Captain Dutton and a guard of forty men, he went twenty miles back into the country and brought in thirty head of cattle. The confiscation by Morse and Dutton of some wagons and teams, taken to carry sick men, displeased General Williams, who placed both officers under arrest for appropriating private property. They were, however, soon released.

The return to Baton Rouge occasioned a mournful amount of suffering among the sick men, who constituted fully one-half of the command at this time. On the 20th 350 sick men of the Seventh were removed from the hospital boats of the fleet, to the steamer Morning Light, the process occupying the entire day The steamer was detained at Vicksburg for three days after Captain Kilburn of company D, who had charge of the transportation, had reported all ready to leave. The sick men, filling every available space on board, suffered greatly from their crowded

[1] His remains were temporarily interred at Carrollton, and were subsequently removed to his home in Poultney, where they were buried with impressive ceremonies, participated in by the citizens and Masonic lodges of several towns.

condition and from the intense heat, and a number died on board the Morning Light before they started.[1]

Dr. Blanchard was with them, but was himself suffering from malaria and, as heretofore, was without needed medicines for the sufferers. At last, on the 24th, the order to move was received, and the Morning Light started down the river, in advance of the rest of the fleet, under the convoy of a gunboat. That night both boats grounded and in spite of all efforts remained stationary till overtaken and dragged out of the mud, the next day, by other steamers. During this detention two men died and were buried in their blankets, in trenches dug on shore. That evening they reached Baton Rouge, and during the night they were removed to a hotel on shore, which was occupied as a hospital. No less than six men died that night, during the removal. The main body of the expedition left Vicksburg on the evening of the 24th, the remainder of the Seventh bringing up the rear, and reached Baton Rouge July 26th.

The failure of this ill-starred expedition, ordered and conducted in opposition to the judgment and advice of experienced naval and military men, was due to General Butler's under-rating of the numbers and resources of the enemy. It formed the subject of a glowing congratulatory proclamation, issued from Richmond by the Confederate Secretary of War. For all the regiments of General Williams's command, and especially for the Seventh, it was a terrible, almost a destructive experience. The Seventh Vermont went to Vicksburg a body of some 700 effective men, eager for active service. It mustered on its return to Baton Rouge, thirty-six days after, less than *one hundred* men fit for duty! In the course of a week after their return, however, a hundred convalescents reported for duty; and to these, on the last day of July, were added a hundred men of companies C and

[1] Statement of Captain John B. Kilburn.

D, who had been detached three months before to garrison Fort Pike, and had remained there until this time.

Chaplain Frost resigned August 9th, and was succeeded by Rev. W C. Hopkins, a son of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont and a worthy minister of the Episcopal church.

The failure of the expedition against Vicksburg encouraged the enemy to take the offensive, and on the very day that the last of the Union fleet left Vicksburg, General Van Dorn despatched Major General John C. Breckenridge, with a force of 5,000 men, by rail, to Camp Moore, a Confederate rendezvous on the New Orleans railroad, 60 miles northeast of Baton Rouge. He was there to be reinforced by the brigade of General Ruggles, and was then to march rapidly to Baton Rouge and overwhelm the Federal troops at that point. His ability to accomplish this was not doubted, for his force was double that of General Williams, while the ram Arkansas was to co-operate with him and neutralize the aid of the Union gunboats. His success would inflict a severe loss on the Federal army in Louisiana; would bring to the Confederate cause the prestige of re-taking the capital of Louisiana; would give the Confederates control of the navigation of the Red river, and reopen to the Confederacy, in Western Louisiana and Texas, a large area for supplies. Probably it was part of the plan, after the taking of Baton Rouge, to push a force down to Carrollton, and capture General Phelps's command at that point.

THE BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE.

General Breckenridge marched from Camp Moore July 30th, with eighteen regiments and four batteries, in two divisions, commanded by Brig. Generals Ruggles and Clark —each division consisting of two brigades, commanded respectively by Brig. General Helm and Colonels Thompson, Allen and Hunt. To meet this formidable force General Williams had but six regiments, the Ninth Con-

necticut, Fourteenth Maine, Thirtieth Massachusetts, Seventh Vermont, Sixth Michigan and Twenty-first Indiana; three light batteries, the Second, Fourth and Sixth Massachusetts; and a company of Massachusetts cavalry. The effective force of all of these organizations was terribly reduced by illness. The Seventh Vermont took less than 250 muskets, out of over 700, into the battle. The batteries were so reduced that details had to be made from the infantry regiments to eke out their numbers, and they were short-handed at that. The six regiments did not take over 2000 bayonets into action.

Baton Rouge is on the east bank of the Mississippi, which runs north and south at that point. North of the town Bayou Gross opens from the river. The troops of Williams's command were encamped in the timber just outside of the city, upon and between the three roads which radiate to the north and east—the Clinton road leading northerly; the Greenwell Spring road to the northeast, and the Government or Clay Cut road to the east.

General Thomas Williams was a brave, educated and experienced soldier, a graduate of West Point, who had seen service in the Mexican war, in which he was thrice brevetted for meritorious service. But for some unexplained reason, he had not fortified his position at Baton Rouge. Though warned of the approach of Breckenridge with what there was every reason to suppose was a vastly superior force, not a shovelful of earth was moved for the protection of his lines.

In the afternoon of August 4th General Williams, apprised by his scouts of the approach of the enemy, notified his regimental and battery commanders that an attack might be expected on the next morning. Before daylight of the 5th he disposed his forces in a single line with his left resting on Bayou Gross and his right extending across the Clay Cut Road, about a mile from the State capitol, in

the following order, from left to right: Fourth Wisconsin, Ninth Connecticut, Fourteenth Maine, Twenty-first Indiana, Sixth Michigan. Two regiments, the Seventh Vermont and Thirtieth Massachusetts, formed a short second line partly in the rear of the Indiana and Michigan regiments, and extending beyond them to the right. The batteries were posted at different points in the line. It was an unfortunate feature of this arrangement that the line was formed in the rear of the camps of two of the regiments. These were consequently occupied by Breckenridge in his first advance, and the tents and army stores in them were burned by the enemy before they left the field.

The first firing occurred before light on the picket line. The battle commenced in earnest at day-break, and in a dense fog. Beginning on the right the firing extended along the whole front, and continued with varying energy for over five hours. The Union line was out-flanked and forced back on its right; but fresh positions were taken, farther back, by the regiments and batteries, and by nine o'clock the advance of the enemy was checked. His last and severest attack was made on the right. Here on the Federal side Colonel Roberts of the Seventh Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Keith, commanding the Twenty-first Indiana, and General Williams fell in turn, the first mortally wounded, the second severely wounded, and the last killed by a rifle ball through the chest. On the Confederate side Brig. General Clark, two colonels commanding brigades and several regimental commanders were killed or severely wounded. The fighting swayed back at last to a point where the Union gunboats on the right could participate, and after the repulse of the enemy they, by the fire of their heavy guns, aided in his discomfiture. At ten o'clock Breckenridge withdrew his forces from the field to a position a mile in the rear, intending, as he states in his report, to renew the engagement, when the ram Arkan-

August 5, 1862.

sas, on whose co-operation he had counted, should arrive. But the Arkansas did not appear, owing to some trouble with her machinery; and when the Union gunboats attacked her next day, she was set on fire and blown up by her crew. Breckenridge thereupon retired ten miles to the Comite river, and thence to Port Hudson. The Union troops held the field, buried the dead of both sides and took care of large numbers of the Confederate wounded. The losses on the Union side were 84 killed, 266 wounded and 33 missing —an aggregate of 383. The tabular statement of the Confederate losses shows 84 killed, 313 wounded and 56 missing —aggregate 453. The tables do not include a force of "partisan rangers" and some militia attached to Breckenridge's command. Lieutenant Godfrey Weitzel, of Butler's staff, who was despatched to the field immediately after the battle, reported on the 7th that they had "already buried over 250 rebels." Breckenridge abandoned five caissons, and one of his regiments lost its colors.[1] It was a mortifying repulse for the Confederates, but the Union troops were too much enfeebled by illness to pursue.[2]

As regards the part taken by the Seventh Vermont in the battle, the morning report of the regiment, the day before, showed an aggregate of 311 officers and men present for duty. About 200 men were sick in hospital, and nearly 300 sick in camp. Two officers and 42 men were on guard and picket duty, leaving 267 officers and men to form in line. The regiment had in the line about 225 bayonets. Captain Peck and several men left their beds in hospital, in order to take part in the fighting. Major Holbrook, as field-officer of the day, accompanied by Lieutenant Clark, spent the night before the battle in inspection of the extended

[1] Those of the Fourth Louisiana, captured by the Sixth Michigan.

[2] "Our forces cannot pursue; only about 1200 of the 2500 engaged could march five miles."—Lieut. Weitzel's report.

picket line. About three o'clock A. M., the night being foggy and very dark, picket firing began in front, on the Greenwell Spring road. This appears from General Breckenridge's report to have been occasioned by a company of mounted Confederate "rangers" pushing forward through the rebel picket line. They were fired on by the Union pickets, and retreating in haste, stampeded the brigade of General Helm, whose troops fired on each other, and General Helm was dangerously injured by the fall of his horse; Lieutenant Todd, one of his aids, was killed; a line officer and a number of men were wounded, and two guns of Cobb's Kentucky battery were disabled in some way in the panic. Major Holbrook, hearing the firing, hurried to the spot and rode through and beyond his own picket line without knowing it till he was halted and fired on by the enemy. Turning back he was fired on again by the Union pickets; but the darkness prevented any accurate aim and he received no injury. He was deploying a line of skirmishers when the enemy's skirmishers advanced, their line extending to the Union left across the Clinton road, and the Union skirmishers fell back gradually to the main line. The camps were of course aroused by the firing in front and the regiments fell into line, in the darkness.

General Williams had apparently left his plan of defense to be formed after the enemy's plan of attack should be developed; and the only direction received by Colonel Roberts the night before, was to form his regiment in front of his camp in case of attack, and await orders, with discretionary permission to move to any point where the enemy was attacking in force. General Williams expected that the main attack would be made upon his left, with the co-operation of the Confederate ram Arkansas, and his expectation was confirmed when the advance of the enemy's skirmishers upon his left was reported to him by Major Holbrook. It was about half past three o'clock when the Seventh fell into line in front

of its camp, which was on Florida street, on the right of the Greenwell Spring road. The regiment was standing in line, and under fire from the Confederate batteries, when Major Holbrook, who had been sent by General Williams to look after the skirmish line on the right, stopped on his way thither to inform Colonel Roberts that General Williams expected the main attack upon his left. Colonel Roberts accordingly moved the regiment to the left to support that portion of the line. As it was impossible to distinguish objects at any distance in the fog, Lieut. Colonel Fullam was sent forward to learn the position of the line in front; but he could only discover that the Twenty-first Indiana, which had been there, had moved to the right. In the meantime the firing became heavy on the right, where Ruggles's brigade was making a determined assault, which fell chiefly upon the Fourteenth Maine and Twenty-first Indiana. Seeing that he was not needed where he was, and his men being in danger from a section of Manning's battery, which was posted a short distance to his rear and was pitching round-shot and shell into as well as over his line, Colonel Roberts moved his regiment back to its former position in front of his camp. Through the smoke and fog which screened everything in front came many bullets and occasional discharges of grape; but Colonel Roberts hesitated to return the fire for fear that the Indiana regiment might be in front of him, and his men were standing motionless, when General Williams rode up and ordered him to open fire.[1] He accordingly gave the order to "fire by battalion." Several volleys had been fired, when an officer of the Twenty-first Indiana came back to say that the Seventh was firing into them. Colonel Roberts at once ordered his regiment to cease firing. The order had

[1] "The regiment stood unmoved under fire without returning the same, until ordered by General Williams to load and fire as rapidly as possible. That order I heard myself, from the lips of General Williams, not twenty minutes before he fell."—Statement of Captain S. Dutton.

scarcely been obeyed, when he fell with a bullet wound in the neck and as he was borne to the rear a second bullet entered his thigh and passed upward into the abdomen, inflicting a mortal wound. Lieut. Colonel Fullam was not with the regiment when Colonel Roberts fell, having been sent back to tell Manning's battery that they were endangering the Seventh Vermont, and the command devolved for the time being on Captain Porter. General Williams had passed on to the right, and discovering that the enemy was pressing around his right flank, had ordered the three regiments on that flank to fall back a short distance and the movement had begun when General Williams fell. Captain Porter moved the Seventh back, to correspond with the retrograde movement on the right, to a position in the rear of its camp, when Lieut. Colonel Fullam returned through a shower of bullets which wounded his horse and assumed the command of the regiment. During the next hour the enemy made three attempts to carry a piece of woods on the right, but was each time repulsed and finally retired. The regiment was then posted, with the rest of the right wing, near the penitentiary grounds, and stood to arms during the day; but the enemy did not again advance. The loss of the Seventh Vermont in this action was one officer and nine men wounded (of whom three died of their wounds), and five missing. Colonel Roberts sank gradually from internal hemorrhage, and died at noon of the 7th. He was the first field-officer of a Vermont regiment killed in battle. His death was a great grief to the officers and men of his command and occasioned deep feeling and sorrow in Vermont. Corporal Bertrand Billings of company C, received a ball through his body and died the next day. Charles Larrabee of company K was shot in the chest and died on the 24th. Jack Russell, a lad too young to enlist, who accompanied Major Holbrook from Vermont as his servant, was also killed. He had followed Major Holbrook to the picket line,

on the right, and was shot through the body. His body was found next day at the extreme front.[1]

The first and only instance of official censure of a Vermont organization during the war—a wholly unmerited censure as will be shown—occurred in connection with this engagement. Four days after the battle General Butler issued a magniloquent order, in which he enormously exaggerated the losses of the enemy and the captures made by the Union troops; complimented the latter without exception, and authorized the several regiments engaged to inscribe "Baton Rouge" on their colors. A few days after, a report reached the officers of the regiment that statements attributing misconduct to the Seventh Vermont had been made and that General Butler was going to make an example of the regiment. The rumor was confirmed at an interview between General Butler and Major Holbrook, on the 26th, in which after informing the latter that he had been recommended for the vacant colonelcy General Butler further informed him that he had prepared an order censuring the regiment for "discreditable behavior in the face of the enemy." Major Holbrook denied in detail the statements upon which General Butler based his blame of the regiment; gave him the names of eye-witnesses of high standing who would testify to the good conduct of the Seventh; protested against his condemning the regiment unheard; and asked for a court of inquiry to establish the truth in the case. His request and protest were in vain, and on the 30th the order, prepared before the interview, was promulgated. In this order the censure of the Seventh Vermont was enhanced by

[1] The wounded were, company C, Corporal Aaron Piper, arm amputated; Henry Clark, foot; company B, Edward Din, wrist; James McGarry, ankle; company D, Thomas Bixby, head; company E, T. P. Stearns, side; company I, Henry Beebe, slightly. J. Sullivan, J. Fitzgerald and T. Donpier of company K, and C. A. Smith of company H, were reported missing.

extended and elaborate praise bestowed on other troops and individuals. So far as it related to the Vermont regiment it was as follows:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 62½. HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, August 25th, 1862.

The commanding general has carefully revised the official reports of the action of August 5th at Baton Rouge, to collect the evidence of the gallant deeds and meritorious services of those engaged in that brilliant victory. The name of the lamented and gallant General Williams has already passed into history. Colonel Roberts of the Seventh Vermont volunteers, fell mortally wounded while rallying his men. He was worthy of a better disciplined regiment and a better fate. Glorious as it is to die for one's country, yet his regiment gave him the inexpressible pain of seeing it break in confusion when not pressed by the enemy and refuse to march to the aid of the outnumbered and almost overwhelmed Indianians. The Seventh Vermont regiment, by a fatal mistake, had already fired into the same regiment they had refused to support, killing and wounding several. The commanding general therefore excepts the Seventh Vermont from General Orders No. 57, and will not permit their colors to be inscribed with a name which could bring to its officers and men no proud thought. It is further ordered that the colors of that regiment be not borne by them until such time as they shall have earned the right to them, and the earliest opportunity will be given this regiment to show whether they are worthy descendants of those who fought beside Allen and with Starke at Bennington.

The following have honorable mention. * * * John Donoghue, Fourth Massachusetts battery, who brought off from the camp of the Seventh Vermont regiment their colors at the time of their retreat. * * *

By command of Major-General Butler.

WM. H. WIEGEL,

First Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

The official communications and proceedings which followed this extraordinary proclamation are as follows

CAMP WILLIAMS, LA., Aug. 31st, 1862.

General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.:

In justice to the regiment which I have the honor to command, the Seventh regiment of Vermont Volunteers, I find myself under necessity of calling for an examination into the statements made by the major-general commanding the department in Order No. 62½, dated August 25th, 1862, which are calculated, in my opinion, to bring unmerited disgrace upon the regiment and the State from which it comes. I respectfully request that a court of inquiry may be assembled as soon as convenient to inves-

tigate and report upon the battle of Baton Rouge and the part taken in that engagement by my regiment, with the view that justice may be done to it and the service. Regretting exceedingly to find myself impelled to ask for the scrutiny of a victory which should fill all generous hearts only with gratitude and pride, I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. C. HOLBROOK,
Major, Commanding Seventh Regiment Vermont Volunteers.

[Endorsement.]

CAMP PARAPET, LA., September 2d, 1862.

It is much to be regretted that a regiment in this quarter should be compelled to defend itself against unmerited dishonor from its commanding general as well as against the enemy and extraordinary exposure and disease; but I concur with Major Holbrook in the necessity of an investigation into the facts connected with the battle of Baton Rouge by a court of inquiry, with the view of doing justice to the Seventh Vermont Volunteers and to the service.

J. W PHELPS,
Brigadier-General.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., September 14th, 1862.

Brigadier-General Thomas, Adjutant-General:

General: I inclose the somewhat anomalous application of Major Holbrook, commanding the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers, with a copy of the general order complained of. It will be seen that I only give the result of official reports, so that I do not feel personally touched by the matter or manner of the communication. Of the conduct of Major Holbrook there is no complaint; being field officer of the day, of the post, he was not in the action. If consistent with the rules of the service to inquire into the *resume* by the commanding general of the events of an action, I should be glad to have it done. For if the regiment has been unjustly treated it could give no one more pleasure than myself to see it righted. As there has been some rivalry of feeling I do not think it would be best to detail a court from the officers of the regiments at Baton Rouge. I may further say that I suggested to Major Holbrook that he might select his court of inquiry from any of the officers here not of that brigade.

BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Major-General, Commanding.

WASHINGTON, October 3d, 1862.

Maj.-General Benjamin F. Butler, New Orleans:

General: Your letter of September 14th, inclosing the application of Major W. C. Holbrook for a court of inquiry on the conduct of the Seventh Vermont Volunteers at the battle of Baton Rouge, has been received and

referred to the Secretary of War. No officer can at this time be sent to New Orleans to constitute such a court. The course suggested by you in regard to the proposed investigation seems unobjectionable in all respects. You have full authority to adopt it.

H. W. HALLECK,
General-in-Chief.

MONTPELIER, Vt., October 13th, 1862.

Hon. E. M. Stanton:

I wrote you a few weeks since of the charges of General Butler in his order No. 62½, against the Seventh Vermont regiment in the battle at Baton Rouge. These charges are believed to be grossly unjust, and have stirred up the people of Vermont. Nothing short of an entirely impartial court of inquiry, to be appointed at and sent on from Washington, will satisfy our people. They are brave, loyal and patriotic to the core, and for that very reason will not quietly sit down under charges which reflect upon the State. May I have assurances that action will be taken at Washington?

FREDERICK HOLBROOK,
Governor of Vermont.

The Legislature of Vermont was in session when General Butler's order reached the State, and on the 13th of October the following resolution, introduced by Mr. Houghton of Pawlet, was adopted by the House:

Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to demand an investigation by the War Department at Washington of all the circumstances relating to the conduct of the Seventh Vermont regiment at the battle of Baton Rouge. And be it further

Resolved, That if it appears that the charges against said regiment for cowardice and unsoldier-like conduct are false, that the governor be requested to demand the immediate transfer of the Seventh regiment to some other department of the United States service.

The Vermont Senate first adopted a resolution asking the governor for any information in his possession touching the alleged misconduct of the Seventh Vermont, to which Governor Holbrook made reply that though his information was in the shape of letters and statements not suitable to be laid before the Senate, he believed injustice had been done to the regiment and that the credit of the State and of the regiment demanded a thorough investigation. The follow-

ing resolution, introduced October 16th by Senator George F Edmunds of Chittenden county, was then adopted:

Whereas, Charges of misconduct have been made by the general commanding the Department of the Gulf against the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers. And

Whereas, It is due to the honor and dignity of the State that such charges be fully investigated, in order that any injustice therein may be publicly declared, therefore,

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, that the governor be requested to demand of the President of the United States, as an act of justice to said regiment and to the State of Vermont, that a board of inquiry be appointed to hear and determine such charges as soon as may be, according to the usual course of military inquiry.

In supporting this resolution Mr. Edmunds said:

The subject touched the pride of Vermont, her sense of honor and love of justice. He had good reason to believe that the charges against the Seventh were invented (he used the term deliberately) by somebody. He had as good reason as anybody could have, to believe that the regiment stood its ground under fire, with orders not to fire, until they were ordered by General Williams himself. It was in obedience to that order that they fired as they did; so that nothing like the charges alluded to in the order of the general commanding could be the result of any "mistake" which they or their officers made. All the testimony, aside from that, showed that the regiment behaved gallantly in every respect. It had been said that they left their colors on the field. The identical "colors" were at the governor's room. They were a small, insignificant piece of bunting, and it need not surprise any one if they were left sticking in the mud somewhere on the battle field where nobody could notice them, all frittered as they were by the winds and rain of the Mississippi valley, until there was not enough silk left to make a pocket-handkerchief for a pauper.

In due time a Board of Inquiry was ordered by General Butler, and he forwarded its proceedings to Governor Holbrook, with the remark that he trusted that when he (the governor) read the proceedings he would see that "no injustice had been done to the regiment [save] in the single par-

ticular of its colors." The proceedings of the Board, as officially reported, were as follows

BOARD OF INQUIRY.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, October 23d, 1862.

Pursuant to special orders from department headquarters, viz.:

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 462.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, October 21st, 1862.

A board of inquiry, consisting of the following officers: Colonel H. C. Deming, president; Colonel J. W Turner, Lieut. Colonel A. B. Farr, Lieutenant W. L. G. Greene, recorder, is ordered to examine and report upon the facts and circumstances relative to the condition as to discipline and efficiency of the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers at the time of the battle of Baton Rouge and the conduct of the officers and men in that action.

By order of Major-General Butler,
R. S. DAVIS,
Captain and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General

* * * * * * *

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, November 3d, 1862.

The board met pursuant to adjournment. Present, all the members. The board, having fully weighed and considered the evidence, report as follows: It appears from the evidence that when the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers was called upon to participate in the battle of Baton Rouge it had been very much reduced in numbers and doubtless in *morale* by the severities of the campaign at Vicksburg and by long confinement on board transports. On the morning of the battle the regiment had present for duty about 250 men, about 520 men sick, of whom 200 were in hospital. About 225 men were in line early in the action. The commanding officer of the regiment, Colonel Roberts, fell under the sharpest volley that was fired that day, and shortly after his fall the regiment fled about 100 feet to the rear and to the cover of some gullies in a disorderly manner. About two-fifths of the men present for duty did not return to the position in line of battle during the day. It appears that early in the action Lieut. Colonel Fullam had been dispatched by his colonel to see to the firing of a battery which was endangering the regiment; that Major Holbrook was officer of the day. Upon the fall of the colonel, therefore, the command of the regiment devolved temporarily upon Captain (now Major) Porter, who seems to have behaved creditably in a trying position. When the lieutenant-colonel returned he assumed command of the regiment. The only testimony before the board discreditable to him is the following, from Lieut. Colonel Elliott's deposition:

I did see something in the conduct of officers which I thought deserving of censure. I saw Colonel Fullam, after they had fallen back, seeking protection, drawing his regiment up in a ravine. I asked him what he was doing there. He said he was getting his men into a sheltered position. I saw no other officers show a disposition to evade duty. I think the regiment was over 200 yards in the rear of their camp.

So far as any evidence appears it would seem that the line officers behaved well during the day. It appears that the Seventh Vermont regiment, or a part of it, did fire into the Twenty-first Indiana, but there is an exculpation to be found in the testimony of the commanding officer of the Indiana regiment, Captain Grimsley, to wit:

> Occupying the position they did the Seventh had no means of knowing where we were. * * * My impression is that when we received the volleys from the Seventh Vermont we ran under a fire which was already going on.

It appears also from the testimony of various witnesses that the field was covered by dense fog and smoke, so that it was quite impossible to distinguish a friend from a foe at the distance the two regiments were apart; and, moreover, that the position of the Indiana regiment was very frequently changed. It does not appear that any orders were communicated to the Vermont regiment during the day which they disobeyed. It appears that the colors of the regiment were retained by the color guard during the action, and were brought off the field by the guard when the regiment fell back. It appears that the camp colors alleged by Captain Manning, of the Fourth Massachusetts battery, to have been brought from the camp of the Seventh Vermont by John Donoghue, were two markers of the form in common use, and one small United States flag, which had been used for no military purpose for a long time previously.

HENRY C. DEMING,
Colonel Twelfth Reg't Conn. Vols., President of the Court.
JNO. W. TURNER,
Colonel and C. S.
A. B. FARR,
Lieutenant Colonel Twenty-sixth Reg't Mass. Vols.
WILLIAM L. G. GREENE,
Lieutenant Second Louisiana Volunteers, Recorder.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, November 6th, 1862.

The commanding general has examined with care the findings, proceedings, and testimony of the court of inquiry, whereof Colonel Henry C. Deming is president, in the matter of the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers, and approves the proceedings and findings. It is apparent that every conclusion arrived at by the court is supported by the testimony of the witnesses called on behalf of the regiment. The general is constrained to find that the charge against the regiment of breaking in disorder before the enemy is fully proved. Two-fifths of the regiment never returned to the line of battle after they broke and fled; that the regiment did fire upon the Indiana regiment, and that that was the only firing done by the regiment that day, although they held the center of the line, which was most hotly pressed. The general is glad to find that most of the line officers

behaved well, and that the official reports which led him to believe that the regimental colors were lost by the regiment were mistakes, and therefore he has pleasure in ordering the colors of the regiment to be restored to the regiment with privilege to carry them, but he cannot order them to be inscribed with the name of the glorious battle of Baton Rouge. The general doubts not that now, having an officer as commander who will not form them out of sight for shelter in a ravine during an action, as did their late lieutenant-colonel, the regiment will in its next action retrieve its position and earn a proud name for itself and State.

BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Major-General, Commanding.

Taking his time, two weeks later General Butler issued the following order:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 98. } HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, November 20th, 1862

The commanding general, upon the finding of the board of inquiry upon the conduct of the Seventh regiment Vermont Volunteers at the battle of Baton Rouge, learns that he was led into a mistake by the official reports of that action as to the loss by that regiment of its colors, it proving to have been the camp color left in camp and not the regimental color that was brought off the field by the Massachusetts battery. He therefore has pleasure in ordering the regimental colors to be restored to the regiment, not doubting that it will in its next action earn for itself a position and name which will be a credit to itself, its State and country.

By command of Major-General Butler,
GEO. C. STRONG,
Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff.

General Butler's duplicity in his statements in regard to the colors of the regiment, in his letter to Adjutant-General Thomas, in his approval of the findings of the board of inquiry, and in General Order No. 98, is apparent. His repeated assertion that he was led by the official reports to believe that the Seventh Vermont lost its regimental colors, was deliberately false. The "official reports" contain but one allusion to the matter, which is the statement in the report of Captain Charles Manning of the Fourth Massachusetts battery, that "John Donoghue brought off from the camp of the Seventh Vermont regiment their camp colors at the time of the retreat." Whatever "camp colors" may be, General Butler understood them to be one thing, and regi-

mental colors another; for he noted the distinction between them. At no time could General Butler have had reason to suppose that the Seventh lost its regimental colors. He knew before the publication of his original censure, that the regiment did *not* lose its colors. His assertion that he was "led to believe," by the reports, that the regimental colors were lost upon the field, was a transparent falsehood. The truth is that General Butler had a grudge against the Seventh Vermont, which he was determined to gratify. This was well known to many in General Butler's command. It was alluded to by General John W Phelps, in a letter to Colonel Holbrook, quoted by the latter in his history of the Seventh Vermont, as follows:

The general [Butler] began quarreling with officers of the Seventh almost before it had fairly landed at Ship Island, and he seems to have kept it up to the last, pursuing the Seventh through the strife and havoc of battle, where he was not personally present, and under circumstances of difficulty, crowned with success, where a generous spirit would have been disposed to overlook minor faults, even if they had been committed. What his motives were for thus pursuing the Seventh, and seeking to incite variance between that regiment and the Twenty-first Indiana regiment, I cannot say; but it is evident that if he [Butler] were to run for the presidency in the ensuing election of 1864, the large electoral vote of Indiana might be of great moment to him, and that it would be a good bargain to win it even at the expense of losing the Whig vote of Vermont. But whatever the objects of General Butler may have been, they were little in accord with the occasion that called for military service in the Southwest in 1862, which was the most important theatre of action of the whole war.

The conduct of General Butler and the result of the court of inquiry must be judged in the light of this personal spite against the Seventh. The charge that the regiment lost its colors, General Butler was compelled to retract as publicly as he had made it; and his further charge that the regiment "broke in confusion when not pressed by the

enemy" could after this have little weight of its own. But how about the statement of the board of inquiry that the regiment "fled one hundred feet to the rear in a disorderly manner?" In regard to this finding it is to be remembered that the board consisted of officers of General Butler's command, selected by himself. General Butler indeed states that they were selected by Major Holbrook. But this is contradicted by that officer. Major Holbrook says: "He [General Butler] first selected them and then magnanimously asked if I had any objection to the members. I declined to become sponsor for a court convened under his direction." One of the members of the board, Commissary Turner, was a member of General Butler's staff. Another, Lieutenant Greene, was an officer of a colored regiment, who owed his appointment to General Butler. All, of course, were especially anxious not to offend General Butler. It was fortunate that the regiment came off as well as it did, at the hands of a board so constituted. A truly impartial court could have reached no such conclusion.

Reviewing the evidence, it appears that the original charge against the regiment was made by Captain James Grimsley, who commanded the Twenty-first Indiana after its lieutenant colonel was wounded. After describing the situation of his regiment, as about surrounded by the enemy, it having, as he said, a regiment of Louisiana troops in its front, a battalion deployed as skirmishers uncomfortably near on its right, "which opened on us a most galling fire," while "another or two regiments formed in our camp opened upon our rear a hot fire," Captain Grimsley adds:

> Our fighting now became upon the principle of "every man for himself." * * * To add to the danger and desperation of our situation, the Seventh Vermont, from their camp back of us, opened a fire in the direction of all engaged, which killed many of our own men outright and

wounded several more. At this we gave back, when we met General Williams and acquainted him with the fact. He gave the Vermonters a severe reprimand and ordered them forward to our support. We reformed and moved down to our old position. * * * At the most critical period of the fight the Seventh Vermont regiment, which was ordered by General Williams to support us, refused to do so.

These statements of Grimsley comprise everything in the reports of participants in the battle, that in any way reflects upon the conduct of the Seventh Vermont. Opposed to them is the statement in the official report of Colonel N. A. M. Dudley of the Thirtieth Massachusetts, who commanded the right wing of General Williams's line. After mentioning the fact that Manning's battery fell back "with considerable confusion, leaving one piece and caisson," Colonel Dudley says:

Captain Manning quickly rallied his men and went into battery on the right of the Twenty-first Indiana, well supported on the right by the Seventh Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Fullam (Colonel Roberts having been mortally wounded), and with this battery did good service. In the meantime the enemy appeared in strong force directly in front of the Twenty-first Indiana, Seventh Vermont and Thirtieth Massachusetts. At one time these three brave regiments stood face to face with the enemy within 40 yards of each other. For full one hour the contest for this piece of wood was terrific. * * * At this juncture of the contest I ordered Lieutenant Trull to fire his three left pieces obliquely across the front of the Twenty-first Indiana, Thirtieth Massachusetts and Seventh Vermont. This was the turning point on the right wing. This galling fire of canister, with the terrible discharge of the musketry of three regiments, effectually silenced the enemy's fire, and they withdrew again to the fields in the rear. * * * It cannot be expected that I should mention all the brave exploits of persons or even regiments, particularly on an occasion when all did so well. Our lines were very much extended and I frequently necessarily found myself separated from each regiment; but on no occasion did I see a single regiment misbehave. All seemed to act with a coolness and determination that surprised even ourselves after the excitement of the action was over.

That under the circumstances any serious misconduct on the part of the Seventh Vermont regiment could have escaped Colonel Dudley's knowledge is not supposable. His report, confirmed by others, shows that there were other troops beside the Seventh that fell back, some of them "in confusion," whose conduct should also have been rebuked by General Butler, if he was disposed to distribute his censure impartially.

Before the board of inquiry, Captain Grimsley, while in the main sustaining his report, varied from it in an important point by testifying that when the Seventh Vermont moved to the rear they moved in good order "as though they might have had an order so to move."

Colonel Dudley testified:

That the Seventh was under his command during the latter part of the action, he being senior officer of the right wing; that he saw nothing to censure in the conduct of the Seventh; that the first he saw of the Seventh was when General Williams sent him an order to take back his command to the neighborhood of Boulevard street; that in executing this movement he found the Seventh in the rear of their tents; that he asked what they were doing there, and they said they had fallen back with the rest; that he then gave them the order to fall back; that at that time there were regiments in their rear—the Fourteenth Maine was in their rear; that the only troops in front of them was the Sixth Michigan and Nim's battery; that he gave the Seventh two orders himself, both of which they obeyed; that he had no knowledge of any of the orders which he sent by staff officers being disobeyed; that he did not know anything of the firing into the Twenty-first Indiana by the Seventh; that the Twenty-first was scattered over the field very much, and it was impossible to tell where they were, and they even complained of his regiment firing into them; that he doubted very much whether they were fired into from the rear at all.

Lieutenant Frederick M. Norcross of the Thirtieth Massachusetts testified:

That he was present at the battle of Baton Rouge and

acted as aid to Colonel Dudley, and had occasion to notice the conduct of the Seventh Vermont; that there was nothing unfavorable in their conduct which attracted his attention; that he did not at any time see any disorder in their ranks; that he was generally posted near them and saw the regiment when the general order was given for the whole line to fall back; that they fell back with the rest in good order 150 yards; that this was about eight A. M.; that the falling back was by order of General Williams to the whole right wing; that the Seventh did not fall back any further than the rest of the force, but with the line.

Major Holbrook, Captains Porter, Barber, Dutton and Cronan, and Lieutenants Parker and Woodman testified in direct contradiction of the statements attributing to the Seventh misconduct and refusal to support the Indiana regiment. Captain Porter testified:

That he was in command of the regiment after Colonel Roberts fell for about twenty minutes; that Colonel Roberts was not killed while rallying his men; that soon after the line was formed General Williams rode up and ordered the Seventh to commence firing; that balls were coming at it pretty fast; that the colonel's horse became unmanageable and he dismounted, and about the same time an officer from the Indiana regiment came up, saying "you are firing into our men;" that the colonel thereupon gave the order to cease firing, and immediately after was wounded; that he was standing but a few feet from him at the time; that the right wing fell back through the camp, whether by orders or not he did not know, as he was engaged at the instant in removing the colonel; that he was informed that he was to take command; that he immediately formed a new line, perhaps 100 feet to the rear, and reported to General Williams that he was in command of the regiment, and asked for orders; that he directed him to take the regiment to the cover of an embankment; that a part of the Fourteenth Maine retired with them; that he remained in command until the lieutenant colonel, who had been sent to see to a battery which had been firing into the regiment, joined it; that he heard no request from the Indiana regiment to come up to its aid, and knew of no order to advance to its support; that he did not refuse to obey any of the orders he received; that he thought the regiment had fired about three volleys when

it was announced that it was firing into the Indiana regiment; then the Seventh fired in the direction of the Indiana camp, where it was supposed the enemy was; that his company was color company; that it carried only the United States flag; that the State colors were not taken out on the field; that the United States colors were preserved and brought off the field.

Color-Sergeant Sherman W Parkhurst testified:

That he was present at the battle of Baton Rouge and carried the regimental colors; that they did not leave his hands during the engagement; that he brought them off the field; that he was with the color company all the time; that the colors were unfurled; that he stood erect all through the engagement; that it was the United States colors he carried; that the State flag was not taken into the field.

Major Holbrook testified:

That the Seventh had about 250 men present for duty on the day of the battle of Baton Rouge; that it had about 225 men in line; that it had just returned from Vicksburg and the sick "in quarters" were all in camp; that it had about 520 men on the sick-list, of whom about 200 were in hospital; that he was field-officer of the day and was not with the regiment; that after the pickets were driven in he rode past the Seventh, told Colonel Roberts the point of attack, and he, Colonel Roberts, immediately moved the regiment to the left; that he met General Williams a short distance from the regiment, who asked him the point of attack and he told him, as near as he could judge, where the different columns of the enemy would come; that at this time he saw a great number of men running back towards the river, and remembered very distinctly General Williams ordering them to halt; that they did not, and he rode in among them, and they stopped, saying they were sick men from the Twenty-first Indiana and Fourteenth Maine; that he judged there were 150 in all; that General Williams told them to take care of themselves if they were sick; that he was then sent by General Williams to look after the pickets on the right and left flanks and to hold those positions at all hazards; that he never received an order or request to support the Twenty-first Indiana; that he saw no officer of that regiment until the action was over; that the sick men of the Seventh in camp had orders to retire to the river bank, with

the exception of 11 commissioned officers, all of whom were in the engagement; that he saw the regimental colors with the regiment at the penitentiary immediately after the final falling back of the lines; that on or about September 5th he received through his quartermaster four guidons, said to have been brought from the field by John Donoghue; three of them were simple white flags with the figure seven inscribed on them, while the other was a small United States flag, very much tattered and torn, that had been used in the adjutant's office as a blotter; that he heard nothing of the alleged misconduct of the regiment until he arrived at Camp Parapet, about the 24th or 25th of August; that just previous to the battle, the regiment had been on board river transports for the better part of six weeks; that at a review, a short time before the engagement, two or three companies were not represented, their services being needed to bury the dead; that about a week previous to the battle there were but 95 men present for duty in the entire regiment.

Major Holbrook states—and the record supports the statement—that the finding that two-fifths of the regiment did not return to the line, after falling back, was "manufactured, and absolutely unsupported by any evidence." But if it was true that they fell back without orders this was not the first or last time that good troops, under fire from an unseen foe, fell back a hundred feet to the shelter of favoring ground. The Seventh, however, did not fall back without orders. It was ordered to fall back, by General Williams.

The case, then, sums itself up as follows: Of a regiment of nearly 800 men, about one-fourth of its number, many of them enfeebled by disease, went into their first battle. If the worst told of them be true, they at a time of great confusion, in a dense fog and under heavy fire by which they had lost their colonel, retired 100 feet to the shelter of a ravine, whence two-fifths of them, or 90 men, did not return to the line of battle. For this and under a false charge that it lost its colors the entire regiment was censured by general order and its colors taken from it. A packed board of inquiry sustained in part the charge;

though obliged to find that the regiment did not lose either regimental or camp colors; that it disobeyed no orders; that the line officers behaved well; and that its successive commanders behaved creditably under trying circumstances, with a single exception cited against the lieutenant colonel, as being in the testimony, though the board did not declare it to be sustained

Had General Butler, when obliged to retract a part of his censure, frankly confessed that he was mistaken as to the rest, it would perhaps be possible and certainly charitable to believe that his course was due to honest misconception of the facts. But he reiterated most of his false charges, adding falsehoods to the findings of the court—such as that the only firing done by the regiment was upon their comrades, and that its "camp color" was brought off the field by other troops—the first of which assertions was a pure invention of General Butler's and the last distinctly disproved by his own court of inquiry! No explanation of General Butler's course in this matter can be made consistent with honor on his part. His motive was malicious. He disliked the regiment because its members, before they left Vermont, opposed their assignment to his command; and he gratified his spite at the expense of truth and justice, and to his own lasting dishonor. The men of the Seventh have always felt keenly the unmerited disgrace placed upon them; but no one of them would be willing to change places with General Butler in the opinion of any candid student of the transaction.

It only remains to add that though General Butler's order restoring to the Seventh its colors did not permit it to inscribe the name of Baton Rouge on its flag, that permission came to it at last, through one who was a far abler, braver and more famous soldier, in the following order:

GENERAL ORDER, No. 1 } HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE GULF, NEW ORLEANS, LA., July 10th, 1866.

In compliance with the requirements of General Order, No. 19, 1862, from the War Department, and in accordance with the reports of boards convened to examine into the services rendered by the troops concerned, and by authority of the lieutenant general commanding the armies of the United States, it is hereby ordered that there shall be inscribed upon the colors of the following regiments the names of battles in which they have borne a meritorious part, as hereinafter specified.

* * * * * * * *

Seventh Vermont Veteran Volunteer Infantry: Siege of Vicksburg, BATON ROUGE Gonzales Station, Spanish Fort, Whistler.

By command of

MAJ. GENERAL P. H. SHERIDAN.

GEO. LEE, A. A. Gen.

The Seventh remained at Baton Rouge after the battle in constant expectation of another attack, until the 20th of August, when the forces there were withdrawn by General Butler and the place abandoned for three months or more. After the evacuation of Baton Rouge, the regiment returned to Carrollton and camped near Metarie Ridge, two miles back from the river, with the troops stationed there for the protection of New Orleans.

About this time several important changes took place among the field and staff officers of the regiment. On the 26th of August Lieut. Colonel Fullam, in consequence of the censure attached to him and of the recommendation of Major Holbrook for promotion over his head, resigned, and Major Holbrook was appointed colonel.[1] Captain Peck of

[1] Colonel Holbrook was the second son of Governor Holbrook, born in Brattleboro, July 14th, 1842. When 18 years old, while connected with a mercantile house in Boston, he became a member of the "Tigers" of that city, a noted military organization, in which General Nelson A. Miles and other officers who distinguished themselves during the war, obtained their first military training. On the outbreak of the war young Holbrook returned to Brattleboro and in July, 1861, enlisted in company F of the Fourth Vermont, of which he was drill master, and upon its organization was chosen its first lieutenant. He served in the Fourth for a time as

company A was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and Captain Porter of company C was appointed major. Lieutenant Morse, the faithful and efficient quartermaster of the regiment, was at this time promoted to be captain and assistant quartermaster of volunteers, a position which he capably filled ur til the close of the war. He was succeeded as regimental quartermaster by Lieutenant George E. Jones of company E, who went out with the regiment as commissary sergeant. On the 8th of September, Surgeon Kelley resigned and Assistant Surgeon Blanchard was appointed surgeon, and filled the office with fidelity and ability throughout the subsequent service of the regiment. Dr. Elihu S. Foster of Topsham and Dr. Henry H. Langdon of Burlington were appointed assistant surgeons and rendered efficient service.

The camp at Carrollton had been named "Camp Williams," but soon became known as "Camp Death," by reason of the great mortality which prevailed among the troops there, especially among those which had participated in the Vicksburg campaign. The seeds of disease, which had been planted in the Vicksburg swamps, now developed with fearful rapidity under the hot summer sun and amid the malarial surroundings of the strip of solid ground between swamps, on which the camps were placed. Fogs prevailed at night and in the early morning, and the stench from the surrounding swamps was often intolerable. The sick list of the Seventh increased with alarming rapidity and the death-

acting adjutant, till appointed major of the Seventh, in August, 1862. He was not yet of age and was with a single exception the youngest Vermonter that wore the eagles of a colonel, but was mature for his years, tall, straight and vigorous, and popular with the regiment, which he commanded with ability, being for a time detached from it as brigade commander and commander of the military district of West Florida. To his service with the Seventh Colonel Holbrook has, since the war, added the valuable service of the preparation of a history of the regiment, which has been largely drawn upon for the facts contained in these pages.

rate almost kept even pace with it. Had the regiment been sent to a healthier spot on its return from Baton Rouge, doubtless many lives would have been saved. But in spite of repeated representations of the condition of the regiment, made by its medical officers to General Butler, he retained it at Camp Williams through September. On the 30th it was ordered to Camp Kearney, a short distance below Carrollton, where the conditions were more favorable. After a month's sojourn there, during which the health of the men improved somewhat, the regiment moved to New Orleans and was quartered for a few days at the Jackson Cotton Press in the lower part of the city. On the 13th, under command of Major Porter—Colonel Holbrook and Lieut. Colonel Peck being sick with fever[1]— it embarked on the steamer Nassau for Pensacola, Fla. The Nassau was a large tugboat and for lack of room most of the men were confined to the upper deck. They encountered wet weather, were drenched to the skin during most of the voyage, and glad when it ended. When off the entrance to Mobile bay, in the middle of the night, the Nassau was brought to by a round shot across her bows from a Union gunboat and discovered that she was inside of the Federal blockading squadron and heading toward Fort Morgan, then in the hands of the enemy. It was suspected that the captain intended to run his boat under the guns of the fort. He, however, protested his innocence, claiming that in the darkness he had mistaken his course. This was possible, as at that time there were no lights anywhere on the Southern coast. Under a warning from Major Porter that his life would pay the penalty of any treachery, the Nassau proceeded to her destination, where the men were safely landed in the morning of

[1] Colonel Holbrook soon rejoined his command. During his illness he was nursed at the "Hotel Dieu," by the Sisters of Mercy, to whose kindness and attention to Northerners and Southerners alike, in sickness and need, many soldiers testify.

November 14th. Here, in a purer air and amid healthful and invigorating surroundings, where fruits and vegetables were procurable and fish and game abundant, the health of the regiment rapidly improved, though the death-rate continued high, from the yielding of the men to chronic diarrhœa, fevers and pneumonia contracted in Louisiana.

At Pensacola, Major Porter reported to General Neal Dow, who commanded the garrison. This now consisted of the Fifteenth Maine, Seventh Vermont, Twenty-third Connecticut and two companies of regular artillery, in all about 2,000 men. The men of the Seventh were set to work in the construction of a stockade and other defences against a possible surprise, though the need of fortifying was not apparent, the ground being fully commanded by the Union artillery and the guns of the fleet. On the 29th of December the regiment took part in a reconnoissance under General Dow, to Oakfield, a small settlement about five miles outside the lines. No enemy was found and the troops returned without important incident.

Here at Pensacola the first year of service of the regiment closed, with a sad record of mortality. The number of deaths during 1862, as will be seen from the tabular statement hereafter given, exceeded 300—more than twice and a half as many as in all the other years of the service of the Seventh. The number of men discharged for disability in 1862, was also greater than in any other year except 1863; and most of the discharges in 1863 were occasioned by disabilities from disease incurred before the removal of the regiment to Florida.

Numerous changes of line officers had taken place during the year 1862. In company A Lieutenant D. A. Smalley of company B was appointed captain upon the promotion of Captain Peck; Lieutenant W L. Harris resigned and Sergeant R. B. Stearns was commissioned as first lieutenant; Second Lieutenant H. B. Fish resigned and Sergeant C. W

Carpenter was appointed second lieutenant. In company B Second Lieutenant J. V Parker was promoted to be first lieutenant and Sergeant George Ross appointed second lieutenant. In company C Lieutenant E. V N. Hitchcock was made captain vice Porter promoted; Second Lieutenant J. Q. Dickinson was promoted first lieutenant and Sergeant H. Hanchet appointed second lieutenant; First Lieutenant Thrall of company D resigned and Sergeant George E. Croff was commissioned as second lieutenant; Captain D. Landon of company E resigned and Adjutant C. E. Parker succeeded him as captain; Second Lieutenant George Brown was promoted to first lieutenant, vice Lieutenant G. W Sheldon appointed adjutant. In company F First Lieutenant E. N. Bullard was promoted captain after Captain Brooks was killed; Second Lieutenant R. C. Gates was promoted to be first lieutenant and Sergeant H. G. Stearns was appointed second lieutenant. In company G First Lieutenant G. M. R. Howard resigned and Second Lieutenant L. P Bingham was promoted first lieutenant and Sergeant F. H. Finney commissioned as second lieutenant; Lieutenant Charles Clark was promoted captain of company I upon the death of Captain Ruggles; Second Lieutenant A. E. Woodman was promoted to first lieutenant and Sergeant R. M. Green was appointed second lieutenant.

The morning report of January 1st, 1863, showed an aggregate of 620—a reduction of 38 per cent—with 216 on the sick list and 401 reported for duty

On the 20th of January, Lieutenant Henry H. French of company H, died of fever, brought on by exposure in the Vicksburg campaign.[1] About this time, General Banks having succeeded General Butler in the command of the Department of the Gulf, Major Porter was detailed on staff

[1] Lieutenant French was scarcely 21 years of age. He was a promising young officer and apparently had a bright and useful career before him. His remains were sent to his home in Woodstock for interment.

duty as assistant provost marshal in New Orleans. At Pensacola General Dow maintained his vigilance and during the month of January and the early part of February frequent scouting parties were sent out, and by way of practice the long roll was frequently sounded at night and the men posted behind the stockade or along the line of defences. The general's precautions were considered excessive by his troops. Early in January General Dow was ordered to New Orleans. Before leaving he reviewed the troops and bade them an affectionate farewell, with the injunction: "Never allow yourselves to be surprised;"—an admonition which had especial force for them after the subsequent surprise and capture of General Dow.

On the 17th of February, B and G companies, under Captain Dutton, went with other troops on a scouting expedition toward Oakfield, were attacked by a body of cavalry and quite a brisk skirmish ensued, which became a running fight until Oakfield was reached, when the enemy retired.

About the middle of February most of the infantry were withdrawn to Forts Barrancas and Pickens, where a smaller force could better guard the harbor and navy yard, which last, although nearly destroyed by the enemy early in the war, was now the headquarters of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron and an important station for coaling and repairing vessels, and an extensive depot of naval stores. The entrance to the harbor was commanded by Fort Pickens, situated on the westerly extremity of Santa Rosa Island. On the 20th of February the regiment was ordered to this island and went into camp outside of the fort. About this time Assistant Surgeon Langdon resigned in impaired health and was succeeded by Dr. Charles H. Tenney of Hardwick.

On the 22d of March, Pensacola was wholly abandoned; and on the 28th of March companies A, D and G were detailed for duty as artillerists in Fort Pickens, taking the place of the regulars of the First and Second Artillery, by

whom the fort had been garrisoned up to that time, they having been ordered to New Orleans. While on Santa Rosa Island nothing of note occurred, the only encounters being with the fleas and copperhead snakes.

On the 19th of June Colonel Holbrook was placed in command of the troops in the Department of West Florida and removed the regiment, except the companies on duty at Fort Pickens, to Barrancas, on the main land, where a pleasant camp was formed, called Camp Roberts, in memory of their late lamented colonel. Colonel Holbrook's command at first consisted only of the Seventh regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Peck, and two companies of the Second United States Artillery but soon afterward it was reinforced by some colored troops and a company of the Fourteenth New York Cavalry. Companies C and I of the Seventh regiment were detailed to garrison Barrancas redoubt, situated a short distance from Fort Barrancas. The remaining companies, when not on picket duty, were employed in infantry drill and artillery practice upon the guns of the batteries erected at different points. With so many of the companies detached, and with an extended picket line to guard, the labors of the command were arduous. The same men were on picket every other day and in the interim were frequently compelled to work on the fortifications. The enemy were quite active in front and in order to follow their movements scouting parties were frequently sent out. These labors were considerably lightened when, early in September, the command was reinforced by the Eighty-sixth regiment, United States Colored Troops, Colonel Plumley.

On the 6th of September a reconnoitring party of the Seventh regiment, under Captain Young and Lieutenant Parker, captured a squad of eight Confederate troopers at Pensacola. Some of the enemy had been in the habit of coming in small squads into Pensacola, where they were hospitably entertained by the Spanish consul, one

Morino. On the evacuation of Pensacola, Morino retained his residence there; and was thus in a position to gain important information concerning the plans of the Union forces, which he communicated to the enemy. Colonel Holbrook resolved to put a stop to this. Captain Young was accordingly sent one day to attempt to capture one of these junketing parties. On reaching the outskirts of Pensacola he concealed his command in the woods until after nightfall, when he occupied one of the redoubts thrown up by General Dow, from which he was able to observe unseen the approaches to the town. The next morning a party of two officers and six men were seen to ride to Morino's, where they dismounted and entered the house. Young thereupon surrounded the house, captured the party, and took them to Barrancas, in spite of the protest of the consul, who subsequently demanded their return, upon the ground that their capture was an infraction of the law of nations and an insult to Spain, under whose flag they were harbored at the time of their capture; further stating that he had laid the matter before the Spanish ambassador at Washington. General Maury, commander of the Confederate forces at Mobile, also demanded a return of the prisoners, on the same ground. Colonel Holbrook, however, refused to give up the prisoners and informed Morino and General Maury that a consular agent, accredited to the United States government, who remained within the lines of its enemies, could not be allowed to give protection to such enemies. The proceeding had a good effect and open communication between Morino and the enemy ceased. The affair, however, exasperated General Maury and he notified Colonel Holbrook that he would yet capture twice as many Union soldiers as the number taken by Captain Young, and that if any negro troops should fall into his hands he would "flay them alive." In execution of his threats, he commenced a series of night attacks upon the Federal outposts which made extreme vigilance necessary.

Among the incidents of this period was the premature discharge of a howitzer, in artillery practice, by which three men were injured, one of them, Robert Ripley, of company I, fatally. James B. Royce of the same company, was blown into the air and picked up for dead; but he revived, to the surprise of every one, and recovered, with the loss of an arm.

During September, October and November yellow fever raged at the Navy Yard and at Warrenton and Wolsey, two or three miles away; but owing to the precautions taken by the surgeons and Colonel Holbrook, only a dozen cases occurred in the latter's command. Two of these proved fatal. Lieutenant Rollin M. Green of company H, died November 17th, after a three days' illness, in the regimental hospital at Barrancas, where he received all possible care from Surgeon Blanchard and his wife, who fearlessly attended him. He was buried at midnight, by a few of his brother officers, in the Marine Cemetery.[1] Corporal L. O. Wilkins of company B, died November 5th, in a vacant house outside the lines, in which Surgeon Blanchard had established a pest hospital.

During the prevalence of the epidemic Colonel Holbrook and his men were practically shut off from all communication with the outside world. No vessels were allowed to enter the port, and no regular mails or supplies were received. The soldiers could not fraternize with their naval friends, and the time dragged heavily for the sequestered troops.

On the 7th of November Colonel Holbrook was relieved of the command of the troops in West Florida by Brig. General Asboth,[2] and was assigned to the command of

[1] Lieutenant Green was a courageous and efficient officer. No man held the honor of the regiment in higher esteem or was more ready to vindicate it when assailed. He rose from the ranks and won his promotions by meritorious conduct.

[2] General Alexander Asboth was a Hungarian, who came to America with Kossuth. He was a brave man, reckless of the expenditure of human life and especially fond of dogs and horses, of which he kept half a dozen or more of each, at Barrancas.

the First brigade, consisting of two colored regiments and the main body of the Seventh. It was then supposed that a considerable body of troops would soon rendezvous at Barrancas and Pensacola, to co-operate with Admiral Farragut in the meditated attack upon Mobile, and the members of the regiment began to hope for more active service. Their anticipations, however, were not realized.

During the autumn large numbers of refugees had come into the Union lines to escape the conscription which was forcing every man who could shoulder a musket into the Confederate service. General Asboth directed Adjutant Sheldon of the Seventh, who had served in the United States artillery, to recruit and drill a light battery from their number, and also attempted to organize a cavalry regiment; but the deserters and refugees were found to be too untrustworthy, and the effort was abandoned.

During the year 1863 the regiment lost 133 men, 27 of them by death, and on the 1st of January, 1864, had an aggregate of 484 officers and men, of whom 455 were for duty and but 14 on the sick list.

During the year Captains Cronan, company B; Kilburn, company D; Parker, company E, and Clark of company I, resigned, and were succeeded respectively by Lieutenants J. V Parker, Geo. E. Croff, John L. Moseley and A. E. Woodman. Second Lieutenants Geo. Ross, Chas. H. Sheldon and Allen Spaulding were made first lieutenants, and Quartermaster Sergeant Samuel Buel was appointed second lieutenant vice Croff promoted. First Lieutenant R. C. Gates, company F, resigned and was succeeded by Second Lieutenant Henry Stowell. Second Lieutenant Henry Hanchet, company C, resigned and was succeeded by Sergeant I. N. Collins, who also resigned during the year. Second Lieutenant Frank N. Finney was promoted to be first lieutenant, company D; Sergeant M. L. Gilbert was commissioned as second lieutenant, company G; Second Lieutenant Geo. L. Kelley, company

H, resigned, and Sergeant E. R. Paine was appointed second lieutenant of company H.

Occasional brushes with the Confederate cavalry diversified the monotony of camp life. On the 25th of January, a skirmish took place at Jackson's Bridge, on the road to Pensacola, between a mounted party consisting of Colonel Holbrook, Captain Young and Lieutenant Brown, of the Seventh, and twenty of the Fourteenth New York Cavalry, and a party of Confederate cavalry. Holbrook's party charged upon the latter, pursued them for a mile and captured a lieutenant and nine men. One of the New York cavalry-men was slightly wounded and two of the enemy were wounded.

On the 27th of January, Lieutenant George Ross of company B, and Lieutenant Galloway of the First Florida (loyal) Cavalry, with a detail of seventeen men from company B, were sent by General Asboth to Point Washington, at the head of Choctawhatchie Bay, to protect and forward refugees wishing to enlist in the Union army. From Point Washington they advanced about twenty-five miles inland, where they surprised a force which had been stationed there to prevent the escape of refugees and deserters to the Union lines, capturing three officers and forty privates. While trying to bring in the prisoners and plunder they were overtaken by a superior force of the enemy's cavalry, and Ross and Galloway were captured with eleven of the men of the Seventh.[1] The remainder made their escape and reached the Union lines. Lieutenant Ross remained a prisoner of war for thirteen months in the enemy's hands.

On the 13th of February, Lieutenant Frank N. Finney,

[1] Among the men so captured were Sergeant James McGary, E. C. Barnard, Ambro Bolio, John Burns, Harrison Combs, Edward Phalon, H. W. Stocker, Stephen P Trumbull and W Wilkins, all of company B. Of these Bolio, Burns and Stocker died in the Andersonville prison pen, in October and November following, and Combs and Trumbull are believed to have died in the enemy's hands, at dates not recorded.

of company D, returned from Vermont with 110 recruits, who were heartily welcomed by the regiment.

During the same month 335 enlisted men, being all but 59 of the surviving original members of the regiment, re-enlisted for three years, and from that time the regiment was known as the Seventh Regiment Vermont Veteran Volunteers. The re-enlisted men were entitled to return to Vermont early in April for a furlough of thirty days. But, owing to a series of vexatious delays, they were detained in Florida for several months. Shortly before this, the question of the date of expiration of the original term of enlistment, which had been much discussed by the Vermont troops in the Department of the Gulf, was decided by the authorities at Washington. In the case of the other Vermont regiments the only question raised was whether the soldier's term began when he enlisted, or when he was mustered into the United States service—in most cases a matter of a few days or weeks. But in the case of the Seventh and Eighth regiments, and of the First and Second Batteries recruited with them, the question was one of half a year's time. The acts of the Vermont Legislature, under which they were recruited, authorized the raising of these regiments and batteries "to serve for three years from the 1st of June, 1861." The contract in the enlistment papers corresponded with the acts, and only bound the soldier to serve for three years from that date. In the case of the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth regiments, the limitation in similar contracts was disregarded by the War Department and the men were held for three years from the date of their muster in. To the Vermont troops in General Butler's division, for some reason, a different rule was applied. In their case the claim of the men that their term expired June 1st, 1864, was held by the War Department to be good; and those who did not re-enlist were mustered out as soon after that date as arrangements for their transportation home could be made.

On the 18th of May, company G was detailed to relieve Captain Larned's company of the Second United States Artillery at Fort Barrancas, and company K relieved Major Allen's regulars at Fort Pickens, leaving but four companies of the Seventh at Camp Roberts. About this time it was rumored that a combined attack was to be made upon the Navy Yard by a land force under Maury and by the formidable ram Tennessee, then lying in Mobile Bay. In anticipation of such an attack, a water battery, mounted with 11-inch and 15-inch guns, was constructed by companies D, F and K, on the west end of Santa Rosa Island, commanding the channel; while on the Barrancas side of the channel additional defences were made to meet any attack from that direction. Every few nights there was picket firing, and the men were frequently under arms all night. In the meantime Farragut was making preparations for the attack upon Forts Morgan and Gaines, at the entrance to Mobile Bay. The enemy on their part were strengthening their position. As they received most of their reinforcements and supplies by the railroad from Montgomery, General Asboth organized an expedition to cut this line of communication. The force consisted of four companies of the Seventh regiment (A, B, E and H), Schmidt's New York Cavalry, a battalion of the First Florida Cavalry, the Eighty-sixth regiment United States Colored Troops, and two mountain howitzers under command of Adjutant Sheldon of the Seventh, the guns being drawn by mules, for want of horses.

GONZALES STATION.

On the afternoon of July 21st the expedition left Barrancas with Schmidt's cavalry in advance, followed by the four companies of the Seventh and Sheldon's guns, the other troops bringing up the rear. Information was received that a considerable force of the enemy was intrenched

at Gonzales Station, fifteen miles from Pensacola. General Asboth planned to reach that point early in the morning in order to surprise the enemy. The outposts were reached a little before daylight, and a lively skirmish ensued. A part of the Seventh under Colonel Holbrook was deployed to the right of the line and pushed forward to a clearing in front of a square redoubt built of logs and earth. The howitzers were brought up and after half a dozen rounds of spherical case had been thrown into the redoubt, Captains Smalley and Moseley gallantly led an assault across the clearing, and were over the works and among the enemy before they could do more than discharge a couple of volleys. Several of the Confederates were captured. The rest beat a headlong retreat to the woods in their rear, pursued some distance by the Union cavalry, and leaving behind them, in their haste, a breakfast of corn-dodgers and bacon for their foes. None of the Vermonters were hurt, though they were under fire for more than an hour. They received much praise from General Asboth for their steadiness and intrepidity. After a rest of several hours the march was resumed. Some ten miles had been made, when General Asboth was informed by a deserter from the enemy that General Maury, with a force of 4,000 men, was marching to cut off his retreat, and that he was then only five or six miles distant. This intelligence was received about dark. After a hasty consultation General Asboth decided to turn back. The troops faced about and marched all night toward Barrancas. A hard rain storm set in, which somewhat impeded their progress, but saved them from capture. Maury was nearer than was reported; but owing to the heavy rain, which obliterated all traces of the march, it was not until the following forenoon that he became aware of the retreat. It was then too late to overtake Asboth's force. The troops reached camp, with their prisoners, on the morning of the 24th, pretty well jaded, having marched over fifty miles in the three days.

On the 5th of August the roar of the battle of Mobile Bay, thirty miles away, was distinctly heard at Camp Roberts. After the surrender of Fort Gaines, on the 7th of August, General Granger transferred his force to Mobile Point and invested Fort Morgan; and the Seventh was expecting orders to join him, when the steamer Hudson arrived to convey the men north on their long-looked-for furlough.

VETERAN FURLOUGH.

On the 10th of August the men whose original term had expired, about 400 in number, departed from Barrancas and Fort Pickens, and turned their faces homeward. Just before their departure, the following order was issued by General Asboth:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST FLORIDA,
BARRANCAS, FLA., Aug. 9th, 1864.

Special Order, No. 184.

The Seventh Vermont Veteran Volunteers being about to leave this district, the general commanding considers it his pleasant duty to express his full appreciation of the good order and discipline always maintained, and the efficient service constantly rendered by them, not only as infantry at their several posts and in the field, but also most conspicuously as artillerists at the important forts of Pickens and Barrancas. The departure of this veteran regiment becomes thus a severe loss to this command, and the best wishes and warmest thanks of the general commanding follow their gallant commander, Colonel W. C. Holbrook, and all the brave officers and men to their homes and wherever duty calls them. May we meet again in better days for our beloved and common country, the great Republic of the World. (Signed) ASBOTH,
Brig.-Gen. Commanding.

The Hudson was ten days in reaching Fortress Monroe, where she was obliged to stop for coal, and where she was boarded by an officer of the Health Department, who, on learning that the regiment had come from the port of Pensacola, ordered the steamer to the quarantine station, some miles distant, to remain for thirty days. In vain did the officers protest that there was no infectious sickness among the men; that the steamer had simply touched there to get a few tons of coal; and that to detain a regiment of men

aboard ship so long would surely bring on sickness in some form. The doctor was deaf to all reason, and insisted that the steamer should proceed at once to quarantine, unless a contrary order should be obtained from the post commander. Colonel Holbrook immediately made application to the commander of the post, for leave to go to sea forthwith. He received a reply that his application would be forwarded to Washington for the action of the authorities there, but that in the meantime the directions of the Health Officer must be complied with. The officers, however, determined to sail for New York that night, and as soon as enough coal had been taken aboard, the captain of the Hudson was instructed to drop down to quarantine and there come to anchor, banking his fires. Colonel Holbrook, in order that he might not be guilty of direct disobedience of orders which had been given to him personally, took advantage of an indisposition from which he had been suffering for some days, to go upon the sick list, and Lieut. Colonel Peck assumed command. As soon as it became dark, Colonel Peck directed the captain to proceed on his voyage, and the Hudson was soon out of Hampton Roads and on her course to New York, where she safely arrived three or four days later. An amusing letter, written by Colonel Plumley, who accompanied the regiment from Pensacola, appeared a few days later in one of the New York papers, in which the departure of the steamer from quarantine was accounted for by the explanation that she, through no fault of any one, dragged her anchor all the way from Fortress Monroe to New York! Three weeks after his request was made, Colonel Holbrook received, at Brattleboro, formal permission for the Hudson to complete her voyage.

The regiment arrived August 26th, at Brattleboro, where it was most handsomely received by Governor Smith and the citizens of the town, who had provided a fine collation. The next day the veterans received their thirty days'

furlough, and those who had not re-enlisted were mustered out of the service. The number so mustered out comprised two officers, Captain D. P Barber, company K, and Lieutenant S. Buel, company D, and 57 men. The return to kindred and friends was very delightful, after the trying experience of two years and a half of exile. But the thought of missing comrades mingled sadness with the joy. Three hundred and fifty members of the regiment lay buried on the banks of the Mississippi and in Florida; and more than two hundred victims of the malaria of Southern swamps had been discharged in shattered health. The men now returning were thus less than half of those who went out together in the spring of 1862.

On the 13th of September, Lieutenant John Q. Dickinson was appointed regimental quartermaster, in place of R. Q. M. Jones, who had been promoted to be captain and commissary of subsistence. He had for some time served the regiment in that capacity, and continued to discharge the duties of the office with fidelity and ability.[1]

While the regiment was on furlough the State officials planned to present it a new stand of colors; and Colonel Holbrook was invited by the governor to name a day for the presentation. The colonel respectfully declined the honor. They were attached, he said, to the old colors, and did not care to exchange them for new ones; and the old colors were borne by the regiment till it was finally disbanded.

[1] Lieutenant Dickinson was subsequently made captain of company F, and was honorably discharged for disability October 10th, 1865. Upon leaving the service he engaged in the lumber business in Florida. He was warned to leave the State, by the Ku Klux organization; but remained. One evening he was called from his house by a messenger who said he was wanted at his office. Next morning his dead body was found in the street riddled with bullets. He was a gentleman of education and ability, of amiable character, and many estimable qualities. He fell a victim to sectional hatred and political conspiracy.

RETURN TO THE FIELD.

On the 27th of September the regiment reassembled at Brattleboro, and on the 30th again left Vermont for the Department of the Gulf. Arriving in New York October 1st, it embarked, on the 4th, on the steamer Cassandra, for New Orleans, where it arrived on the 13th, and was quartered in a cotton press on Annunciation Square. Here intelligence was received of the death of Captain Young, who had been left at Barrancas in charge of the recruits. He had accompanied General Asboth, as a member of his staff, on an expedition to break up and capture a considerable Confederate force established at Marianna, Fla. The Confederates barricaded the streets, and made a desperate defence. The first attack, made by the First Florida Cavalry and some colored troops, was repulsed. Captain Young assisted in rallying the troops and led a second assault in which he fell dead with a charge of buckshot through his body, close to the barricade.[1] General Asboth was wounded and lost a number of his men; but the place was carried; a church in which the Confederates took refuge was burned, and a number of prisoners were captured.

While stationed at Annunciation Square, the regiment was principally employed in guard duty. The men were drilled in street manœuvres and firing and a number of the officers were detailed for duty on military commissions and courts martial. At this time the Department of the Gulf formed a part of the Military Division of West Mississippi, commanded by Major General E. R. S. Canby, under

[1] Captain Young was a native of Royalton. At the outbreak of the war and at the age of 19, he enlisted, from Hartford, as a member of company B of the First regiment and served with credit through its term of service. He then recruited a company for the Seventh at Woodstock, and was made its first captain. He was a brave, competent and faithful officer, and was sincerely mourned by his comrades of the Seventh. His body was buried at Marianna.

whom the Seventh participated in the campaign which resulted in the capture of the city of Mobile and led to the surrender of General Richard Taylor's army, the third in size in the Confederacy.

On the 22d of December seven men of the Seventh[1] were lost with the steamship North America, which foundered at sea in a gale, off Cape Hatteras, on her way from New Orleans to New York with over two hundred sick and disabled soldiers on board, most of whom went down with the steamer.

On the 1st of January, 1865, the regiment numbered 631 officers and men, with 487 for duty and 105 sick. No changes of field officers had taken place during the year. Lieutenant R. B. Stearns was acting adjutant, during most of the year, in the absence of Adjutant Sheldon, who had leave of absence to recruit a Union battery of native Floridians. In the line, Captain E. V N. Hitchcock had resigned and been succeeded by Lieutenant H. Stowell as captain of company C. Lieutenant Dickinson of that company had been promoted quartermaster and Sergeant Charles B. McCormic was commissioned as first lieutenant. Commissary Sergeant Geo. E. Cramer had been appointed first lieutenant of company F, vice Stowell, promoted; Sergeant Fernando Randall had been appointed first lieutenant of company H, vice Lieutenant E. R. Paine, resigned; Lieutenant R. B. Stearns had been promoted captain of company K, vice Barber, mustered out; and Quartermaster Sergeant John A. Prindle had been appointed first lieutenant of that company vice Lieutenant Spaulding, resigned.

The winter passed uneventfully in New Orleans. General Canby was in command of the Department of the Gulf. General Dick Taylor had succeeded the unlucky Hood in

[1] James Brown, company A; J. L. Ridgell, company F; Jason Ellis, H. W. Holden and L. B. Paine, company G; A. J. Tilton, company H; and C. E. Dushon, company K.

command of the Confederate Department of the South, east of the Mississippi; Sherman had marched through Georgia to the sea; and after the fall of Savannah, Charleston and Wilmington, Mobile was the only important seaboard city left to the Confederates. Farragut's capture of the forts at the mouth of Mobile Bay had closed the port, but General Dabney H. Maury with a garrison of 15,000 men still held Mobile, thirty miles above the forts. This, according to General Joseph E. Johnston, was the best fortified city in the Confederacy. It was surrounded by three lines of earthworks, defended by fifty-eight forts, having deep ditches through which the tide water flowed. The strongest of these fortifications, Spanish Fort, so-called because it was on the site of an old Spanish fortification, was on the east side of the bay, with outworks extending for nearly two miles along the bluff, which rose 180 feet above the water. It was garrisoned by General R. L. Gibson with 2,500 men. General Canby was gathering, for the capture of Mobile, an army of about 45,000 men, comprising the Thirteenth Corps, under General Gordon Granger, and the Sixteenth Corps under General A. J. Smith. In this final campaign in the Gulf Department the Seventh Vermont had an honorable part.

THE MOBILE CAMPAIGN.

On the 19th of February the regiment received orders to embark on the steamer Clinton and report to General Granger at Mobile Point. Arriving there on the 21st, it was assigned to the Second brigade, Colonel Day, of General Benton's division of the Thirteenth Corps. The other regiments of the brigade were the Ninety-first Illinois, Twenty-ninth Iowa and Fiftieth Indiana. Mobile Point, at the entrance to Mobile Bay, is a long, low peninsula of white sand. Here the regiment was stationed for three weeks. In view of active operations, the baggage of the troops was reduced

to the smallest possible compass, by General Canby's orders. Clothing was limited to one suit, a change of under-garments and an extra pair of shoes; coats were not allowed when blouses could be supplied; camp equipage was reduced to the lowest possible limit, and only shelter tents were issued; sutlers were excluded; rations were confined to army bread and salt meat, and the troops were to keep on hand three days' cooked rations. Camping out under shelter tents on barren sand, during the storms of February and March, was not pleasant, and none were sorry when the orders came to march. General Canby's first movement was against Spanish Fort, and was made by Benton's division. Marching with the division, the Seventh Vermont broke camp early in the morning of March 17th, marched nine miles along the peninsula that day, and camped at night in an open pine forest. On the 18th the division marched thirteen miles along a natural shell bank and camped at 3 P. M. on Bayou Portage. On the 19th a rain storm disclosed the unreliable and swampy character of the ground, the surface, when wet, proving to be a mere crust, covering a bottomless quicksand. The head of the column, passing round Bonsecours Bay, moved only a few miles that day and the rear guard got only a mile and a half. Large details were set at work corduroying the roads. On the 20th, starting at 9 A. M., they moved slowly, the rain falling in torrents and the corduroy all afloat, and made but four miles before night. On the morning of the 21st the rain was still pouring. Benton's division moved on, but the train could not even get out of park. Every team was mired. Words can give but a faint idea of the toil and difficulties of this march. Officers and men were kept constantly at work with axe or spade. Teams and artillery had to be dragged out of the mire by ropes and were with difficulty kept from sinking at every halt. The Confederate cavalry hung about and occasionally annoyed the advance guards. Only about two miles were made

on the 21st. On the 22d the division camped near Fish River, and on the 23d moved over a fair road six miles, to the north fork of the river, which was crossed on a ponton bridge, and went into camp on the right of the Sixteenth Corps, which had moved across the bay on transports. That night the bands played: "Oh, aren't you glad you're out of the Wilderness?" with especial zest.

On the 25th of March, General Canby marched twelve miles, with both corps and some of the heavy artillery. The next day he moved cautiously to within three miles of Spanish Fort, where the troops bivouacked for the night. On the morning of the 27th the lines were formed for the assault, the Sixteenth Corps being on the right and Benton's division of the Thirteenth Corps in the centre. After advancing about a mile in line of battle, sharp fighting commenced between the Union and Confederate skirmishers and the latter were pushed back to within a short distance of their works. The Second Brigade, including the Seventh Vermont, halted within 600 yards of the earthworks and midway between Spanish Fort and the work known as Red Fort. The men lay down under a heavy fire from the guns of Red Fort, which raked the approach through a ravine, and of musketry, and lay all day expecting an order to assault the works. But the Union generals, on inspection of the works in front, found little encouragement for an attempt to carry them by storm. They were in fact well nigh impregnable by direct assault. The attacking lines would have had first to pass through a slashing of felled timber; then to carry a line of rifle-pits; then to assault breastworks strengthened by redoubts heavily armed; and then to attack and carry a large bastioned fort, crowning the top of the bluff, mounted with 7-inch Columbiads and 30-pound Parrot guns. General Canby accordingly changed his plan, and adopted slower and surer methods. His front lines sought such cover as they could, without entrenching—the

enemy's fire being too heavy and continuous to permit of that—and kept their places. During the day company G of the Seventh, under Captain Dutton, was on duty on the skirmish line. It was relieved at nightfall by company D, Captain Croff. The latter advanced his line during the night to within a few paces of the opposing rifle-pits, and kept it there till after daylight next morning, when the enemy opened on him with canister from two field-pieces and he withdrew his skirmishers a short distance to some ground where they found shelter behind logs and stumps and harrassed the Confederate gunners by sharp-shooting. As soon as it became dark the troops were set at work throwing up intrenchments, and by morning they had constructed a line of earthworks long enough to cover the front of two regiments. Soon after daylight the Seventh was relieved by the Ninety-first Illinois, and withdrawn two or three hundred yards to the rear. Here they soon found themselves under a vigorous artillery fire, and a solid shot killed an orderly, who had just delivered to Colonel Holbrook an order from brigade headquarters. The regiment moved to the left, out of range, but was again shelled out, and was obliged to move farther to the rear.

In the morning of the 28th Captain Croff was relieved on the skirmish line, by companies H and I under Captain E. Woodman. Both companies were under fire all day, and were relieved at night by companies F and C, Captains Ballard and Stowell. They advanced, in a general advance of the skirmish lines during the night, and with a few spades and with bayonets and cups threw up dirt enough to protect themselves. When daylight came they found that the skirmish line of the Sixteenth Corps, which should have connected with them on the left, was some fifty yards farther back, and they were for a time as much exposed by the fire from the rear as from the front. The skirmishers expended nearly eighty rounds of ammunition apiece this day. Cap-

tain Croff was detailed as field-officer of the day, in place of another officer who had been wounded, and company B, Captain Parker relieved the companies in front in the course of the night.

For several days and nights the men were thus in the trenches, sleeping in the mud and almost constantly exposed to artillery and musketry fire. Few casualties, however, occurred, with the exception of an unfortunate affair on the 31st, which resulted in the capture by the enemy of Captain Stearns and twenty men of company K, who in the evening of the 30th had relieved company K on the skirmish line. The affair is thus described by General C. C. Andrews, in his History of the Campaign against Mobile:

There was but little firing during the night, and Captain Stearns advanced his line about twenty-five yards and dug new pits—though the detail had but one spade—which brought him in advance of the brigade line of skirmishers. He was within 150 yards of the works of the garrison, and the musketry fire of his men was exceedingly troublesome to their gunners. Soon after noon a shot from that vicinity had instantly killed Colonel Wm. E. Burnett of Texas, Confederate chief of artillery and a valuable officer. He had for a moment taken a rifle in his hand, and was in the act of aiming it from behind the breastworks through a wooden embrasure. Captain Barnes, in Battery McDermett, had been giving considerable attention to these skirmishers, and they were also subject to a fire from Red Fort. Beginning early in the morning, Barnes shelled the line with a 6-pound and a 24-pound howitzer for three or four hours, and made some of the men on Stearns's left fall back into the ravine. There was now a lull, and the skirmishers popped out their heads and did some firing themselves, for they were fair marksmen, and had plenty of pluck. Barnes then brought out two 6-pounders from McDermett, placed them on the hilltop, and again fiercely shelled Captain Stearns's position. * * * Arrangements were made in the garrison for a sortie. Captain Clement S. Watson, of General Gibson's staff, volunteered to lead it. The rest of the party was to consist of Lieutenant A. C. Newton, company E, Fourth Louisiana Battalion, and thirty men, fifteen of whom were picked. At two o'clock in the afternoon preparatory to

the sortie the garrison caused the slashing and brush on the right of Captain Stearns to be fired, and the smoke blew over and in front of him. * * * It was now sunset. The cannonading ceased. The same instant Captain Watson and party were over the garrison works, and concealed by the smoke, vigorously rushed upon their expected prisoners. * * * Captain Stearns and twenty of his men were captured. Without parley and without delay their captors received their arms and hurried them away into the garrison, none of the sortie party stopping to occupy the pits. The prisoners were rapidly taken a roundabout way to a position near the water, which appeared to be sheltered from the fire of the besiegers by artificial ravines. But no curiosity now inspired them to notice the interior of the garrison. The prospect before them was dreary.

Captain Stearns was soon notified that he was to have an interview with the general commanding the garrison, and was accordingly conducted down into a ravine, some sixty or seventy feet deep, and about thirty yards wide at the opening. The ravine was triangular with its base facing north. In the apex were two wall tents, into one of which he was taken and introduced to General Gibson. There were present Captain Watson and the lieutenant who accompanied him. The general invited Captain Stearns to partake of his supper, a frugal repast consisting of cold fowl and cold water, with tin table furniture. This invitation was accepted. It was a compliment which would have been paid only to a gallant officer. The garrison had the best opportunity to judge of the courage and fortitude of their prisoners, and the general was generous in acknowledging the tenacity and courage with which, under a most severe fire, they held to their position; and the intelligence and address of both the captors and prisoners seems to have excited mutual respect.

Captain Stearns's report of the transaction corresponds closely with the above. He says:

Soon after daylight on the 31st the enemy opened on me with shell from a gun on one of the inland faces of the fort on our extreme left, and I soon found that they had got our range admirably. I had, during the night, constructed rude bomb-proofs, and during the shelling ordered my men into them. The shelling soon stopped, and all was quiet on the line until about 12 M., when the same gun again opened fire. The shelling was now so terrific that I determined to fall back a short distance as soon as it became dark, and

dispatched Corporal Crothers to regimental headquarters for instructions. I sent word by him that I expected to be assaulted before dark, and requested that the gun which was annoying me be silenced, or that the enemy's lines in my front be shelled, and I would fall back under the fire. At about four o'clock P. M. the enemy fired the slash of trees, etc., covering the ground on the right of me, and I gave the order to my men to fall back singly, as I foresaw that we would be smoked or burnt out, for there were several trees felled close to my position. As soon as the first man left I countermanded the order, for hundreds of bullets were sent after him. I think, however, that he was uninjured. During the shelling many of my men, and others on the left, had left their rifle pits and fallen back. In doing this one of my men (Private Storrs) was wounded. Just before sunset the fire had extended around my rear and on my left, making so dense a smoke that our lines could not be seen. At this time the shelling was resumed, and in less than ten minutes fifteen shells were exploded inside and directly over the pit in which myself and ten men were stationed. I had my men cover themselves as best they could, and ordered bayonets to be fixed in anticipation of a charge being made.

At sunset the shelling suddenly ceased, and the charge was made in which myself and twenty of my men were captured. The assaulting party was composed of Captain Wilcox [should be Watson], of General Gibson's staff, a lieutenant and thirty men, fifteen of whom were picked from the entire garrison. The remainder were volunteers. The charge was so sudden and vigorous that we could offer but little resistance. I gave the command to fire, which was obeyed by the majority of my men, but the next instant every man had at least one musket at his head, with a summons to surrender. I found two muskets and a revolver pointed at me, with a request to come out of the pit. I accepted the alternative thus offered, and in a short time found myself before General Gibson, C. S. A., who paid a very high tribute to the men of my command. He said he had never seen troops stand shelling as we had that day. General Gibson informed me that no other part of the line would be molested; that mine was particularly obnoxious to them, as that forenoon we had killed his chief of artillery, Colonel Burnett, and wounded several others.

Colonel Holbrook says: "After the capture of Spanish Fort I went to the pit occupied by Captain Stearns, with sev-

eral officers of our own and other regiments, and it was the opinion of all that none but a hero could have held out as he did." In his official report, Colonel Holbrook says: "I regard the affair as one of the most brilliant of the siege, and Captain Stearns and his men deserve the commendation of every true and brave soldier."

On the 6th of April the regiment was detailed, with the Twenty-ninth Iowa, to assist Bertram's brigade, which held the extreme left of the Union line, in running saps and advancing the approaches to Old Spanish Fort, (otherwise called Battery No. 1), and to Fort McDermett (Battery No. 2), which were the most heavily armed of all the enemy's works, and the most important, because they commanded the channel. The Union gunboats assisted the besiegers in the operations against these forts. Heavy ordnance was concentrated on both sides, and the difference between the explosion of a 10-inch shell and one discharged from an ordinary field piece was soon discovered; nor were the men long in ascertaining that a projectile from a Brooks rifle was much more destructive to fortifications than those fired from light Napoleons. The Seventh was divided into details, which reported to the chief engineer, Captain John C. Palfrey, U. S. A., an accomplished and courageous officer. The men worked, so to speak, with the spade in one hand and the musket in the other. Each day brought them nearer the enemy's works and increased their peril. On the day before the evacuation, the saps were within less than one hundred yards of the opposing ramparts. It was dangerous work. If a man exposed head or hand it became a target for the Confederate sharpshooters, and each battery that was erected had in turn to sustain heavy artillery fire. The wailing of shells was constant, day and night, and bombs from cohorn mortars were continually dropping into the saps and trenches. At night the burning fuses disclosed the courses of the shells, and the men could calculate with tolerable certainty where they would

fall; but during the day it required a keen eye to see their approach and agile muscles to avoid them. The fatigue duty on the approaches was especially severe. In some places the ground was rocky, and in others filled with stumps and roots and covered with large logs. The duty became so wearing on the men that the officers sometimes took rifles and went on duty themselves as sharpshooters, while the men rested and slept in bomb-proofs sunk in the earth behind the outer line and covered with layers of logs, sometimes three thick, over which were from one to four feet of earth.

About five o'clock P. M. of the ninth day of the siege, April 4th, a general bombardment of the enemy's works along the entire line was ordered, and the troops formed behind the earthworks, in readiness to assault. The Seventh took position nearly in front of Old Spanish Fort and Fort McDermett, where the artillery fire, for two hours, was very heavy. At this time the advance parallels of the besiegers were within a hundred yards of the Confederate salients. The garrison had also extended counter trenches and rifle-pits so that the sharpshooters on both sides were within talking distance. The Union troops had in position thirty-eight siege guns, including six 20-pound rifles, and sixteen mortars, and thirty-seven field guns, all of which opened fire at five P. M., and continued till seven P. M. The orders were for each gun to fire every three minutes. The guns of Old Spanish Fort responded. Clouds of dust rose from the parapets. Meanwhile the sharpshooters in the pits kept up their accustomed firing; but no assault was ordered. So the siege went on. By the 30th, General Canby had in operation on the extreme right four 30-pounders and two 200-pound rifles; and against Spanish Fort, fifty-three siege guns, including nine 200-pound rifles and sixteen mortars, and thirty-seven field guns, a total of ninety-six guns. Four siege rifles and five howitzers on the left centre assailed the garrison's centre and left, and four howitzers close in on the extreme right

enfiladed their centre. A bombardment, which proved to be the final one, opened from all the enemy's guns at 5:30 P. M., and continued two hours. In the course of the evening a portion of Carr's division of the Sixteenth Corps effected a lodgment inside the enemy's works, at a point which would enable them to cut off the retreat of the garrison, and at midnight the enemy began to abandon their works. At one o'clock next morning the silence of the enemy's batteries, followed by a cessation of the firing on the Union side, told the troops that the garrison had either fled or surrendered, and the cheering along the lines showed that the men had not lost their voices in the siege. For thirteen days and nights in succession there had not been a moment that the Seventh was not exposed to either musketry or artillery fire, or both. The men behaved exceedingly well, and many individual acts of heroism were performed by the field and line officers and enlisted men.

At daybreak of Sunday, the 9th of April, the Union troops were able to look over the ground embraced within the enemy's lines, for which they had so earnestly contended. Early that morning Colonel Holbrook received orders to report back to the brigade, and shortly before noon the regiment, with the entire Thirteenth Corps, except Bertram's brigade left to garrison Spanish Fort, was on its way to Blakely, which, since April 2d had been besieged by Major-General Steele's forces from Pensacola. Toward evening, as the troops drew near Steele's line, they heard heavy firing and soon an order came down the line for the Seventh to prepare to take part in an assault. Before, however, the regiment could reach ground where it was able to form, Steele's men had gallantly stormed and carried the rebel works, and the Seventh had no opportunity to participate. General Steele took three generals and three thousand prisoners and forty cannon. The assaulting column suffered some loss from torpedoes planted in front of the works.

All the fore part of the night there were explosions of torpedoes, and some men were killed by them while searching for the dead and wounded. The next morning General Steele set the Confederate prisoners to clearing the ground of the torpedoes and little further trouble was experienced from them. Two days after the fall of the forts General Maury evacuated Mobile, and on the 12th the Union forces occupied the city.

The Seventh regiment remained at Blakely until the 11th, when with two divisions of the Thirteenth Corps under General Granger it marched back to Stark's Landing. Intelligence of the fall of Richmond was received on the march. The troops embarked on transports escorted by a fleet of gunboats and proceeded down the bay to Mobile. They landed at Magnolia Point, seven miles from the city, and marching to within a mile of Mobile, encamped for the night. A few of the officers who rode into the city that evening, hoping to get a good supper at one of the hotels, found scarcely anything left there in the way of food but corn bread and bacon.

On the morning of the 13th Benton's division was ordered in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and marched toward Whistler, a station on the Mobile and Ohio railroad, where the machine shops of the railroad were situated, and where the enemy were reported to be destroying much valuable property. Shortly before reaching the town the second brigade, leading the advance, was divided, Colonel Day with the Illinois and Iowa regiments taking a road to the left, while the two other regiments under Colonel Holbrook, kept the line of the railroad. Colonel Day soon struck the enemy's rear guard of cavalry and sent to Holbrook for assistance. His men hurried to the spot and soon found themselves under fire. The enemy had crossed a run skirted by a swamp, firing the bridge as they passed, and were posted on a slight eminence beyond; and the Ninety-first

Illinois were struggling waist-deep in the mud, in an effort to make their way across the swamp. The Seventh pushed forward on a run, passing the Fiftieth Indiana which had been in advance of them, and advanced to the bridge. Lieutenant Gilbert with company G put out the fire, and the regiment crossed the bridge, deployed beyond and opened fire on the enemy, who retreated. The regiment was highly praised for its conduct on this occasion.

General Richard Taylor, in his "Destruction and Reconstruction," alludes to this affair as "the last engagement of the Civil War." It was not such, however, as an action took place nearly a month later at Palmetto Ranche, near Brazos, Texas. This was, however, one of the last two hostile meetings of the war; and as Vermonters took part in the last charge of the Army of the Potomac at Appomattox, so they were in at the death of the Confederacy in the Department of the Gulf.

The regiment remained at Whistler until the 19th, when the division moved to McIntosh Bluff, on the Tombigbee River, about forty miles from Mobile, General Taylor's army being then at Meridian, a few miles further north. On the 23d, the Union troops received intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln. Several Southern families at once sought the protection of the Union officers, fearing violence from the exasperated soldiers. But there was no occasion for their fear. The sad news was received with deep horror and indignation, but retaliation was not thought of by the Northern troops.

The absolute collapse of the Confederacy being now evident, a truce was arranged between General Canby and General Taylor, pending the result of the negotiations between Generals Johnston and Sherman. These having terminated upon the disapproval by the United States government of the terms offered by General Sherman, General Canby prepared to resume hostilities. The Seventh Ver-

mont was under orders to make a reconnoissance, and had started on it, when the column was met by a flag of truce, with the announcement of Taylor's final surrender. This had been arranged between Generals Canby and Taylor, at Citronelle, on the 8th of May, and ended all hostilities east of the Mississippi. On the 9th the Seventh returned to Mobile, with the division, by transport, and went into camp a little outside the city limits, where the news was soon received of the surrender of the last remaining Confederate armies, under Generals Thompson in Arkansas, and Kirby Smith west of the Mississippi.

The loss of the regiment in the campaign against Mobile was 18 men wounded and 25 captured—a total of 43. Of the wounded men four died of their wounds.[1] That the regiment did good service in the campaign and won the favorable opinion of its commanding officers, is shown by the following extract from Colonel Holbrook's report:

> In conclusion, I have only to say, that, from brigade to corps commander, each and every one has personally assured me, that they had perfect confidence in my regiment and had on several occasions selected it for dangerous positions in which they feared to trust a less disciplined regiment; and to their testimony I would add my own, and say, that everywhere, and under all circumstances, both officers and men have shown courage, obedience and proficiency in their profession, and in no instance did they ever behave in a discreditable or unsoldier-like manner.

This statement is confirmed by that of General Canby, who, writing to Governor Smith of Vermont, said of the Seventh:

> 'Since I have been in command here, their standing has been always good, and the inspection reports show them to be good soldiers, well drilled and efficient. During the recent campaign in Alabama they took part in the siege of Spanish Fort, aud the subsequent operations that resulted in the occupation of the State by the United States forces, and on all occasions behaved well. E. R. S. CANBY,
> Major General."

On the 2d of June Colonel Holbrook resigned, after nearly four years of honorable service. Captain Woodman

[1] Charles W Allard, company C, died May 6; Joseph Chamfreau, died June 14th; George J. Wallis, company G died April 8th; and Charles O. Storrs, company K, died April 10th, in the hands of the enemy.

resigned three weeks later, and Captain Stearns and Lieutenant Cramer received honorable discharges. Assistant Surgeon Foster having resigned in February, Dr. Edwin W. Trueworthy of Burlington, was appointed assistant surgeon, and First Lieutenant Finney of company D, was promoted to be captain of company H. More recruits joined the regiment in May, and it numbered on the 1st of June, 775 officers and men.

The war was over; but the service of the Seventh was not yet ended. It was one of the regiments selected to form the Army of Observation, which, under General Godfrey Weitzel, was stationed on the Rio Grande, to await the outcome of the attempt to establish an empire in Mexico under the protection of France. On the 2d of June it sailed from Mobile, on the steamer Sedgwick, for Brazos, Texas. It arrived there on the 5th and remained till the 14th, when it marched to Clarksville, three miles above the mouth of the Rio Grande, where it remained six weeks, on guard and police duty, without exciting incidents. On the 29th of June Lieut-Colonel Peck was commissioned as colonel, a promotion to which he was entitled by faithful and gallant service from the outbreak of the war to its close. Major Porter succeeded him as lieutenant colonel, and Captain Edgar M. Bullard of company F was appointed major. On the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence was read, and the command listened to an address by General Cole, delivered from the deck of a wrecked schooner in the Rio Grande.

On the 14th of July, 130 one-year recruits were mustered out. August 2d the regiment left Clarksville and marched to Brownsville, some thirty miles up the river, camping the first night at "Palmetto Ranche," where the last action of the war was fought three months before. The next day it reached Brownsville, went into camp on the bank of the Rio Grande, and there remained through the fall and winter.

On the 26th of August Colonel Peck resigned, and Lieut-

Colonel Porter was promoted colonel, Major Bullard lieutenant colonel, and Captain Smalley, major. Major Smalley was mustered out in October, and Captain George E. Croff was commissioned as major. These officers all went out as line officers, had shared the various vicissitudes of the regiment, and had won all their promotions by intelligence and merit. Surgeon Blanchard's term expired and he was mustered out in September, and Assistant Surgeon Trueworthy was promoted to be surgeon, October 1st. The life at Brownsville was uneventful, the principal entertainment being afforded by the operations of Maximilian's forces, which held Matamoras, and of the Mexicans, who occasionally laid siege to the place, at a safe distance from the imperialists' guns. The chief subjects of discussion among the troops were whether or no the Army of Observation would be sent across the river to drive out the imperialists, and when the regiment would be allowed to go home for final muster out. For this almost all were impatient; and earnest efforts were made by the State authorities to procure their discharge, but these were unavailing till the collapse of Louis Napoleon's Mexican experiment had become apparent, when an order for the discharge of the regiment was obtained. It was accordingly mustered out at Brownsville, March 14th, 1866, with 22 commissioned officers and 326 enlisted men. It at once proceeded by steamer to New Orleans. Here a number of the men, who had decided to remain and go into business in the South, bade good-bye to their comrades. The rest went North by steamer, arriving on the 5th of April, 1866, at Brattleboro, where a cordial reception was given by the citizens to the returning veterans, and the last of Vermont's volunteers to be disbanded were paid off and dispersed to their homes.

The field and staff officers returning with the regiment were Colonel Henry M. Porter, Lieut.-Colonel Edgar M. Bullard, Major George E. Croff, Adjutant Charles H. Leach,

Quartermaster Abner S. Fonda and Surgeon Edwin W Trueworthy. All of the twenty-two line officers mustered out with the regiment were among its original members, and all but two of them enlisted as privates.

The following table, showing the losses of the regiment by death in the successive years of its service, exhibits a percentage of loss by death exceeding that of any other Vermont regiment. Of its original members, one in every three found graves in the far South. Of the total number of deaths, 375 were from disease (not including those who died in Confederate prisons), a number far exceeding the losses of any other Vermont regiment from similar causes. Most of these deaths occurred in the Vicksburg campaign.

DEATHS.

	1862	1863	1864	1865	Total.
Commissioned Officers	4	2	1	—	7
Non-Commissioned Staff	1	—	1	—	2
Company A	26	1	2	3*	33
Company B	32	2	9	2	45
Company C	14	5	—	4	23
Company D	20	3	1	3	27
Company E	36	1	4	7	48
Company F	24	—	3	3	30
Company G	31	6	5	3	45
Company H	44	5	4	4	57
Company I	37	3	3	4	47
Company K	26	3	6	8	43
Totals	295	31	39	41	407

(*) One man of company A died in 1866.

The list of campaigns and engagements of the Seventh is as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE SEVENTH VERMONT.

Siege of Vicksburg,	June and July, 1862.
Baton Rouge,	Aug. 5, 1862.
Gonzales Station,	July 15, 1864.
Mobile campaign and Spanish Fort,	March 17 to April 11, 1865.
Whistler,	April 13, 1865.

The final statement is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 907; total	943
GAIN.	
Promotion from other regiments, com. officers, 2; transfer from other regiments, enlisted men, 1; recruits, appointed com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 620; total, 625; total gain	628
Aggregate	1571
LOSS.	
Promotion to U. S. army, com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 9; total	10
Transfer to Vet. Res. Corps, enlisted men, 1; to regular army, enlisted men, 5; total	6
Death, killed in action, com. officers, 2; from wounds received in action, com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 8; total	11
Disease, com. officers, 4; enlisted men, 371; total	375
Prisoners, enlisted men	6
From accident, enlisted men	14
Total by death	406
Discharge, resignation, com. officers	30
For disability, com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 239; total	241
For wounds received in action, enlisted men	6
Dishonorable, com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 4; total	6
Total by discharge	283
Deserted	100
Not finally accounted for	1
Total loss	806
Mustered out of service, com. officers, 45; enlisted men, 720; total	765
Aggregate	1571
Total wounded	22
Total re-enlisted	355

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Sketch of Colonel Thomas—Organization—Rendezvous at Brattleboro—Departure for the War—At Ship Island—At New Orleans—At Algiers Reconnoissance to Thibodeaux—First blood shed at Raceland—Expedition to St. Charles C. H.—Disaster at Boutte Station and Bayou des Allemands—Brashear City—Assigned to the Nineteenth Corps—Steamer Cotton—Bisland—Red River Campaign—Siege of Port Hudson; First and Second Assaults; Incidents and Hardships—Back to the Teche—Re-enlistment and Veteran Furlough—Return to New Orleans—Ordered to Washington—Under Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley—The Opequon—Fisher's Hill—Cedar Creek—Ordered to Savannah; order revoked—The last Reviews—Return Home—Muster out—Final Statement.

The Eighth regiment was designed from the outset for General Butler's New England Division. Its colonel was selected by General Butler; and, unlike the Seventh, its officers and men not only understood that they were to be assigned to General Butler's command, but as a body were glad to be so assigned. It was the only Vermont regiment which retained its first colonel throughout its three years' term; and it was fortunate in having throughout so long a period the leadership and example of a man of such genuine courage, patriotism, honesty, truth and devotion to duty—qualities which largely impressed themselves upon his command.

Stephen Thomas was the first Vermont colonel who was appointed directly from civil life and without previous military experience. He was born in Bethel, Vt., and inherited an honored name, his father having been a soldier of the war

Nathan Thomas

of 1812, in which he fell in battle, while his grandfather was a lieutenant of a New Hampshire regiment in the war of the Revolution. He was of sturdy Welsh stock on the paternal side. His mother was of a good Massachusetts family. At the age of eighteen he was apprenticed to a manufacturer of woollens, and subsequently became a manufacturer on his own account. Early interested in politics, he became successively sheriff, judge of probate, and member of the Legislature. He had been six times elected to the House and twice to the State Senate, before the war. He had been a delegate to three National Democratic conventions, and had been twice the Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor.

In November, 1861, during the session of the Legislature, in which Judge Thomas represented the town of West Fairlee, General Butler visited Montpelier, and tendered to him the colonelcy of the regiment which the Legislature had authorized to be raised for Butler's division. He hesitated, for he doubted his fitness for military life; but his patriotism overbore all his doubts, and at the age of 51—being over ten years older than any other Vermont colonel except Colonel Phelps, he undertook the command of a thousand Vermonters, recruited for special service in the far South.[1]

The recruiting officers for the Eighth were selected by Colonel Thomas, as follows: Chas. B. Child, Derby Line; Henry E. Foster, St. Johnsbury; Cyrus B. Leach, Bradford; Edward Hall, Worcester; Hiram E. Perkins, St. Albans; Sam'l G. P Craig, Randolph; Henry F Dutton, Townshend;

[1] Colonel Thomas's record in brief is as follows: Commissioned as colonel November 12th, 1861. Military commandant at Algiers, La., in 1862. Engaged in the operations in Louisiana, and in the siege of Port Hudson, in 1863. In the Shenandoah Valley under Sheridan in 1864. Mustered out as colonel January 21st, 1865. Appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers, February 1st, 1865. Mustered out as Brigadier General August 24th, 1865. After the war, General Thomas was twice elected Lieutenant Governor of Vermont. He was also United States Pension Agent for several years and has held other offices of honor and trust.

William W Lynde, Marlboro; and John S. Clarke, Lunenburgh. The work of enlistment went rapidly forward. On the 23d of November Frederick E. Smith of Montpelier was appointed quartermaster and proved a most efficient co-laborer in the task of equipping and supplying the regiment. Colonel Thomas gave his personal attention to the task of recruiting the regiment, visiting the recruiting stations, holding war-meetings and pushing the work forward with characteristic energy. The rendezvous was fixed at Brattleboro, and during the first week in January, 1862, the companies began to arrive, and went into camp on the level field southwest of the village, occupied by the Fourth Vermont four months before. It retained the name of "Camp Holbrook," given to it at that time. On the 7th six companies were in camp and on the 23d the last company arrived. They came from the counties of Franklin, Lamoille, Orleans, Essex, Caledodia, Orange (which furnished two companies), Washington, and Windham. Though recruited upon ground that had been already six times canvassed for recruits, the rank and file were of the best material—healthy young men, full of loyal spirit. For their shelter at Camp Holbrook, portable wooden houses had been provided, built in sections so that they could be taken apart and transported, and provided with bunks in tiers along the sides. Going into camp in the heart of a winter of unusual severity, many fell sick and Surgeon Gale and Assistant Surgeon Gillett, who had been commissioned on the 10th of December, found plenty of business on their hands. Within the first week in camp fifty men were placed in hospital. Measles and mumps ran through the regiment, and chills and fever and diphtheria prostrated a few; but the men had good medical care and no deaths occurred.

On the 9th of January Edward M. Brown, then adjutant of the Fifth Vermont, was appointed lieutenant colonel. He was editor of the Montpelier *Patriot* when the war broke

out, and was appointed adjutant of the Fifth Vermont when that regiment was organized. He had had three or four months' service in the field, at Camp Griffin, and as the only field-officer of any military experience thus far appointed to the Eighth, he was a welcome accession. On the 19th of January, Captain Charles Dillingham was commissioned as major. He was a son of Hon. Paul Dillingham, and was studying law in his father's office at Waterbury when Sumter was fired on. He at once dropped his studies for the sword, was active in recruiting a company for the first three years regiment, went out with the Second Vermont as captain of company D, and had shared the experience of that regiment in camp and battle. About the middle of January the arms (Enfield rifles), furnished by the government, were received, and squad and company drill became the business of each day. A regimental band was organized, which subsequently attained high proficiency. The first dress parade took place on the 16th, at which the news of the capture of Fort Donelson, with 12,000 prisoners, by General U. S. Grant, was read to the regiment by Colonel Thomas, who told the men that if they did not start soon for the front, the Western men would end the war and have all the glory. After some delay, due in part to the unwillingness of Governor Holbrook to permit the regiment to leave before the expenses of recruiting it, which had been borne by the State, had been reimbursed by the government, the regiment was mustered into the service of the United States, on the 18th of February, by Lieutenant J. W Jones of the regular army, United States mustering officer for Vermont. On the following day the list of field and staff officers was completed by the appointment, as adjutant, of John L. Barstow, a young farmer of Shelburn, who subsequently won distinction both in military and civil life, and became a respected and popular governor of the State of Vermont.

As thus completed, the organization of the regiment was as follows:

Colonel—Stephen Thomas, West Fairlee.
Lieut. Colonel—Edward M. Brown, Montpelier.
Major—Charles Dillingham, Waterbury.
Adjutant—John L. Barstow, Shelburn.
Quartermaster—Fred E. Smith, Montpelier.
Surgeon—George F. Gale, Brattleboro.
Assistant Surgeon—Heman H. Gillett, Corinth.
Chaplain—Francis C. Williams, Brattleboro.
Company A, Captain Luman M. Grout, Elmore.
Company B, " Charles B. Child, Derby.
Company C, " Henry E. Foster, Waitsfield.
Company D, " Cyrus B. Leach, Bradford.
Company E, " Edward Hall, Worcester.
Company F, " Hiram E. Perkins, St. Albans.
Company G, " Samuel G. P. Craig, Randolph.
Company H, " Henry F. Dutton, Ludlow.
Company I, " Wm. W. Lynde, Marlboro.
Company K, " John S. Clark, Lunenburg.

The non-commissioned staff were George N. Carpenter, sergeant-major; J. Elliott Smith, quartermaster sergeant; Lewis Child, commissary sergeant; Gershom H. Flagg, drum major; Samuel H. Currier, hospital steward.

The departure of the regiment, after it was otherwise ready, was delayed by a deficiency of medical stores, until Colonel Thomas and Surgeon Gale succeeded with difficulty in obtaining a limited supply. At last, however, on the 14th of March, 1862, the regiment, ten hundred and sixty strong, together with the First Battery, which had been raised meantime for General Butler's division and reported to Colonel Thomas at Camp Holbrook, took train and departed for the field, with the usual demonstrations on the part of the citizens. The sectional houses, in which the men had been quartered, were taken with them to New York, but were never used by the troops after they left Camp Holbrook. The journey by rail down the Connecticut valley was attended by the customary demonstrations. At Northampton, Mass., much enthusiasm was excited by the exhibition of a rebel flag which had been captured by a Massachu-

setts regiment, and sent home as a trophy. At Springfield the ladies served refreshments. At New Haven, at nightfall, the regiment went on board the steamer Granite State and the men awoke next morning in the East River. As the steamer neared the dock at New York the sailing transports James Hovey and Wallace, were seen at anchor in the stream, and it was soon learned that they were waiting for the regiment and battery The regiment landed and marched to City Hall barracks, for rations, and had a warm greeting during the day from the Vermonters in New York. That afternoon the regiment embarked. In the evening, the field, staff and line officers, were tendered a dinner at the Metropolitan Hotel, by the Sons of Vermont, at which patriotic speeches were made by Hon. E. W Stoughton and Colonel Frank E. Howe, to which Colonel Thomas returned a fitting response.

On the afternoon of the 9th of March, the Hovey, bearing the colonel, major, quartermaster, assistant surgeon and six companies, and the Wallace with the lieutenant-colonel, adjutant, surgeon and the other four companies and the battery, set sail. A heavy gale at once separated the vessels. When out of sight of land, the sealed orders under which they had sailed were opened and it was found, as had been expected, that their destination was Ship Island. The voyage was long and stormy, the ships crowded, and everybody sea-sick. Fears of capture by Confederate gunboats prevailed—especially one day when an armed steamer bore down on the Hovey. It proved, however, to be a Union gunboat. On the 6th of April, after a voyage of twenty-seven days, the Hovey and the Wallace, arriving a few hours apart, dropped anchor at Ship Island. Enos L. Davis of company I, a boy of 18 years, of Newfane, died of prostration on the voyage and was buried at sea.

At Ship Island the regiment was assigned to the command of General John W Phelps. The men had hardly

pitched their tents on the white sand, when one of the severest storms known for years, burst upon the island. The camp of the Eighth was overflowed by the rising sea, the men retreating with their baggage to higher ground, and there was serious apprehension that the whole island might be submerged; but the gale abated, and the troops took courage. Daily drills were now resumed, and on the 8th of April the Eighth participated, with 14,000 other troops, in a grand review of the division, by General Butler, which was an imposing sight to the eyes of the Vermonters, unused as yet to the pomp and circumstance of war.

On the 18th all listened with suppressed excitement to the booming of heavy guns, which came from the southwest, where, sixty miles away, Porter's mortar boats were bombarding the forts below New Orleans; and in due time the occupation of that city was chronicled on the island, in the *Soldiers' News*. This was a little newspaper, printed by Alfred W Eastman of company K, on a small printing press and outfit of type, which, through some unusual provision against possible needs, had been brought along with the camp equipage of the Eighth. Its publisher claimed with perfect truth, that it was "the best paper ever published on Ship Island."

Before General Butler had fairly occupied New Orleans, he sent to Ship Island for the Eighth. The regiment struck camp on the 6th of May and embarked before daylight next day on the Hovey, and set sail for the mouth of the Mississippi. A number of sick men were left behind, as were the bodies of two of their comrades,[1] who died of disease on the island and were buried in its shifting sands.

At night of the 8th, the Hovey reached the Southwest Pass and rode at anchor off the mouth for two days till a steamer came to tow her up to New Orleans. The passage

[1] Corporal George Walker, company G, and Charles S. Lamb, company D.

up the river was full of interest and excitement. The semi-tropical vegetation; the levees, filled to the brim with the vast volume of waters, on which the ship rode high above the rice plantations; the shores strewn with the wrecks of the Confederate gunboats destroyed in the naval fight; the forts on either hand over which now flew the stars and stripes; the throngs of blacks along the banks, who hailed the troops with every sign of welcome,—were new and interesting sights to the Vermonters. A little before sunset of the 12th, they first caught sight of the Crescent City, still canopied with smoke from its burned warehouses and smouldering docks. It was filled with multitudes of unemployed workmen and roughs, most of whom made no attempt to conceal their hatred toward the Union troops. The richer and influential citizens excited rather than soothed the passions of the mob. The women were bold and persistent in their insults. The entrance on such a scene was not likely to be forgotten by any of the Vermonters. Colonel Thomas reported to General Shepley, who had arrived two days before and had been appointed military commandant of the city, and in the evening of the 12th the regiment landed, loaded muskets in the street, and marched, to the strains of Yankee Doodle, which drowned the secession songs with which the crowds around them greeted the new comers, to the Union Cotton Press, close to the river, where the regiment was temporarily quartered. They were in a hostile city; and there was no sleep for the officers and little for the men, that night.[1] Strong guards were posted and the men felt under little temptation to leave quarters. One man, however,[2] undertook to run the guard, was challenged by the

[1] "We find," said General Butler, in his General Order of May 9th, '62, "substantially only fugitive masses, runaway property-burners, a whiskey-drinking mob and starving citizens with their wives and children. It is our duty to call back the first, to punish the second, root out the third, feed and protect the last."

[2] Victor Rotary of G company.

sentinel, and refusing to stop, was fired on and received a wound from which he died three weeks after. On the 17th the regiment was established in permanent quarters in the large building of the Mechanics Institute and in the adjoining Medical College of Louisiana. These buildings afforded airy and convenient quarters; rations were ample, and the men made themselves thoroughly comfortable. The regiment began at once to take its share of the police and provost guard duty, which, with the distribution of food to the starving citizens, formed the occupation of the garrison of New Orleans. General Butler's orders were strict, for his soldiers as well as for the citizens. Officers must not appear on the streets alone or without their side arms. All must pass through the streets in silence, take no offence at insults and threats, and if any violence was attempted must simply arrest the offenders. Obedience to these orders formed a severe test alike of temper and of discipline. Rumors of a projected rising of the citizens and of the return of General Lovell with his army to recapture the city, were rife[1] and night after night the troops slept on their arms, in readiness for instant action.

In the organization of police districts Major Dillingham was appointed commandant of a district, and each captain was assigned to a sub-district, the soldiers taking the place of the city police, which had been disbanded by General Butler. Large details were made each morning to protect public and private property, to seize concealed arms, and to arrest disorderly and suspicious persons. General Butler began early also to select men of the Eighth for special service. Needing a practical telegrapher and a man of capacity, for superintendent of the telegraph lines, of which he

[1] General Lovell states in his report to the Confederate War Department, that he made formal offer to the mayor and to prominent citizens, to return "and not leave as long as one brick remained upon another" if they desired. They, however, he says, "urged decidedly that it be not done."

had taken possession, he made inquiry of the commanders of the regiments for such a man, and found him in the person of Q. M. Sergeant J. Elliot Smith, of the Eighth. Sergeant Smith was thereupon promoted to a lieutenancy on General Butler's staff, and appointed military superintendent of the telegraph lines, and of the fire alarm telegraph of the city.[1] He selected his operators and assistants, some forty in number, largely from the Eighth; instructed them in practical telegraphy, and soon had the lines working to Camp Parapet, at Carrollton, eight miles north of the city, where General Phelps was stationed with the Seventh Vermont and other regiments; to Milnburg on Lake Pontchartrain; to the passes of the Mississippi; to Forts Jackson and St. Philip, Berwick Bay, Thibodeaux, Rigolets, Donaldsonville, and other points.

Corporal Wm. H. Gilmore of company D was appointed quartermaster's sergeant, in place of Sergeant Smith. The Eighth remained in New Orleans nearly a month, when Colonel Thomas was ordered to take his regiment across the river to Algiers, a suburb of New Orleans and the terminus of the New Orleans and Opelousas railroad, to relieve the Twenty-third Indiana, which was sent to General Williams at Baton Rouge. On the 31st of May, leaving company D behind as provost guard in the city, the Eighth crossed the river and took up its quarters in the large railroad depot in Algiers. This with its broad sheltered platforms and ample rooms, amid surroundings of green grass and shade trees, afforded healthy and agreeable quarters for officers and men. The regiment was the only Union force on that side of the Mississippi, and Colonel Thomas had general charge of the district of country around Algiers, in a semi-civil as well as military capacity, with his own provost judge and marshal—

[1] Lieutenant Smith was a brother of Quartermaster Smith. Since the war he has been for many years the capable superintendent of the fire-alarm telegraph in New York city.

the latter being Captain Charles B. Child of company B. The only hostile force in the region was an irregular body of mounted men, armed with fowling pieces. These generally kept at a safe distance, and confined their operations to occasionally tearing up portions of the railroad track. Pickets were thrown out along the railroad to La Fourche Crossing, some fifty miles out. The track to that point, which the enemy had destroyed, was repaired; and practical railroad men were found in the ranks of the regiment, by whose exertions, under the directions of Lieutenant Kilburn Day of company G, who was made engineer of the road, the tracks and rolling stock were put in order, and military trains, on which civilians were permitted only by special permission, were run regularly between Algiers and La Fourche. At about the same time the following men were detailed for the signal service: Lieutenant F D. Butterfield, of company B; Lieutenant G. F French, of company K; Chas. F. Russell, of company A; H. C. Abbott, of company C; C. G. Tarbell and George Graves, of company G; O. N. Webster, of company I; and H. K. Stoddard, of company K. June 6th, First Lieutenant E. B. Wright resigned, and Sergeant-Major George N. Carpenter was promoted first lieutenant of company C.

As in the case of every occupation of territory in the slave States by the forces of the Union, the question of the "contraband" at once presented itself, and with greater pressure here in Louisiana than anywhere else. General Butler's position at this time, in regard to this question, was, that he would employ as many of the negroes who thronged into his lines as he had any use for; and thousands were so employed as cooks and laborers. Those for whom employment could not be found, were not to be harbored in the camps. This latter rule afforded all the permission desired by regimental officers who were fond of declaring that this was no "abolition war," to return fugitive slaves to loyal owners. The Eighth had a number of officers and some men who held the

conservative side of the slavery question; and several negroes —how many is not known; not many, however—were delivered to masters who came to claim them, upon proof that the claimant had taken the oath of allegiance to the Government. The majority of the regiment, however, shared the anti-slavery feeling of the great mass of the people of the State whose first Constitution, in its first article, forbade property in man; and this returning of fugitives aroused intense excitement. One day a negro, bearing the marks of shackles on his ankles, was followed into the camp of the Eighth by his master, who ordered him to return with him to the plantation. The black man refusing to go, the white man began to enforce his authority, as of old, with force and a leathern strap. The sight and sound of the flogging drew at once a crowd of Vermonters, who promptly kicked the white man out of camp and led the fugitive to a place of safety. The regiment was thereupon called into line by Lieut. Colonel Brown, and after a severe lecture on their conduct, the men were informed that they were not to interfere with the personal property of citizens, "whether in slaves or anything else." The mass of the men, however, declined to accept either the rebuke or the instructions. Indignation ran high, and a number of the men, expecting an order to deliver up the negro, who had been secreted in the camp, pledged themselves to protect him and to refuse obedience to any such order, even at the cost of trial and punishment for mutiny. No such order came, however, and the slave owners soon learned that the camp of the Eighth Vermont was not a good place in which to search for slaves. Many black men were passed on by the men to the camp of General Phelps at Carrollton, where they were safe from all claimants, loyal or disloyal; and it was not long before all surrendering of fugitives ceased.

About this time, General Phelps began to organize and drill the negroes as soldiers; and when his requisition for

muskets for three regiments of colored men was disallowed and he was peremptorily ordered by General Butler to desist from organizing colored troops, he resigned his commission; and the Government, which before the war closed had 175,000 colored men under arms, thus lost the services of as brave, faithful and patriotic an officer as it had in its army; one whose only fault as a soldier was that he was a little in advance of his superiors, in willingness to accept the aid of all loyal citizens, white or black, in the overthrow of rebellion. Before long Colonel Thomas, whose personal sympathies were on the side of liberty and humanity, also concluded that the blacks could and should be used as soldiers. He urged the point with General Butler, and his arguments, combined with the logic of events, brought the general to the same conclusion. General Butler began enrolling and arming colored regiments; and was shortly on record in as serious an admonition, addressed to General Weitzel, for declining to command colored troops, as he had administered to General Phelps for organizing such troops. Colonel Thomas, however, had no scruples in regard to commanding black soldiers; and he later earned the right to be proud of the fact that under him the first actual service of a colored regiment in the field, in the war for the Union, took place.

As time went on, the number of negroes who gathered about the Union camp at Algiers increased to thousands of men, women and children, who received daily rations from the quartermaster. Nor was care of them confined to preserving them from starvation. Details of men from the regiment were made to look after them. Private Rufus Kinsley and others taught many of them to read; "Father" Blake gave them religious instruction; and such care did not altogether cease with the sojourn of the regiment in Louisiana, for two colored boys, Scott and Henry Montgomery, were educated in Northern schools by officers of the Eighth, in order that they might educate others of their race; and they became,

after the war, one a teacher in Washington, D. C., and the other a professor in a college for colored students in Mississippi.

During the last week in May Lieut. Colonel Brown was detailed by General Butler to take editorial charge of the New Orleans *Delta*. This leading daily journal having violated General Butler's proclamation forbidding the publication of rebellious articles, was taken possession of by General Butler, and transformed into a loyal sheet. Lieut. Colonel Brown was assisted in the editorial department by Major J. M. Bell, provost judge of New Orleans (formerly of Haverhill, N. H.), and Captain Clark of General Butler's staff; and an issue of 10,000 copies daily, in two editions, gave due circulation to the numerous orders and proclamations of the general commanding.

Early in June a reconnoissance was made by Lieut. Colonel Dillingham, with three companies, to Thibodeaux, four miles north of La Fourche Crossing. The village was found deserted by the white men; an iron foundry which had been employed in casting shells was destroyed; a young ladies' seminary was serenaded with Yankee Doodle and other martial airs; and an old cannon was found and brought away as a trophy.

The large details from the Eighth for guard duty and special service, which commonly left but three or four companies in camp at any one time, of course interfered with drill; but the men nevertheless made fair progress in the duties of the soldier. As yet, however, they had hardly seen an armed enemy. The first actual fighting, on the part of any portion of the regiment, took place on the 22d of June. A few days before this the enemy became active in front, under orders from the Confederate Governor Moore, to General Martin, commanding the Louisiana militia, directing him to attack the Union outposts and destroy the railroad. On the 20th Colonel Thomas withdrew the three companies

stationed at La Fourche Crossing. Two of the companies returned to Algiers, leaving company H, Captain Dutton, at Bayou des Allemands. On the 22d, having learned that the rebels were tearing up the track to the west of him, Captain Dutton sent out Lieutenant Franklin with thirty men to reconnoitre. The party was placed in a passenger car, which was cautiously backed up the railroad. No enemy was discovered till, as they approached Raceland station, seven miles out from Bayou des Allemands, a mounted man was seen to ride across the track. Franklin halted and sent forward an advance squad of six men under Sergeant Smith, following them slowly with the train. Suddenly a volley burst from behind the fringe of wild cane along the side of the track, and a shower of buckshot whistled through and around the car. Lieutenant Franklin, who stood on the platform of the car with Private Richardson by his side, received five buckshot wounds in his breast, side and arms, while Richardson fell forward on the track, a dead man. Though severely wounded, Franklin did not lose his presence of mind. Ordering his men in the car to kneel and fire from the windows, he himself sprang from the car and ran to the engine. The fireman lay dead upon the tender and the engineer was crouching in the iron-clad cab of the locomotive. Franklin ordered him to put on steam and the train was soon in motion to the rear. It ran through a party of the enemy, who had begun to tear up the track behind it, before they had time to displace the rails, and sped back to Bayou des Allemands. Lieutenant Franklin, Sergeant Smith and the unwounded men of the advance squad boarded the car as it started back. The bodies of Corporals McClure and Saunders, who were killed on the track, and of Private Richardson, were left where they fell and were buried by the enemy. The casualties by this unfortunate affair were five men killed, including the fireman, and two officers,

[1] Franklin still carries some of these shot in his body.

Lieutenants Franklin and Holton, and seven men wounded.[1]

The Confederate force engaged in this affair was a company of Louisiana militia under command of a Captain Dardon. It was learned afterwards that they lost three men killed and several wounded by the fire from the car windows. The wounded men of the Eighth were sent on at once to Algiers, where their arrival created great excitement, and companies A, C and I were at once sent out by train to reinforce the rest of company H at Bayou des Allemands. The enemy, however, did not appear at that outpost.

June 24th Surgeon George F Gale resigned and soon returned home. Resolutions were adopted by the line officers, expressing their confidence in him and regret at his departure. Assistant Surgeon Gillett succeeded him as surgeon, and Hospital Steward Samuel H. Currier (of West Fairlee) was appointed assistant surgeon.

On the 27th Andrew McKenzie of company B, a boy of 19, was drowned while bathing.

During July and August the regiment picketed the right bank of the Mississippi for thirteen miles from the "Cut-off road" below Algiers to the canal above; guarded the railroad for thirty-two miles, to Bayou des Allemands; maintained order in the town, and arrested many citizens who attempted to pass out of the lines. Serious illness prevailed in the command, and three line officers, Lieutenants Rand, Child and Kellogg died within three days, July 22--24. The vacancies were filled by the promotions of Sergeant Dennis Buckley to be second lieutenant of company D; First Sergeant L. M. Hutchinson to be second lieutenant of com-

[1] The killed were Corporal Henry K. McClure, Corporal John W. Saunders, Lowell M. Richardson and Marshall W. Wellman. The wounded were First Lieutenant A. B. Franklin, seriously; Second Lieutenant W. H. H. Holton, Sergeants S. E. Howard, W. H. Smith and George M. Allard, and privates Clark B. Akeley, Ebenezer Oaks, Jr., Andrew J. Wood and Calvin L. Cook.

pany A; First Sergeant A. J. Sargent to be second lieutenant of company E.

The regiment shared the excitement attending the battle of Baton Rouge, in the first week of August, and the general concern of all Vermonters over the misfortunes of the Seventh Vermont—heretofore related.

Information having been received that the enemy were collecting cattle, at a point about forty miles above Algiers, for the use of the Confederate army on the east side of the Mississippi, Colonel Birge of the Thirteenth Connecticut, the brigade commander to whom Colonel Thomas reported at this time, directed the latter to take a suitable force and proceed thither. Colonel Thomas accordingly started, on the morning of August 28th, with company A, Captain Grout; company C, Captain Foster; two pieces of light artillery in charge of Lieutenant Morse of company I, and a company of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry, 200 men in all. They went by rail to Boutte Station, twenty-four miles out, and thence marched to St. Charles Court House, where they camped for the night. Starting next morning at daylight, and passing on the way a drove of 500 cattle which had arrived there the night before from Texas, Thomas proceeded towards Bonnet Carre, where the Confederate force, reported by the negroes to be 300 strong, was encamped. About eight miles from the Court House, the cavalry scattered a small Confederate force, and captured two prisoners. The artillery was brought forward, and shelled the main body out of a cane field near by, wounding one man, who was captured. The rest scattered into the swamps. Colonel Thomas went on two miles, and finding no enemy, turned back, collecting horses, cattle, mules and sheep in large numbers from the plantations on the way. Three white men were taken prisoners on the return. Marching through the following night, and using the contrabands who joined him to help in driving the cattle and

sheep, Thomas returned to Algiers in the forenoon of the 30th, heading a procession three miles long, comprising five hundred negroes, nearly a thousand head of cattle and hundreds of sheep and mules. The march home, of forty miles, was made in twenty-eight hours. No one was hurt and there was no straggling, though the heat and dust were severe; and all concerned won much praise.

The Opelousas railroad, which for thirty miles was held by the Eighth, was the passage-way to a fertile country, important to both armies as a source of supplies. To guard it effectively required large details for pickets and train guards. At Bayou Des Allemands, the farther outpost, one hundred and fifty men were stationed, of companies E, G and K, under command of Captain Hall of company E. Trains started daily from Algiers and Bayou Des Allemands, passing each other at Boutte Station. These two stations were the scenes of the heaviest loss of men ever suffered by the regiment in one day.

Shortly after the close of the Peninsular campaign in July, General Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor, was detached from Lee's army at Richmond, and sent down to his native State, to raise recruits for the Confederate army in Western Louisiana, and to command the Confederate forces in that region. He arrived on the ground in August. His home plantation was in St. Charles Parish, near Bayou Des Allemands; and his property had been confiscated, his cattle taken to feed the Union soldiers, and his house rifled by the latter. Familiar as he was with the region, he was not slow to perceive that the outpost at Bayou Des Allemands was exposed to attack, nor unwilling to pay off his private score by its capture. He sent thither, for that purpose, from Donaldsonville, fifty miles up the river, Waller's battalion of mounted Texan riflemen and a force of Louisiana militia under General John G. Pratt. Waller, moving rapidly by night, reached Boutte Station in the early

morning of the 4th of September, captured the picket guard at that point, disarranged the switches, hid his men in the bushes by the side of the track, and awaited the train from Bayou Des Allemands. This consisted of platform cars, on which was a train guard of sixty men, under Captain Clark of company K. They had with them a 12-pound howitzer, mounted on the forward car. As the train ran upon the side-track at the station, the concealed enemy opened a murderous fire. All of the artillerists, twelve in number, and a number of the others, were killed or wounded by the first volley. A moment later the train collided with an empty passenger car, left standing on the siding, with force enough to knock some of the men from the cars. The men returned the fire, and the engineer kept the train in motion, in order to take it out of the range of the whistling bullets, when a new danger presented itself in the open switch at the other end of the siding. The derailment and destruction of the train seemed inevitable, when private Louis J. Ingalls, taking in the situation at a glance, leaped to the ground, ran swiftly in advance of the moving train, through a shower of bullets, and replaced the switch. His escape from death was marvellous. He received four bullet wounds, one ball carrying his silk handkerchief, knotted about his throat, into his neck, and a wound in the side from which Father Blake picked 22 bird-shot; but he was able to board the car as it passed him; and the train, thus heroically saved from destruction, was soon out of rifle range with its load of dead, dying and wounded. A mile below the station, the train met the train coming from Algiers. The engines were reversed in time to prevent a collision; and the two trains made the best speed possible to Algiers, to carry the news of the disaster, and of the danger awaiting the detachment at Bayou Des Allemands. Of the sixty men on the train, but twenty-five escaped unhurt. Fourteen were killed or mortally wounded,

twenty-two others wounded, and several unwounded men were captured.[1]

After plundering the killed and the prisoners, firing the station, and destroying the track and culverts for several miles, Waller started up the track, his men marching dismounted, to Bayou Des Allemands. Coming in sight of the Union picket, he sent forward a flag of truce to summon the outpost to surrender, representing that he had a thousand men with him; that he had captured the train and howitzer which left Bayou Des Allemands that morning; and that resistance was useless and escape impossible. After some parley, through Lieutenant Green, who was sent out with a flag by Captain Hall, the demand was complied with. For this surrender, Captain Hall was much blamed by General Butler, and it cannot be denied that there was some ground for the censure. The position at Bayou Des Allemands was protected by swamps in the direction of the enemy, and was approachable from that quarter only by the railroad track, which was too narrow to permit the deployment of any considerable force. Hall had a 12-pound howitzer and two Ellsworth machine guns, the latter throwing ounce balls a mile. Had he made the utmost resistance possible, he might have repulsed an attack, and perhaps have held out till help came. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that he and his men had never been under fire. Their position was not entrenched,

[1] The killed were: Company A, Sylvanus F. Ailes; company E, Simon E. Bailey, John S. Colgrove, Wm. R. Gray, Fred Greenwood, Henry McGookin, and Louis Brust; company K, Charles R. Carroll, George J. Corson, and Charles F. Stone. The wounded were: Company C, George Clapper; company E, John P. Jones, Andrew J. Morse, Benjamin F. Morse, Geo. H. Poor, Leander Shontell, Edwin H. Nelson, and Lorenzo S. Warren; company F, John M. Goodchild; company G, G. H. Farmer; company I, George P. Burrows; company K, Corp. Chauncey M. Snow, Corp. George W. Hill, Henry C. Woodruff, Ezra S. Pierce, Gilbert Leed, Arthur M. Raymond, John G. Gordon, Pierre Placette, Henry Roseblade, Charles F. Presbrey, Ethan P Shores, Lewis J. Ingalls, and Auguste Lamont. Of these George Clapper, George H. Farmer, G. H. Poor and A. Lamont died of their wounds.

no spades having been supplied, and their orders being to evacuate when threatened in force. Their supply of ammunition was short, some of the men having only eight or ten rounds in their boxes. The howitzer was trained upon the track; but Hall hesitated to fire, because Lieutenant Green was in front, held between two mounted officers. The enemy was evidently present in vastly superior force; and the Union officers thought that their only alternative was death or capture. Captain Hall subsequently proved himself to be a brave and capable officer; and he fell in battle, at last, in the gallant discharge of his duty. With greater experience he probably would not have surrendered without a fight.

The force which surrendered at Bayou des Allemands consisted of four officers—Captain Hall and Lieutenant Sargent of company E, and Lieutenants Green and Mead of company G—and 138 men. Lieutenant Morse, who had charge of the artillery, escaped while the surrender was in progress, and taking a boat, rowed three miles up the bayou, where he landed and hid for three days in a vacant house. He finally made his way through the swamps to the river, was taken on board a passing steamer, and reached the camp at Algiers, after a week of hardship, hatless, barefooted and suffering from a fever which kept him for some days in hospital. A careful list, reported by Adjutant Barstow, October 1st, gave the names of 151 officers and men reported missing, of whom nine came in later, making the number actually missing 142, and the total of casualties 178.

This affair caused no little rejoicing among the Louisiana rebels.[1] It also occasioned a spicy correspondence between Generals Taylor and Butler. Having learned that pictures,

[1] "This trifling success, the first in the State since the loss of New Orleans, attracted attention, and the people rejoiced at the capture of the Des Allemands garrison as might those of Greece at the unearthing of the classic thief, Cacus. Indeed, the den of that worthy never contained such multifarious 'loot' as did this Federal camp."—*General. R. Taylor: Destruction and Reconstruction, p. 111*

keepsakes and clothing, taken from his own mansion with a disregard of the rights of personal property which became too common on both sides as the war went on—though in this case the taking was considered lawful by the boys, since Taylor's property had been confiscated by formal order—had been found in the captured camp at Bayou des Allemands, General Taylor sent Ex-Governor Wickliff, of Louisiana, to General Butler, under a flag of truce, with a letter informing Butler that his troops were conducting marauding expeditions and appropriating private property, and saying that he might feel compelled to deal with the men captured at Bayou des Allemands as robbers rather than as soldiers. To this letter General Butler replied as follows:

The troops at Bayou des Allemands were an advance post, guarding a railroad bridge, and not an expedition at all, nor were they allowed to go on any expedition up the coast or elsewhere, so that upon this topic I am constrained to believe you were misinformed. I need not say that acts such as you describe are neither ordered or tolerated by the government or by myself. That unlicensed acts are committed by troops upon marching service is the well-known fact of all civilized warfare. If any deeds such as you describe have been committed, and you will send me the written evidence that you have, together with the parties, my acts heretofore should convince you that they will be properly punished. Therefore if you have the guilty parties, you will do well to allow them to be exchanged, as it will be impossible for me to ascertain their guilt if you retain them. I could have wished that this answer to your communication could have ended here, and that you could have contented yourself not to threaten. It is true you have 136 men duly enlisted in the Eighth Vermont regiment, including their officers; but how captured? A part by ambush of a supply train. This savors rather of savage than civilized warfare. 'But the worst remains behind.' I am informed that the guerrilla force which made the capture of the post at Des Allemands raised a flag of truce; that it was answered by another flag from my men, the bearers of which were either seized or detained; that a second flag was sent out to demand a return of the first, and the bearers of both were placed at the head of the advancing column, so that my men could fire

only upon their friends. Is this civilized, or savage warfare? It reads precisely like the history of similar strategy by Toussaint L'Overture toward the French forces in San Domingo, and would seem, therefore, to be not even original. I have within my lines five times 130 officers and men of the Confederate service as prisoners of war, from a brigadier general to the inconsiderate lad of sixteen. I shall treat these with every courtesy due their position. No hair of the head of one of my captured soldiers ought to be touched upon any pretext of reprisal or retaliation. I trust you will reconsider your determination to do so, in any event. That I punish marauders with promptness, the women and children of New Orleans, who sleep in calm quiet under our flag, will tell you; that I deal generously with my enemies, a thousand and nineteen families of Confederate soldiers now being fed from my rations, will testify; that I will protect and avenge the wrongs and lives of my fellow-soldiers committed to my care, you, as a soldier, can judge. I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

BENJ. F BUTLER,
Major General Commanding.

General Taylor says in effect that he did not receive this or any reply from General Butler; but it was a document which he would prefer to forget, if he could. That it answered its purpose is certain, for no Vermonter was punished by him for any alleged robbery.

With the exception of some Germans who were held and executed as deserters, the men taken at Bayou des Allemands received fair treatment from their captors. They were marched to Fort Pratt, near New Iberia, a hundred miles distant. Thence, after six weeks, they were sent to Vicksburg, where they remained several weeks in a wretched condition, robbed of everything except the rags which covered them, and herded in the prison yard, exposed to storms and cold. Finally they were paroled; but before starting for New Orleans they were compelled to draw lots to decide who should remain and be shot in reprisal for the execution of some guerrillas by General McNeil in Missouri. The men so selected were Charles R. Wills of Randolph, and Edward Spear

of Braintree. They were finally released by order of Jefferson Davis, and Wills returned to his regiment, but Spear died before reaching the Union lines. Wm. H. Brown and Dennis Kean, who had joined the regiment at New Orleans, and who were recognized at Vicksburg as Confederate deserters, were also retained, and were shot March 7, 1863. Four men, James S. Hartwell and O. N. Parker of company K, and David E. French and Ephraim Webster of company E, died in the Vicksburg prison, between the 5th and 11th of November. The remainder, four officers and 122 men, were sent to Algiers, and thence to Parole Camp at Ship Island, where they remained till February, 1863, when they were exchanged and rejoined the regiment, then at Camp Stevens, near Thibodeaux, La.

There was great excitement in the camp of the Eighth in the afternoon of September 4th, when Captain Clark arrived with the train which had been fired into at Boutte Station, and the bloody evidences of the skirmish. General Butler ordered Colonel Thomas, with the portion of the regiment remaining at Algiers, to start early next morning to the support of Captain Hall by train, while the Twenty-first Indiana was directed to proceed by boat to Boutte Station, where the two regiments were to unite and go on to Bayou des Allemands. Colonel Thomas accordingly started next morning with 400 men and a section of Nim's (Second Massachusetts) Battery; but when half way to Boutte Station, the locomotive and several cars were thrown from the track by running over a cow. One man was killed and a number injured by the accident, four of whom died of their injuries.[1] Two cars were utterly wrecked, and it was three o'clock in the afternoon before the locomotive was replaced upon the track. In the meantime, Colonel Thomas had learned,

[1] Killed—Alonzo Silver, company A. Died of injuries—Sergeant J. E. Thayer and Geo. N. Poor, company E; Sanford Dewey, company F; and Joseph Leary, company K.

through a negro, that the outpost at Bayou des Allemands had surrendered, and had also discovered that the track and bridges were destroyed for several miles between him and Boutte Station. He accordingly returned to Algiers, in order to take boat for Boutte Station. As he was about embarking, the Twenty-first Indiana returned, having also learned of the surrender of Captain Hall; and the attempt to rescue the latter was abandoned. The Indiana regiment brought to Algiers with them five severely wounded men of the Eighth, who had been left at Boutte Station by the Confederates. One of these, E. H. Roseblade, of company K, had six gunshot wounds, and a sabre-cut in his shoulder, received from a Texan as he was trying to escape. Another man, Corporal Geo. W Hill, of the same company, received five shots in the legs and hips.

The next day Waller and his Texans came to serious grief. They had moved from Bayou des Allemands to the west bank of the Mississippi, and gone down, by a road along the shore, between the river and the swamps which cover so much of the face of that country, to a point near St. Charles, about twenty miles above Algiers. Their presence at this point being reported to General Butler, a force of several regiments, with artillery, was sent up from Carrollton by boat, in two bodies, one of which landed above and the other below Waller's camp. Thus trapped, the only resource for the Texans was to abandon their horses and baggage and scatter into the swamp. Eight of them were killed and wounded, and over forty captured; and the expedition returned, bringing 300 horses, found saddled and belly-deep in the swamp, two Confederate flags, and a quantity of arms and stores taken from the Confederate camp. Thereafter Colonel Waller ceased to be heard of as a disturbing element in that region.

A shocking sequel of the affair at Bayou des Allemands must be here related. Among the men who surrendered on the 4th of September, were seven Germans who had enlisted

in New Orleans. Their looks and speech betrayed them, and when their comrades were sent to New Iberia, they were held for trial as deserters. Seven weeks afterwards, General Weitzel, in an expedition into the La Fourche district, found at La Fourche Crossing a quantity of papers thrown away by the enemy in their retreat from Bayou des Allemands;—and among them the records of the trial by court martial and sentence of these seven Germans. That they had ever been in the Confederate service was not proved; but their names were found in the Confederate conscription lists, and in spite of all their protestations of innocence, they were condemned to death. The sentence was carried into execution on the 23d of October. The details of their murder were obtained by Colonel Thomas about the same time, from some prisoners taken by the Union fleet at Brashear City, who were sent to him for safe keeping. Some of these were participants in the proceeding, and when sternly questioned by Thomas, related how the Germans were compelled to dig the trench which formed their grave, and were then ranged along its bank, where a firing party detailed from a Louisiana regiment shot them to death.[1] The men thus murdered were Bernard Hurst, Diedrich Bahne, John Leichleider, Michael Leich-

[1] Colonel Homer B. Sprague, of the Thirteenth Connecticut, who was stationed subsequently at Bayou des Allemands, alludes to this tragic affair in his history of that regiment. He says: "The desolate spot has a mournful interest. Overgrown with weeds, it is yet easily recognizable beside some trees, nearly abreast with the earthworks on the right side as you go from Algiers. The traveller who has either sentiment or patriotism will hardly restrain his tears, when he stands there and listens to the strain of the father's anguish, as he shoveled the dirt away, to find the mouldering remains of his handsome and noble boy. Will not the great Republic some day rear a monument to mark the last resting-place of the seven martyrs, who died for her at Bayou des Allemands, in the summer of 1862?" Commenting on this, Captain Geo. H. Carpenter says in his history of the Eighth: "The 'handsome and noble boy' to whom the writer refers was an only son, scarcely nineteen years old, whose aged father with much reluctance allowed him to enlist in order that he might escape Confederate conscription, and not be forced to fight against a government to which both father and son were loyal. Few narratives can be more pathetic than this."

leider, Michael Mosman, Frank Paul, and Gustave C. Becker —all members of company E. The transaction aroused intense indignation throughout the whole department, and General Butler was preparing to make it the subject of a court of inquiry, when he was superseded by General Banks, and this military murder went unpunished.

After the occupation of Bayou des Allemands by the enemy, General Butler discovered, what he ought to have known before, that it was altogether too exposed a position, and the outpost was withdrawn to Company Canal, ten miles out from Algiers. To this point the railroad was kept open without trouble, and many Confederate prisoners were taken, while endeavoring to escape through the lines. Contrabands continued to pour in till the number in camp to whom the quartermaster of the Eighth issued rations at Algiers, was reported at 5,000.

In September, Captain Godfrey Weitzel, a young officer of U. S. Engineers, a West Point graduate of the class of 1855, who had been chief of engineers on General Butler's staff, and had exhibited remarkable capacity for responsible command, was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers, and assigned to the command of what was called the Reserve Brigade, then at Carrollton.[1] To General Weitzel was assigned the command of the first formidable expedition sent out from New Orleans for the permanent occupation of any considerable portion of Louisiana beyond the immediate vicinity of that city. In this expedition the Eighth Vermont co-operated with Weitzel's brigade, and thus first came under the orders of an officer, who afterwards became a favorite commander with them. The objects of the expedition were to disperse General Taylor's forces stationed at Donaldsonville and Thibodeaux; to occupy the La Fourche district, in order to cut off the enemy's supplies of cattle from Texas;

[1] Comprising the Eighth New Hampshire, Twelfth and Thirteenth Connecticut, and Seventy-fifth New York.

and to open the New Orleans and Opelousas railroad so that loyal planters might have an opportunity to send their sugar and cotton to the New Orleans market. These objects accomplished, the expedition was to proceed into the region of the Bayou Teche, and, perhaps, if circumstances should favor, thence make an incursion into Texas. It was arranged that General Weitzel, with the main body, should go up the river to Donaldsonville by boat, dislodge the enemy there, and then proceed by the country roads down the Bayou La Fourche, while Colonel Thomas with the Eighth Vermont and a regiment of colored troops which General Butler had recently organized, should move out from Algiers along the railroad, dislodge the enemy at Bayou des Allemands, and advance to La Fourche Crossing. The two columns, uniting there, were to proceed to Brashear City, the western terminus of the railroad, on Berwick Bay. A fleet of four gunboats was meanwhile to pass up the bay to Brashear and cut off the retreat of the enemy. On the 24th Weitzel landed at Donaldsonville with 3,000 infantry, two batteries and a battalion of cavalry, marched down the Bayou La Fourche, and on the 26th met and defeated the enemy, under General Mouton, at Labadieville, eight miles above Thibodeaux. Mouton had four regiments, two batteries, and two companies of cavalry, numbering in all about 1,800 men. Weitzel took 208 prisoners and a 12-pound howitzer, and Mouton retreated across Berwick Bay, at the same time directing four regiments of Louisiana militia, which, under a Colonel Vick, had been holding Des Allemands and other points on the railroad, to fall back, in order to escape capture, and join him.

On the 24th, the First Regiment Louisiana Native Guards, 1,500 strong, Colonel Stafford, reported to Colonel Thomas. This was the first regiment of colored troops actually armed in Louisiana, though General Phelps had organized and tried to arm a colored regiment two months before.

The first actual service of colored troops in the field thus took place under the command of a Vermonter. On the 25th, the two regiments began their march from Algiers. As Thomas's orders were to put the road in repair as he proceeded, the progress of the column was necessarily slow. A heavy growth of the long grass of the region had covered the rails with a matted mass which blocked the wheels of the construction train. This was pulled up by hand with immense toil. Bent rails were straightened and relaid, missing sleepers replaced, many culverts rebuilt and fifteen miles of telegraph line reconstructed. It took three days of hard work as well as marching to reach Bayou des Allemands. As a thousand Louisiana militia had been at that point for some time, Thomas expected a fight for its possession. He mounted two field pieces on a platform car, formed his regiments, made the colored troops a speech, in which he joined moral and physical incitements to action by telling them that they had now a chance to avenge the wrongs of their race, and informing them that the man who flinched would be pistolled on the spot. They responded with a cheer, and at the word the two regiments went forward side by side; but found no enemy. Vick had spiked his artillery and departed the night before, after firing the station and burning behind him the long bridge over the bayou. Thomas and his men spent two days in rebuilding the bridge, with timber brought by train from Algiers, and then pushed forward to La Fourche, where he arrived on the first of November.[1] At La Fourche Crossing, Thomas rested a day, and then continued his march along the railroad track to Brashear City, repairing the road

[1] "The command pulled the luxuriant grass from over twenty miles of track, built eighteen culverts from ten to twenty feet in length; rebuilt what was estimated as four miles of track; rebuilt a bridge four hundred and seventy-five feet long; drove the enemy from the road, and captured seven cannon, all in one week."—Colonel Thomas's Report.

"I cannot too much commend the energy of Colonel Thomas, with his regiment, the Eighth Vermont, who have in six days opened 52 miles of

as he advanced. At Bayou Bœuf, the railroad bridge, 675 feet in length, had been burned; but in five days a new one was finished, the timber for which was in large part cut by the Vermonters in the adjacent woods. While here one of the sentinels, George Hutchins, of company E, fired on a Union officer who refused to obey his order to halt and give the countersign, wounding the latter in the shoulder. Hutchins was promoted sergeant for his resolute discharge of his duty. Among other incidents of this time was the explosion of an ammunition train near La Fourche Crossing, November 7th, by which Luther Peabody of company D was killed, and Second Lieutenant Carter H. Nason of company F was severely injured. The bridge completed, troops and train proceeded, and arrived at Brashear City on the 8th of December, having in two weeks repaired and re-opened eighty miles of railroad track, and re-established railway and telegraphic communication from Algiers to Berwick Bay.

No enemy was found at Brashear City, as the gunboats under Captain Buchanan had been delayed by a storm and arrived in Berwick Bay too late to prevent the escape of General Mouton, who crossed the bay with his command two days before and retreated to the line of the Bayou Teche. The Eighth remained at Brashear City more than a month, doing picket duty along the bay and bayou and running the railroad, Captain H. E. Foster being appointed superintendent of motive power.

During this time several important changes of field and line officers took place. Lieut. Colonel Brown, who had been in charge of the New Orleans *Delta* and absent from the regiment since May, resigned December 23d. The promotions of Major Charles Dillingham to the vacancy; of Captain

road, built nine culverts, rebuilt a bridge (burned by the enemy) 435 feet long, besides pulling up the rank grass from the track, which entirely impeded the locomotives all the way. In this work they were assisted by Colonel Stafford's regiment, Native Guards (colored)."—General Butler's Report, Nov. 2.

Grout, of company A, to be major; of First Lieutenant McFarland, to be captain; of Second Lieutenant Hutchinson, to be first lieutenant, and of Corporal H. K. Cooper, to be second lieutenant, of company A, followed. On the 18th of November Lieutenant Adoniram J. Howard, acting quartermaster in the absence of Quartermaster Smith, who had been detailed by General Weitzel as brigade commissary on his staff, died, and Lieutenant Squire E. Howard was appointed acting quartermaster.

On the 16th of December came a sudden change in the command of the Department of the Gulf, attributed to the influence of the French Government, or of the French Minister at Washington, representing the wishes of the French residents of New Orleans who were not pleased with General Butler's methods. By an order of President Lincoln, the substance of which General Butler first learned from his spies in the Confederate camps, General Butler was on that date superseded by General Banks. The retirement of General Butler was a matter of sincere regret to the men of the Eighth; for the regiment had always stood high in his regard and he in theirs; and they took their share of the words of praise and friendship in his farewell order.[1]

[1] "You have deserved well of your country. Without a murmur you sustained an encampment on a sand-bar so desolate that banishment to it has been the most dreaded punishment inflicted on your bitterest enemies. * * * At your occupation—order, law and quiet sprang to this city, filled with the bravos of all nations. * * * You have preserved your ranks fuller than those of any other battalions of the same length of service. * * * You have met double numbers of the enemy and defeated him in the open field. I commend you to your commander. You are worthy his love."—General Butler's Farewell Order.

"No better men than the Eighth Vermont as a body ever entered the service of the United States. * * * I remember the high encomiums given to the regiment by General Weitzel, and the regiment never had anything else for its behavior in any position in which it was placed I would speak of its officers by name, but there is no need of specifying the officers, when all did their duty so nobly and well."—B. F. Butler to Geo. N. Carpenter, Boston, Nov. 16th. 1885.

General Banks assumed command under orders to give his first attention to opening the Mississippi, and next to send an expedition up the Red river, to open an outlet for the sugar and cotton of Northern Louisiana, and to form a base of operations against Texas. Before these objects were accomplished, however, some active operations took place in the region of the Teche, in which the Eighth took part. At the opening of the year 1863, the regiment was in camp at Brashear City, and its morning report showed an aggregate of 728, with 629 officers and men on duty, and 66 sick. In the reorganization of the 40,000 troops of the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks, announced December 31, 1862, the Eighth Vermont is classed as an independent command. General Weitzel was holding the La Fourche district, with about 3,500 men, his headquarters being at Camp Stevens, near Thibodeaux. Thirteen miles west of Berwick Bay, at a point where the firm ground between Grand Lake and Vermilion Bay is reduced to a strip a mile and a half wide, divided lengthwise by the deep and narrow Bayou Teche, General Mouton was in camp with 1,500 men. He had thrown up an earthwork on the Bisland estate and breastworks across the neck, armed with ten 24-pounders, and was further protected by the steamer Cotton. This was a large Mississippi steamer, named after its owner, John L. Cotton, which had been converted into a floating fort, protected with cotton bales and a casing of railroad iron, and heavily armed. She was commanded by a resolute man, and had stoutly resisted the entrance of the Union gunboats into Berwick Bay two months before. Driven out of the Bay at that time, she had backed up into the Teche—being too long to turn in the bayou—to the position above described. Here she remained, a constant terror to the Union forces, till about the first of January, having learned that her armament had been increased, and that Mouton was about to attempt some offensive operations with her aid, General Weitzel decided to at-

tempt her destruction or capture. For this purpose his command was increased by two regiments, and with some 4,000 men, including the Eighth Vermont, and three field batteries, and assisted by the gunboat fleet under Commander Buchanan, he started for the Teche on the 13th of January. The action which followed exhibited the peculiar combination of land and naval warfare, possible in a region full of narrow navigable water courses. The infantry and artillery were ferried across Berwick Bay, and marched up the right or southwestern side of Bayou Teche, preceded by the four gunboats, which passed up the channel to the enemy's position. Here the bayou was obstructed by a small steamer filled with brick and sunk across the channel. Beyond this, bows on, was the Cotton, flanked with field batteries, guarded by rifle pits lined with sharpshooters on each side of the bayou, and further protected by torpedoes planted in the bed of the channel.

Weitzel's force bivouacked on the night of the 13th a little below the enemy's position. Next morning the Eighth Vermont was taken across the bayou by an attending steamer, and, while the gunboats and batteries engaged the Cotton, pushed forward and drove the enemy from the rifle-pits on the east side of the stream. At the same time two detachments of sharpshooters attacked the Cotton. Her two pilots and a number of her crew were killed, and her captain, Fuller, had an arm broken; but he took the wheel himself, turning it with his feet, and backed his boat out of range. In this action Commander Buchanan was killed by a rifle bullet. During the night Mouton decided to retreat, and the Cotton, crippled by loss of her captain and many gunners, was set on fire and burned. The object of the expedition being thus accomplished, General Weitzel returned, taking with him about 50 prisoners, almost all of whom were captured by the Eighth Vermont.

To describe more in detail the part taken by the Eighth

the regiment bivouacked, with the rest of the expedition, on the west bank of the Teche, during the night of the 13th. Next morning, before starting forward, General Weitzel rode in front of the regiment and read to the men a resolution of thanks for their services, adopted by the Legislature of Vermont, a copy of which had been received by him. He added that the time had come to prove themselves worthy of the confidence thus reposed in them. The cheers of the men gave a hearty response. Sixty good shots were then detailed as sharpshooters to pick off the gunners of the Cotton, from a much larger number who volunteered for the service, and were placed under command of Captain Dutton of company H. The regiment then went on board the gunboat Diana, which moved up the bayou. The sound of the cannonading in front, where the gunboat Calhoun had engaged the Cotton, soon became heavy; and, impatient of the slow progress of the boat, Colonel Thomas landed the regiment on the east bank—leaving Dutton and the sharpshooters to go on by boat—and started for the scene of action, three miles away. They went at double-quick, by a road running along the shore of the bayou, hurried forward by messages received from the gunboats along the way, to the effect that the Calhoun, the flagship of the fleet, was aground in front; that Commander Buchanan had been killed; that the guns of the Calhoun had been silenced by the fire from the rifle-pits; and that she was in great danger of capture. Arriving on the spot, the regiment was formed in line of battle, hidden in part from the rifle-pits by rising ground and a group of buildings surrounding a large sugar house. The order, "forward," had just been given, when Dutton and his sharpshooters, who had been landed from the Diana, came running up, with guns at trail, and joined the line. With cheers, echoed by the fleet, the regiment now dashed at the rifle-pits. The Confederates, of the Eighteenth Louisiana, who occupied the pits, intent upon their attack on the Calhoun, paid no attention to their rear,

till the Eighth was close upon them, when they threw down their guns, and took to the swamp through a field of cane, close by. They were not quick enough, however, to prevent the capture of a lieutenant and 41 men (three of whom were wounded) by the Eighth, in the rifle-pits. The bodies of several Confederates, killed, lay behind the breastwork, and nearly 200 muskets, thrown down by the Louisianians in their flight, were gathered on the ground by the Vermonters.

The charge of the Eighth, combined with a similar movement made by the Seventy-fifth New York on the opposite bank, relieved the Calhoun from danger, and her antagonist, the Cotton, was glad to retire. She backed slowly up the bayou, to the protection of the redoubt on the west bank. From the captured rifle-pits, the Eighth pushed on in line of battle, Dutton's sharpshooters in advance as skirmishers on the left, and company A, Lieutenant McFarland, on the right, till they were confronted by the breastworks crossing the neck. These were undefended, the troops in them having retired by a floating bridge to the other side of the bayou, and the regiment halted, while Captain Dutton and Adjutant Barstow went to the bank of the bayou, to reconnoitre the other side. They found that Weitzel's brigade had not made a corresponding advance on the west side; and the appearance of some mounted Confederates on the opposite bank indicated the near presence of the enemy. This was further evidenced by the whizzing of shells from two rifled pieces, which now opened from the earthworks, upon Thomas's line. He accordingly withdrew his regiment out of range. His position, as the night fell, seemed far from secure. An unfordable channel separated him from the main body. By the bridges in front of him, protected by the enemy's guns, a heavy force might be thrown upon him from the Confederate main body. The night was dark and rainy, and the wind blew cold from the north. Thomas built a long line of camp fires beyond his picket line, which Mouton, as it was intended

he should, took to indicate the presence of at least a brigade; and he not only refrained from attacking Thomas, as it was afterwards learned he had planned to do, but prepared for immediate retreat. The Cotton was scuttled and set on fire; and about midnight she came drifting down the bayou, wrapped in flames, burned to the water's edge, and sank. Her destruction removed one cause of apprehension for Thomas; but there was no sleep and little rest for the officers and men, and all were glad when morning brought the daylight and an order from General Weitzel to fall back to the gunboats, and embark for Brashear City, as the object of the expedition had been accomplished. The regiment accordingly withdrew to the gunboats, a mile below, firing the barns filled with corn and hay on their way. A squadron of Confederate cavalry followed them; but the gunboat bearing the Eighth, which brought up the rear of the fleet, easily checked pursuit by the use of her guns.

The action of the Eighth in this affair has honorable mention in various reports and histories. General Weitzel said of it, in his report: "The Eighth Vermont, Colonel Thomas, for the first time in action as a regiment, reflected the highest credit upon itself by the splendid manner in which they cleared the enemy's rifle-pits on the east bank and afterwards pursued them. This regiment took 41 prisoners, three wounded, and killed four of the enemy. This regiment lost none, because it flanked and surprised the enemy completely." A correspondent of the New York *Times*, with the Fifteenth New York, said: "But for this sudden and gallant assistance from the Eighth Vermont, there can be little doubt that the Calhoun would have been lost." General Weitzel mentions Lieutenant Fred E. Smith, chief commissary on his staff, as distinguishing himself by coolness, bravery and promptness in conveying orders. Colonel Thomas, in his report, commends Major L. M. Grout, Adjutant Barstow, Captain Dutton and Lieutenant McFarland, for distin-

guished conduct. Sergeant S. E. Howard, company H, of Dutton's party, was subsequently promoted to a lieutenantcy for gallantry in landing from the Diana in a small boat, and taking a message to Colonel Thomas through a shower of bullets.

The entire loss of Weitzel's command was a lieutenant and four men killed, and 27 men wounded, almost all of the Seventy-fifth New York. He reported the enemy's loss on shore and on the Cotton as fully treble his own; but his estimate is not borne out by the statements of casualties on the other side.

The regiment returned, after this expedition, to Camp Stevens, where it enjoyed a quiet rest for several weeks. During its stay there the following promotions were made: George O. Ford, of company K, to be second lieutenant; Adjutant J. L. Barstow to be captain of company K; John M. Pike, of company G, to be second lieutenant; Second Lieutenant John B. Mead, of company G, to be first lieutenant. The last two were soon after further promoted, Mead to be captain, and Pike first lieutenant, of that company.

About this time, the Eighth was formally attached to Weitzel's Brigade, which was composed from that time on of the Eighth Vermont, Twelfth Connecticut, and Seventy-fifth, One Hundred and Fourteenth and One Hundred and Sixtieth New York,[1] and formed the second brigade of the First Division of the Nineteenth Army Corps, comprising the troops of the Department of the Gulf.

During the month of February, in the movements of troops to guard against rumored offensive operations on the part of the enemy, the Eighth was moved from Camp Stevens to Brashear City, and thence back to Camp Stevens again. On the 17th of this month 120 of the men who were

[1] The Eighth Vermont, Twelfth Connecticut and One Hundred and Sixtieth New York thenceforward served together until the close of the war

captured at Bayou Des Allemands, having been exchanged, returned to duty. Lieut. Colonel Dillingham, who had been on a military commission in New Orleans for four months, also returned to the regiment at this time.

The month of March was occupied on each side with preparations for active operations in West Louisiana, a region called by the Confederate general Sibley "by far the richest in the Confederacy." General E. Kirby Smith had been sent thither from Richmond and placed in command of the district west of the Mississippi, with his headquarters at Alexandria, La., and the Confederate forces in that quarter were heavily reinforced. The fortifications across the neck at Bisland were strengthened and armed with guns taken from the wreck of the Cotton, and from the United States gunboat Diana, which, having been sent up the Teche to reconnoitre one day, was attacked by Taylor's infantry and a field battery, and captured. General Taylor had been reinforced by a brigade of mounted Texans, and he had 4,000 men or more with which to hold this line. On the other side, General Banks was preparing a powerful expedition to clear the Confederate forces out of the region of the Teche and of the portion of Louisiana between that and the Red River. Weitzel's brigade was to form part of the expedition, and was accordingly concentrated at Brashear City In this concentration the Eighth moved from Bayou Bœuf, nine miles east of Brashear, where it had been for several weeks, to Brashear City, on the 2d of April. On the 8th General Banks arrived at Brashear City, and was joined there next day by the larger portion of Emory's and Grover's divisions from Baton Rouge. The latter division at once embarked on transports and was sent up Grand Lake to Franklin, above Bisland, in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy stationed at that point. On the 9th, 10th and 11th, Emory's division and Weitzel's brigade, with a siege train, were taken across Berwick Bay, and on the 11th, at

noon, the march up the Teche began, Weitzel's brigade leading the column, with the Eighth Vermont in advance. Captain Dutton with company H, deployed as skirmishers, soon struck the enemy's pickets, which retired before them, and at night the troops bivouacked in line of battle, a short distance from Pattersonville.

BISLAND.

On Sunday, the 12th, the march was resumed, the command moving with great caution. Company K, Captain Barstow, was deployed as skirmishers and had several skirmishes with the enemy's pickets. At 3 o'clock the fortifications at Bisland confronted Weitzel; and, as the head of his column came within range, the enemy's batteries opened with shells, solid shot and grape. Weitzel's batteries replied, and from 5 o'clock till dark the artillery firing was continuous on both sides. During this time the Eighth supported Bainbridge's battery in an advanced position, and had several men wounded by fragments of shells. The men behaved remarkably well, encouraged by the example and words of Colonel Thomas, as he rode slowly along the line, saying: "Steady, men! Stand firm! Old Vermont is looking at you!"[1] At dusk Weitzel withdrew out of range of the enemy's guns, and the brigade bivouacked, in two lines, on the left of Emory's division. Next morning the artillery fire was resumed, the Eighth Vermont still supporting Bainbridge's battery, which was advanced within rifle-range of the Confederate

[1] "But two or three officers remained on their horses. Among them, very conspicuously sat, perfectly upright and still, Colonel Thomas of the Eighth Vermont. His regiment was at the extreme right, and supported 'A' battery, where the shot fell the thickest. Not a single man ran, or showed any disposition to do so. Twice during the heavy cannonading, General Weitzel sent Lieutenant Smith of his staff to warn the colonel that he was exposing himself unduly, and begging him to dismount. The reply of the great-hearted officer was: Colonel Thomas sends his compliments to General Weitzel, and begs to inform him that he did not come down here to get off his horse for any d—d rebels."—Correspondence *Boston Traveller.*

works. The regiment lay all day in some plantation ditches, which afforded shelter from the volleys of musket balls which trimmed the bushes above the prostrate ranks. Several times orders came to prepare to charge, but the men were soon ordered down again. About three o'clock in the afternoon the "rebel yell," heard now for the first time by most of the Vermonters present, came shrilly from the timber on the left, as the enemy was trying to turn the flank of General Weitzel's brigade. The movement was, however, repulsed by two of the New York regiments. During the day the gunboat Diana, which the enemy was using as a floating fort, was disabled by a 32-pound shot, which raked her from stem to stern; and the Union lines were advanced to within 400 yards of the works, on both sides of the bayou, preparatory to a general assault, ordered for next morning at daylight. But that evening General Taylor learned that Grover had landed above him with 4,000 men and was moving to Franklin in his rear; and at midnight he hastily abandoned his line at Bisland, and fell back to New Iberia, slipping, in the hours before daylight, through Franklin, beyond which place Grover had unfortunately halted.[1] When Weitzel's skirmishers advanced at daylight of the 14th, they found the works in front deserted, and without waiting for breakfast, the brigade was ordered forward in pursuit. The Eighth Vermont again led, with company H thrown forward as skirmishers. The enemy's rear guard, of cavalry, with a section of artillery, was soon overtaken, and driven through Franklin, where Grover joined Banks that day; and the Eighth bivouacked that night, with the brigade, a mile beyond Franklin. The results of this operation against Bisland, though resulting in the capture of several hundred prisoners and eleven pieces of artillery, and the destruction of the Diana, which was blown up

[1] "It was a wonderful chance. Grover had stopped just short of the prize. Thirty minutes would have given him the wood and the bridge, closing the trap on my force."—General Richard Taylor.

by the Confederates, fell far short of what might reasonably have been expected. Had Grover occupied Franklin as planned, Taylor's force must have been captured entire. The loss of the regiment at Bisland was one man, Adolphus Blanchard, company G, killed, and seven wounded.[1]

Taylor fell back from New Iberia to Opelousas, burning the bridges behind him; and Banks followed. For six days the regiment was now on the march to the north, often leading the advance, and averaging about fifteen miles a day. On the night of the 15th it bivouacked half way between Franklin and New Iberia; the next night two miles beyond Iberia; the next five miles from Vermilion Bayou; the next near Vermilion Bridge; the next just beyond Carrion Crow Bayou. The next day, Monday, the 20th, it passed through Opelousas, lately the seat of the Confederate State Government, and encamped in the outskirts of the city, with headquarters in the yard of the Mansion House. It was the longest march the Eighth had taken, and the men asserted, with some facts to back them, that they had fewer sick and fewer stragglers on the march than any regiment in the column.

General Banks claimed as results of his expedition the capture of 2,000 prisoners, 1,000 stand of small arms and 20 heavy guns; the destruction of foundries at Franklin and New Iberia, and the salt works below New Iberia; the capture of two steamers, and the destruction of three gunboats and ten or twelve transports. General Taylor admits the loss of three gunboats and four smaller steamers, and of five siege guns, abandoned at Bisland; but claims that his entire force was under 3,000, and that it was certainly not all captured. As usual, however, he greatly underrates his force, which his superior officer states at 5,000 effective men.[2]

[1] Banks's loss was 40 killed and 184 wounded, of which numbers 12 killed and 58 wounded were in Weitzel's brigade.

[2] "General Taylor had done everything possible with the resources at his command. His effective force in the district was not over 5,000."—Report of Lieut. General E. Kirby Smith.

May 4th, the day before the regiment left Opelousas, Captain Samuel G. P Craig, of company G, died of disease. He was a young lawyer (of Randolph) in the prime of life, a thorough disciplinarian, and a superior officer. He was buried in the cemetery near the old church in Opelousas. About this time also the sad news was received of the death of Captain John S. Clark (of Lunenberg), company K, a good soldier and true gentleman, who died in the hospital Hotel Dieu at New Orleans, on the 20th of March, and was buried in Girod Cemetery in that city. These deaths were felt to be a great loss, which found expression in some resolutions of respect and sorrow, adopted by the line officers. The regiment spent two weeks at Opelousas, in a pleasant camp, where fresh provisions were plenty, and then started, on the 5th of May. with the army, for the Red River.

Starting at 5 P. M., it marched all that night and the next day; bivouacked in line of battle on the night of the 6th, and at night of the 7th led the brigade into Alexandria. It had marched thirty-three miles that hot and dusty day, and made the ninety miles from Opelousas in less than three days, almost overtaking Dwight's brigade, which left Opelousas the day before them and had six miles less to march. The men were thoroughly exhausted on reaching Alexandria, and glad to drop to rest, in a field, without supper. Next morning the brigade marched through the city of Alexandria, and went into camp in a pleasant grove on the bank of the Red River. Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet, after silencing and capturing the enemy's batteries at Grand Gulf on the Mississippi, had passed into the Red River, and arrived at Alexandria the day before, and lay in the stream just below the camp; while Kirby Smith and Taylor, having evacuated Fort De Russy, had retreated up the river to Nachitoches and Shreveport. Alexandria was found almost deserted, the citizens having fled from their homes on the approach of the Union forces. After two days' rest, Weitzel's brigade

was sent after Taylor, and marched up the river some thirty-five miles; but Taylor had too long a start to be overtaken, and the brigade returned to Alexandria.

General Grant was now conducting the wonderful campaign in the rear of Vicksburg which established his military reputation. He wanted Banks to join him and assist in the capture of Vicksburg. Banks at first declined to go, for want of transportation; but concluded, later, that he could do so; and on the 13th of May put his army in motion down the Red River, aiming for Simmesport, on the Atchefalaya near its junction with the Mississippi, where he hoped to obtain transports to take him to Grand Gulf. Before leaving Simmesport, however, he had concluded, in view of the danger of leaving New Orleans at the mercy of the strong Confederate force at Port Hudson, that it would be best for him first to reduce the latter place. Obtaining Grant's concurrence, he accordingly moved from Simmesport down the Mississippi to a point opposite Bayou Sara, fifteen miles above Port Hudson, where he crossed, and moved against Port Hudson from the north, while Generals Augur and T. W Sherman moved up from Baton Rouge with 3,500 men and invested the stronghold from the south. In the movement to Port Hudson, the Eighth left Alexandria on the 17th with Weitzel's brigade, which covered the rear of Banks's army, and marched by easy stages to Simmesport. Here the sick men and the superfluous baggage were placed on boats to be taken to New Orleans; and the brigade took transports for Bayou Sara, the brigade trains being sent by land with the main body of Banks's force, which marched thither down the right bank of the Mississippi. The Eighth landed at Bayou Sara at midnight of May 25th, and two hours later started toward Port Hudson. The brigade marched five miles down the river that night, and joined Grover's division next day. Grover and Dwight, the latter commanding Emory's division, Emory being sick, had already driven the enemy within his main line of works;

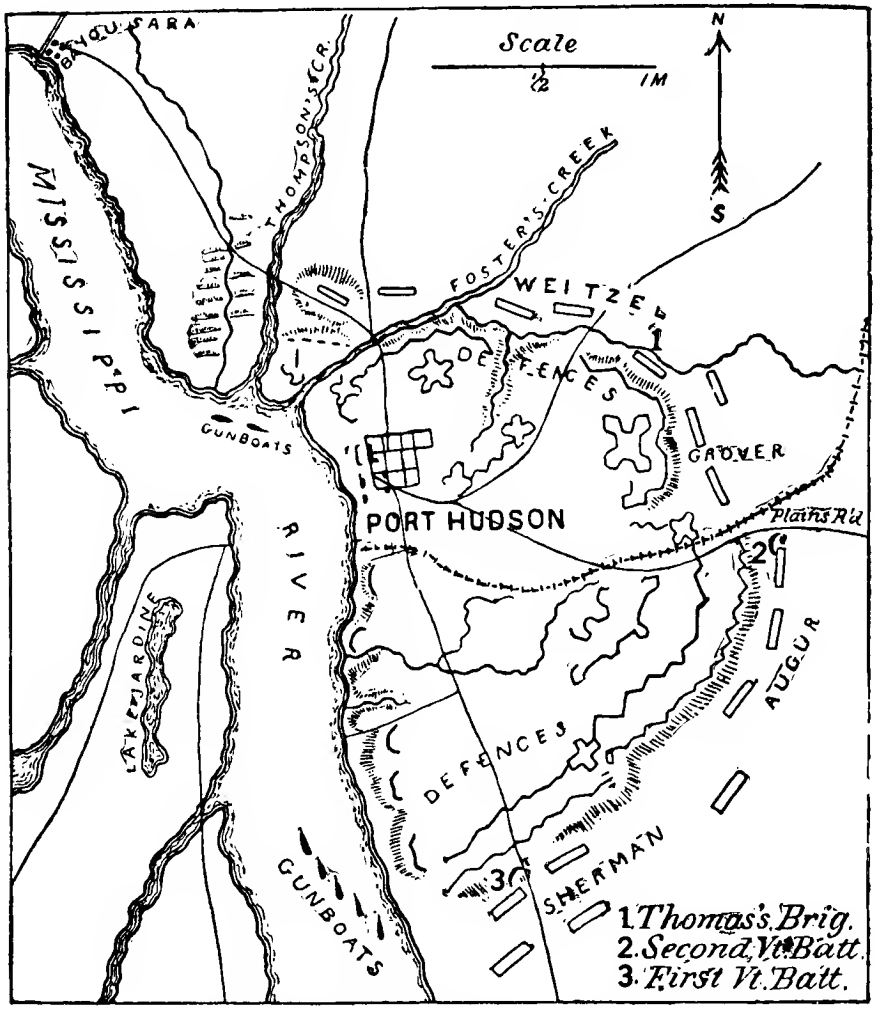
and on the 26th the investment of Port Hudson was completed.

PORT HUDSON.

This stronghold was not an easy nut to crack. Resting their control of the Mississippi on Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the Confederates had for a year been fortifying the latter point, by the labor of slaves, and had constructed a series of works of remarkable strength. Along the bluff, 80 feet above the river, which here turns at a right angle, were planted batteries armed with siege guns; and a line of redoubts and bastioned forts, connected by earthworks, encircled the town, extending from the mouth of Thompson's Creek, above the town, to Ross's Landing, a mile and a half south of the village. Two months previous there had been over 20,000 men within the works; but the garrison had been reduced to reinforce Pemberton at Vicksburg, and at the time of Banks's investment it numbered about 8,000, under command of Major General Frank Gardner. General Gardner had fifty pieces of artillery, twenty of which were siege guns. General Banks's army numbered in round numbers 30,000.[1] Within the lines the ground permitted prompt transfers of troops from point to point, while without, a broken surface, seamed with ravines and heavily wooded in portions, offered strong natural obstacles to the besieging force. In the investment of the place, General Weitzel was assigned to the command of the division which manned the Union lines north and northeast of Port Hudson. His own brigade was nearly opposite the main angle by which the enemy's works turned to the south, and two other brigades and two colored regiments extended his line to the right, to Thompson's creek.

[1] General Banks states that his losses in the operations on the Teche and from sickness occasioned by the long and exhausting marches to and from the Red River, had reduced his effective force to less than 13,000; the official tables give him over double that number.

Colonel Thomas succeeded Weitzel in the command of the brigade and Lieut. Colonel Dillingham commanded the Eighth. As soon as his troops were in position General Banks ordered a general assault, not doubting that his force



Siege of Port Hudson, May and June, 1863.

was sufficient to overwhelm the garrison. His orders, issued on the night of the 26th, directed a general cannonade from the guns of the fleet and his field batteries, under cover of which a simultaneous assault was to be made on all parts of

the enemy's works. For this, Weitzel's division was formed before daylight, in the woods and along some broken hills, in column of brigades, Van Zandt's brigade constituting the first line, Paine's the second, and Thomas's brigade the third.

May 27, 1863. The division moved to the attack soon after sunrise. Its experience in the next hour was thus summarized by an eye-witness:[1] "Over hillocks and ravines tangled with forests, through roaring, shrieking, whistling storms of great guns and musketry, amidst the crash of gigantic beeches and magnolias cut asunder by shot, Weitzel's division drove in the enemy's sharpshooters, slackened its speed under the friction of obstacle after obstacle; passed in driblets through a vast abatis of felled trees, and spent itself in reaching the base of the earthworks." In the operation thus described, the first line was met by a fire of artillery and infantry so deadly that it halted in serious confusion. The second line closed up on the first and also halted. Then came the turn of Thomas. His brigade moved forward till it came up with the first and second lines, when it halted, under fire, for a few moments, which were spent by Thomas in exhorting the officers and men of the other two brigades to follow his line when it should take the front. Then, led by Thomas, on foot—the field officers having all been directed to leave their horses in the rear—his brigade passed through and over the men in front, and, closely followed by the latter, charged at double quick. In this movement the Eighth Vermont, after passing through the lines of the Ninety-first New York and another regiment, charged upon a line of the enemy, posted in some uncompleted entrenchments, drove them out of these and through a slashing of felled timber, and followed them through a hollow and up a wooded hillside, beyond the crest of which was a plateau of open ground extending to the enemy's main line of works, perhaps twenty rods away. The opposing fire of

[1] Captain J. W. Deforest, Twelfth Connecticut.—Harper's Magazine.

grape and musketry was fearful, and the Union batteries, tardy in taking position, were making no effective reply. Thomas accordingly halted his line and its supports, below the crest, and reported the situation to General Weitzel, who ordered him to make no further advance, as the other divisions were accomplishing nothing in the way of effective cooperation; but to hold his ground, and await further orders. He accordingly directed his men to throw up some hasty breastworks in the edge of the timber, and the position thus gained by him was maintained to the close of the siege. The further fighting on the part of his brigade this day, consisted in picking off every Confederate who showed himself above the opposing works. The shooting on the enemy's side was equally sharp, and probably more fatal.[1]

Colonel Thomas never doubted that if the assaults from the centre and left had corresponded with Weitzel's in point of time, he might have gone into Port Hudson that morning. But as Augur and Sherman did not attack till the afternoon, Gardner was able to move his troops where they were most needed, and to meet each of the successive attacks with an ample force of defenders.[2] At nightfall the attempt to carry the place by assault was abandoned, and Banks withdrew his lines to the cover of the woods and hills, with a loss of 2,000 men, and without securing any important advantage, except the advanced position gained by Thomas.

[1] Two of General Weitzel's staff, Captains Hubbard and Wrotnoski, sent to Thomas with orders this day, were killed, at an exposed spot in the line, which came to be known as "Deadman's Corner" from the number of men who fell there.

[2] "Speaking of the fight on the 27th a Confederate officer said that when the attack was made so vigorously from Weitzel's front, they all thought their game was up. But observing no similar movement along other parts of our line, they moved up eleven pieces of artillery and two large battalions of their best troops so that they were able to offer effectual resistance in that quarter."—Port Hudson letter, in New Orleans *Era*.

"The attack on the right commenced with vigor early in the morning. Had the movement upon the left been executed at the same time, the assault might have been successful."—General Banks's report.

Of Colonel Thomas's conduct this day, one of his line officers, Captain Barstow, said: "No words can do justice to it. He virtually commanded the division from the time we came up with the first two lines. Being on foot, and having but a single staff officer, the physical labor performed by him was tremendous, and his bearing was most heroic and gallant, as it always was when he had any fighting to do." The Eighth sustained this day its first serious loss in battle, having 88 men killed and wounded. Of this number 51 fell in the first charge. Colonel Thomas received a slight wound on his left temple. Captain H. E. Foster, company C, and Lieutenant James Welch, company G, were wounded.[1]

On the 28th, there was an armistice of three hours to collect the wounded and bury the dead. This over, General Banks, fully undeceived in regard to the strength of the garrison, prepared for a protracted siege. This formed in some

[1] Killed, May 27th, 1863—Company A, Jos. O. Kimball and Zolvey Sargeant; company C, David N. George; company D, Henry Butterfield, Jr.; company E, Geo. E. Wedgewood; company F, Edward Ducharme and Peter Henchey; company G, George W. Battles and Dennis Ryan; company H, Charles Bartlett and W. F. Bowker. The rank and file wounded at Port Hudson, May 27th, were: Company A, Charles W. Boynton, John B. Chayer, Wm. W. Kinsley, Moses Larue and George Remick; company B, Sergeant H. H. Holt, Corporal Henry M. Foss, Carlos J. Barnes, Daniel J. Covey, Samuel Guthrie, Wm. Horn, Thos. W. Page, Walter W. Parsons, John R. Robinson; company C, Newell H. H. Adams, Chas. Boodry, Chas. Collins, Joseph Colcott, Corporal W. H. Jones, Nathan P. Jay, Andrew J. Keith, Robt. C. Morse, Chas. A. Newman, Henry K. Page, Harvey G. Perigo and H. W. Prisby; company D, First Sergeant Nathaniel Robie, Asa S. Emery, Charles G. Emery, Mason B. Jenkins, Norbit Lahas and Edmond L. Wheeler; company E, Ira Holmes, Geo. Maxham, Julius McMurphy, Chas. Smith and Francis Y. Snow; company F, Chas. A. McClusky and Thos. H. Henchy; company G, Chas. W. Battles, Paschal Bissonette, Daniel W. Eaton and Lyman B. Evans; company H, Sergeant Wm. H. Smith, Samuel S. Childs, James Frascovia, Amos L. Jenkins, George R. Harrington and Cyrus M. White; company I, Henry G. Baldwin and Geo. J. Bishop; company K, Charles Drown, Deming D. Fairbanks, John A. Ryder, Wm. H. Silsby and Henry Woodruff. Hollis W. Prisby died of his wounds August 23d and Henry Woodruff, July 4th, and several men were transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, in consequence of disability from their wounds.

respects the most trying period in the history of the regiment. Some of the features of the life of the troops at this time, are vividly presented in a letter written by Quartermaster Fred E. Smith, under date of June 27th :

"Our officers and men lie quietly down, day and night, week after week, with hundreds of rifle-balls whistling within a few feet, often a few inches, of their heads. And when from necessity, they must leave their posts, they have to crawl behind logs, and through ditches and ravines to get to the woods in the rear. Perhaps on the way they must cross a knoll or a ridge of land, when—whist! whist! whiz-z-z! go a half dozen bullets from sharpshooters, who are constantly watching every such exposed place.

The men of this command have been confined for more than a month to the ditches in which they live, sleep, eat and fight. In front are embankments of their own building, on the top of which are sand-bags and logs, forming loopholes through which they watch the enemy, and shoot at the sight of anything that moves. These are in many places within twenty rods of the earthworks behind which lie the enemy, keeping as close watch of us as we do of them. A continued roar of musketry is kept up on both sides while the bullets clip the leaves and branches overhead almost constantly. Along a large part of the line the men are obliged to approach the trenches crawling on their hands and knees. Here, too, they sleep, if they sleep at all, in such an inclined position that morning finds them several feet lower down the bank than when they lay down. If the night be ever so rainy, all they can do is to lie or stand and take it. When the ground gets very slippery, so that they slide too much, they must drive some stakes to brace their feet against. Many of the men have dug holes in the bank large enough to admit their whole bodies, so that they literally live in caves of the earth. The cooking has to be done half or three-quarters of a mile in the rear, out of range of the guns, and the food is carried in by cooks and negroes. You can easily imagine the men are of necessity very dirty and ragged, for their clothes soon get terribly filthy, or wear out. So much is their appearance altered that you would recognize but few of the men or officers of the old Eighth. Occasionally, a few get out, stretch their legs and get washed, and those who are fortunate enough to possess a change of shirt, put on a clean one. But as a rule the poor boys are unshaven, their hair is long and frequently uncombed for a

week or more; and if close inspection were made, it might surprise their wives or mothers to find vermin living on their heads and bodies. Their food is, of course, very plain and very poor. The water they get is very bad even for this country, and the best they are able to procure would be thought unfit for cattle in Vermont. This is the actual state of things, only a deep shade too faintly pictured."

This sort of life lasted for forty-four days, varied on the early morning of the 11th of June, by an abortive attack. This was made between midnight and daylight, and was intended to be a surprise; but the enemy was found on the alert; and the skirmishers, who at some parts of the line reached the opposing abatis, were recalled. During this period four men of the Eighth were killed or mortally wounded in the trenches,[1] and several others less severely wounded.

As Banks's troops were diminishing rapidly under exposure and fatigue, and there was great dissatisfaction, amounting in some cases almost to mutiny, among the nine months regiments, of which there were twenty in his command whose terms had expired or were expiring, he decided, during the second week in June, upon a second and more careful attempt to carry Port Hudson by general assault. Before it was made, he, on the 13th of June, summoned General Gardner to surrender, saying that he had become aware, through some intercepted despatches, of the number and condition of his (Gardner's) command; that the prolonged resistance of the garrison had fully vindicated their courage and endurance; but that it was folly to hold out longer in view of the great superiority of the investing army, and that he demanded the surrender of the place in the interest of humanity and to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood. Gardner replied that his duty did not permit him to

[1] Killed—George Renfrew, company D, June 3d; Porter J. Whitney, company I, June 11th; Eben Pond, company K, June 12th; Con Carmody, company G, died July 23d of wounds received May 29th.

entertain any such proposition. General Banks at once issued orders for the assault on the morrow.

This was prepared with especial care. The main attack was to be made on the right, by Weitzel's and Paine's divisions, while Augur made a demonstration on the left centre, and Dwight was to endeavor to force an entrance through a ravine on the left. The point of attack was the portion of the enemy's works opposite the advanced position secured on the 27th of May. From this crest a piece of almost level open ground extended right up to the Confederate earthworks, and the endeavor to carry these, requiring the utmost efforts of the most resolute men, was committed to Weitzel's brigade. Colonel Thomas was now seriously ill in hospital; and the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel E. B. Smith of the One Hundred and Fourteenth New York. Lieut. Colonel Dillingham commanded the Eighth Vermont. Captain Barstow had succeeded Captain Hubbard, killed in the former assault, as assistant adjutant general on the brigade staff, and distinguished himself throughout the day. The preparations for the attack, which was to be made in the morning twilight, were elaborate. Two regiments, the Seventy-fifth New York and Twelfth Connecticut, were to form as skirmishers in front. The Ninety-first New York, each man carrying a five-pound hand-grenade in one hand and his musket in the other, were to follow close behind the skirmishers and throw their grenades over the parapets to scatter the Confederate troops in the trenches. The Twenty-fourth Connecticut were to come next, carrying bags filled with cotton, with which to fill the ditch and enable the storming column to scale the parapets. This column consisted of the Eighth Vermont, One Hundred and Fourteenth New York and One Hundred and Sixtieth New York. If successful in effecting an entrance they were to be supported by Kimball's and Morgan's brigades.

There was no sleep for the troops so selected, that

night. At two o'clock in the morning coffee and hard bread were served to them; and before dawn the lines were formed and moved into position. The Twelfth Connecticut lost its way in the darkness, and its place was taken by the Ninety-first New York.[1] The regiments moved out in the dusk, made darker by a morning fog, through a sunken way, which had been cut from the edge of the timber to within one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy's breastworks, and deploying on open ground beyond, pushed straight for the hostile works. Arduous as the undertaking was expected to be, it proved even harder in reality. The surface, which had appeared unbroken to the eye, was found to be seamed with ditches filled with brush, which formed serious obstacles, though they were too shallow to afford protection from the volleys which burst hotly from the opposing lines. A few of the skirmishers picked their way to the works only to fall or be driven back by the murderous fire from the parapets. The hand-grenade experiment was an entire failure, the few grenades that were hurled over the breastworks being for the most part thrown back by the enemy, before they exploded. Most of the grenadiers halted before they reached the works and fell back on the men with cotton bags, who in turn faltered and then halted in huddled groups.

Though the measures taken to prepare the way for them had all thus failed, the storming column was now ordered forward. The Eighth Vermont led the way. Marching by the flank up a ravine through which the enemy had an enfilading fire, the regiment deployed into line on the brow of the hill and moving out over and past the fragmentary lines of the regiments that had preceded them, made a resolute effort to charge across the open. In the next five minutes sixty Vermonters dropped dead or wounded under the storm of lead and iron which swept the ground in front. The regiment halted and fell back into the cover of a ravine.

[1] Correspondence of the New York *Herald.*

Here the line was re-formed and attempted a second advance to the left of the hill; but this too failed. A few men succeeded in reaching the ditch. The rest fell back and sought such shelter as they could. The other regiments had a similar experience. Colonel Smith, commanding the brigade, fell mortally wounded with a ball through his spine, and Lieut. Colonel Van Petten of the One Hundred and Sixtieth New York succeeded to the command. Two or three brigades, advanced at other points, were almost as roughly handled. Nowhere was any entrance to the works effected; and the effort was abandoned. The assault cost General Banks another 2,000 men, killed, wounded and missing. It ended at ten o'clock in the forenoon; but no recall was possible till nightfall for large numbers of men, who had reached spots from which they could neither advance nor retreat without fatal exposure. Parties which attempted to remove some of the wounded, were fired upon, and wounded men were slain upon the stretchers. All the rest of the day, in gullies and behind trees, hundreds of wounded and unwounded men lay in the hot sun, the former suffering untold agonies from thirst and the festering of their wounds. The Eighth Vermont as a body lay where a slight depression of the ground afforded partial cover. Only after dark was it possible to move, when the regiment resumed its former place in the besieging lines, and its officers could count the cost of the day. The regiment took 350 men over the crest, and lost 99 killed and wounded. The saddest loss to the regiment was that of Lieutenant Stephen F. Spaulding. When Adjutant Barstow was transferred to the brigade staff Lieutenant Spaulding was appointed acting adjutant. He performed the duties of the office with characteristic coolness and courage, encouraging the men by voice and example. At the first halt of the line beyond the ravine, he snatched a musket from a wounded man and stepping forward was in the act of discharging it when he fell forward

with a minie ball through his brain, and died without a word.[1] Among the wounded were Captain Hall and First Lieutenant Sargent of company E, and First Lieutenant Pike of company G.

Of the rank and file 16 were killed and 78 wounded.[2]

[1] Stephen F. Spaulding was a native of Montpelier. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont and was a law student in New York city and not yet of age, when Fort Sumter was fired on. Seven days later he was on his way to Washington as a private in the Seventh New York regiment. Returning to New York after the three months' service of that regiment ended, he resumed his studies for a time; but soon decided to re-enlist, and in a Vermont regiment. He was active in raising company B, of the Eighth Vermont, and was its first lieutenant. At Algiers, when Captain Child was detached as provost marshal, he commanded the company and was recognized as one of the most spirited, intelligent and capable officers in the line. He had a presentiment that he should not survive the assault, and remarked the night before to his friend Captain Barstow: "I shall not spend another night with you." His body was recovered and was sent to Vermont for final interment.

[2] Killed, June 14th, 1863—Company B, Horace D. Bancroft, Geo. W. Brown, Jason C. Farewell; company C, Loren F. Kelley and Wm. T. Pettee; company D, Henry J. Thompson; company E, Ira Barrett and Wm. Jones; company G, Joseph Becotte, Henry Coles, Wm. Johnson, George Kendall and Solon Parker; company H, Henry W Crocker: company I, Sergeant Edward R. Pratt and Henry C. Blashfield.

Wounded—Company A, Jephaniah Carpenter; company B, Sergeant John Bisbee, Sergeant William H. Spencer, Sergeant George Collier, Corporal Charles P. Church, Corporal Myron P. Warren, Corporal William H. Henry, Orville R. Brooks, George W. Barnes, Charles S. Barrett, Edward Bellville, Joseph Baraby, Edward L. Carpenter, John R. Dawson, John Fox, William S. Lee, James Smith, John B. Tucker, Charles Wheeler and Alfred Wells; company C, Sergeant J. A. Ripley, Corporal George C. Goodell, Joseph S. Bailey, Denslow Barber, Edward Boodry, Henry A. Crane, Joseph Colcott, Charles E. Dunton, Charles E. Hardy, George W. Hadlock, James Hubbard, George H. Haselton, William H. Jones, A. Montrett, Jacob L. Pettee, Harvey G. Perigo, Cornelius H. Putnam, Martin Rosebush, Lawrence Swinger, Levi W. Skinner, Ransom W. Williams and John M. Waldron; company D, Henry E. Ring, Lorenzo Robbins and Edward White; company E, Lewis Amel, Aleck Brandt, Jason Drury, Thomas F. Ferrin, Charles E. L. Hills, James W. Howard and Julius McMurphy; company F. Corporal Ezra E. Janes, Charles A. McClusky and Noel Reneaud; company G, John Davis, Fabien Dupuis, Corporal Dudley C. Woodbury, Francis S. Hull, George R. Howe, Louis Hoezle, Langdon Kemp, Oscar Kemp and John Sullivan; company

Colonel Thomas lay in the hospital that Sunday morning, till finding the suspense unendurable he ordered his horse, and, against the orders of the surgeons, mounted and rode to the front. Learning there that the assault had failed, he reluctantly returned to the hospital.

On the 15th General Banks issued an order, saying: "We are at all points on the threshold of the enemy's fortifications—one more advance and they are ours," and calling for a forlorn hope of a thousand men to lead another assault, with promises of promotion to the officers and medals of honor to the privates who should volunteer for this desperate duty. The troops did not welcome this proposition. One officer and five men of the Eighth offered to join the storming party; but less than 300 names in all were enrolled for it; and the project was abandoned.[1]

Twenty-four days of active siege operations followed the assault of the 14th of June. Parallels and saps were advanced, a mine excavated under the enemy's strong-

H, Sergeant George M. Allard, Samuel S. Childs, Albert O. Evans and George R. Harrington; company I, Oscar B. Hescock, Willard W. Sawyer and Austin H. Ward; company K, Sergeant Perry Porter, Jr., Corporal John Petrie, Paschal P. Shores, Frank Ward and John E. Woodsom.

The following men died of their wounds:

Lorenzo Robbins, July 3d; Edward White, June 25th; Jason Drury, September 25th; James W. Howard, June 24th; Charles E. L. Hills, July 3d; Louis Hoezle, June 28th; William S. Lee, July 3d; Jacob L. Pettee, July 6th; Martin Rosebush, July 5th; Langdon Kemp, July 15th.

[1] "I noticed that the regiments which had suffered most severely hitherto sent up very few names for the 'roll of honor.' For instance the Eighth ——, one of the most gallant organizations I ever knew, but which had already lost two-thirds of its numbers in our unhappy assaults, did not furnish a single officer or soldier."—Captain J. W De Forest, 12th Conn.

If the Eighth Vermont was the regiment thus referred to, as it doubtless was, there being no other Eighth in the brigade to which Captain De Forest belonged, he was slightly in error. Captain John L. Barstow, Sergeant George G. Hutchins of company E; Corporal A. N. Flint, L. P. Luce and G. W Coles of company G, and George H. Ormsby of company H, sent in their names for the forlorn hope.

est fort, known as "the Citadel," and new batteries mounted. The artillery fire was constant; the sharpshooting on each side, along the works, which in many places were within pistol range of each other, was incessant; night skirmishes were frequent. Little rest was permitted to the besiegers and none to the enemy. The only variety from these operations, for the Eighth, during this period, was an expedition directed against the enemy's cavalry, which were operating in the rear. Colonel Thomas commanded the brigade on this expedition, though scarcely able to sit upon his horse. The brigade marched two days without discovering the enemy, and then returned. The privations and exposures of this period greatly swelled the sick list. July 1st, it numbered 289, the largest number sick at any time in the history of the regiment. At this date the morning report showed an aggregate of 732—only 435 of whom were reported for duty, and some of those were not fairly fit for service.

The following promotions were made during this time: Captain H. F Dutton of company H to be major, vice L. M. Grout, resigned; First Lieutenant A. B. Franklin to be captain, and Second Lieutenant S. E. Howard to be first lieutenant of company H; Second Lieutenant F D. Butterfield to be first lieutenant, and Orderly Sergeant John Bisbee to be second lieutenant of company B; Second Lieutenant George O. Ford to be first lieutenant of company K. July 12th, H. M. Pollard was commissioned first lieutenant of company I.

The fourth of July was celebrated by a general salute from the Union batteries, the First and Second Vermont Batteries being among the number, with shotted guns. Three days later came more joyful occasion for salutes and shouting, in the news that Vicksburg had fallen. The cause of the cheering which echoed all along the Union lines, was soon learned by the garrison of Port Hudson, and that night General Gardner's proposition to surrender was received by

a flag of truce, which was received and conducted to General Augur's headquarters by Lieutenant Chase of the Second Vermont Battery. The surrender was probably only hastened three or four days by the fall of Vicksburg; for the garrison were living on mule meat and rats, and were well nigh exhausted. Colonel Thomas was the officer of the trenches, on the last day of the siege, and superintended in person the placing of thirty barrels of powder in a mine under the principal work in front. While there he could hear the conversation of the Confederates over his head, their talk indicating that they were aware that the fort was mined, and moreover that they would welcome any end of the siege.

General Weitzel, in his report, commends the Eighth Vermont for its courage and endurance, during the siege; and adds: "I should not do justice to my convictions of duty did I fail to mention Colonel Thomas for his coolness and gallantry at all times."

On the 9th, the Union troops marched unopposed into Port Hudson, and 6000 men of the garrison grounded their arms, in addition to 500 sick men surrendered in hospital. The stars and stripes were flung to the breeze from the highest bluff, and Port Hudson was restored to the Union, and the Mississippi ran free from Cairo to the Gulf. The same day Weitzel's brigade, with portions of Grover's and Dwight's divisions, was sent down the river, by transports, to Donaldsonville, to put a stop to the operations of General Taylor, who during the siege of Port Hudson had reoccupied the Teche, captured Brashear City with its garrison and stores and occupied the La Fourche district, almost unopposed. The men of the Eighth were glad to get away from Port Hudson. They had been through the entire siege, with no protection from the storms and the scalding sun except such as they could gain from the shade of the breastworks and from burrowing in the ground. Their days had been filled with hard and exposed duty. Their rest at night

had been uncertain. The fighting had been hard and unfruitful of results. Besiegers and besieged were alike glad that the siege was over.[1]

Weitzel's division reached Donaldsonville July 10th. The following day there was a sharp engagement with a Confederate force of 1,500 cavalry under General Green, supported by a large body of infantry, which drove in Grover's advance, consisting of Dudley's brigade, and captured 150 prisoners. During this action the Eighth Vermont was held in reserve. Next day Taylor retreated to Berwick Bay, ran the engines and cars on the railroad into the bay, and retired up the Teche. The Eighth then marched with Weitzel's division to Thibodeaux and went into camp there July 31st. It had now its first period of rest since April 9th. The regiment was reduced in numbers by deaths, discharges and furloughs, till some companies had not more than a dozen privates present for duty, under command of a sergeant. Colonel Thomas went to Vermont to recruit his health. Some of the best officers were absent on sick leave.

At this time, July 12th, "Father" Blake received his commission as chaplain of the Third Louisiana (colored) regiment and took leave of the Eighth, much to the regret of officers and men.[2]

[1] The following men were killed at dates subsequent to the last assault June 17th, Felix Marchand of company C; June 20th, Samuel O. Horn of company B.

[2] Rev. Isaac Blake was a preacher, of the "Second Advent" persuasion, in northeastern Vermont, and had reached nearly three-score, when the war broke out. Having preached the duty of sustaining the government by arms, he enforced his teachings by his example, and at the age of 58 years enlisted, at Derby, in company B, of the Eighth Vermont. He was not much of a shooter, but he could play the fife, so he went to the war as a fifer. His age and earnestness and faith distinguished him, not less than his music, among the men of the regiment. Before the regiment left the State, it was paraded, one cold December Sunday, at Brattleboro, to receive some orders. No chaplain had been as yet appointed. Colonel Thomas remarked to some of the captains that he wished they had a chap-

On the 15th of August a detail consisting of Captain C. B. Leach of company D, Lieutenant George N. Carpenter of company C, Lieutenant A. K. Cooper of company A, Sergeant W H. Spencer of company C, Sergeant Charles R. Wills of company G, Corporal F R. Carpenter of company F, Corporal H. B. Brown of company H, Corporal L. H. Parker and Corporal Ezra S. Pierce of company K, were sent to Vermont on recruiting service, and proceeded to Brattleboro. Lieutenant Carpenter, however, did not serve on this duty, but was ordered to Norfolk and Alexandria, Va., in charge of the recruits and conscripts for Vermont regiments in the Army of the Potomac. He returned to his regiment in December. A second detail, consisting of Lieutenant Colonel Dillingham, Lieutenant and Acting Quartermaster S. E. Howard, Sergeant Ezra H. Brown of company A, Sergeant George Collier of company B, Sergeant John A. Ripley of company C, Sergeant Edward F. Gould of company D, Sergeant George G. Hutchins of company E, Sergeant William T. Church of company F, Sergeant Joseph N. Dunton of company H, Sergeant Francis E. Warren of

lain to offer a prayer. Captain Child thereupon said he had a minister in his company, and Fifer Blake was sent for, and was asked by the colonel to make a prayer, with the injunction to "make it short, but to put in all the powder he had a mind to." Father Blake prayed and few who heard it ever forgot the prayer. When in subsequent months and years the regiment was without a chaplain Father Blake not only conducted religious services, but officiated in care of the sick and other duties commonly performed by chaplains, drawing of course only a private's pay. After his appointment as chaplain of the Third Louisiana U. S. C. T., he served eight months, and then resigned, in consequence of impaired health, and returned to Vermont, where he lived to be upwards of 80 years old. He was a man of marked character, and many of his good deeds and speeches are treasured by his comrades. It is related of him that after his appointment as chaplain his regiment was under fire one day from a Confederate battery to which the Union guns made no reply, till Father Blake went to the captain of a battery and told him he thought this was one of the times when it was "more blessed to give than to receive!" The batterymen took the hint, and with a cheer for the old chaplain, soon silenced the opposing artillery.

company I, and Sergeant N. C. Cheney of company K, went to Burlington for the same purpose. In February, 1864, these two parties returned to the regiment with 304 recruits. During the month of August the regiment led a comparatively uneventful life at Thibodeaux; and, with no service more severe than drill and picket duty, the men gained rest and strength.

On the 1st of September the Eighth joined the ill-conducted expedition under General Franklin against Sabine Pass on the coast of Texas. General Franklin made no use of his land forces, and denied Weitzel's request to be permitted to land and attack the works with the Eighth and two other regiments of his brigade. The gunboats were repulsed with serious loss, and General Franklin returned ingloriously to New Orleans. The Eighth did not leave the transport Cahawba during the expedition. It disembarked at Algiers on the 11th and moved thence by rail to Brashear City, on the 15th, whence it moved to Tarleton Plantation.

In October, in order to mask his long contemplated movement against Texas, General Banks pushed a heavy force under General C. C. Washburn up to Opelousas. Weitzel's brigade formed a part of this force; and the Eighth, having the advance of the brigade, marched up the Bayou Teche once more, over familiar roads, via Franklin, New Iberia, Vermillionville and Opelousas to Carrion Crow Bayou, driving before them Taylor's cavalry and taking several prisoners. November 1st, Washburn, having been ordered to withdraw, commenced his retreat to the Teche, and the Eighth moved with the brigade, November 2d, to Vermillion Bayou. Taylor and Green had a large force of infantry and cavalry in front, and lost no chance to surprise and cut off detached portions of Washburn's command. On the 3d they surprised General Burbridge, who was at Bayou Bourbeau, three miles south of Opelousas, with 1,000 men, and captured over half of his brigade. Weitzel's

division received orders that night to move to Burbridge's assistance, and starting at three o'clock next morning, the Eighth marched 14 miles in three hours, to the scene of action, to find that the enemy had retired with 500 prisoners and a field-piece. On the 16th the regiment moved from Vermillion Bayou to Camp Pratt and New Iberia, where it remained for seven weeks, guarding the town and doing heavy picket duty, during a time of remarkably cold weather for that region, with frequent alternations of frost and mud.

During the closing months of 1863, many changes took place among the field, staff and line officers of the regiment. November 30th Quartermaster Fred E. Smith resigned and received an honorable discharge. A man of marked business ability, he had been in all respects a model quartermaster. His interest in the regiment was always strong and his departure was felt to be a great loss. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of Edward Dewey of Montpelier as quartermaster. December 12th the resignation of Lieut. Colonel Dillingham deprived the regiment of a brave and efficient field officer. Major H. F. Dutton was thereupon advanced to the vacancy, and Captain Barstow of company K was promoted major. During the last half of the year the following promotions and appointments took place: Lieutenant Geo. N. Carpenter to be captain of company C, vice Henry E. Foster resigned; Lieut. L. M. Hutchinson appointed acting adjutant, vice Lieutenant Carpenter promoted; O. E. Ross appointed assistant surgeon September 17th; Second Lieutenant W H. Smith to be first lieutenant of company F; S. W Shattuck appointed adjutant October 20th; First Lieutenant H. M. Pollard to be captain of company I, vice W W Lynde resigned; Second Lieutenant John Bisbee to be first lieutenant of company B; Second Lieutenant Geo. E. Selleck to be first lieutenant of company I; First Lieutenant F. D. Butterfield to be captain of company B; Commissary Sergeant Lewis

Child to be first lieutenant of company C; Second Lieutenant A. J. Sargent to be first lieutenant of company E; First Lieutenant Geo. O. Ford to be captain of company K; Sergeant William H. Spencer to be second lieutenant of company B; Sergeant John A. Ripley to be second lieutenant of company C; Sergeant Nathaniel Robie to be second lieutenant of company D, and Sergeant Joseph N. Dunton to be second lieutenant of company H.

January 1st, 1864, the regiment was still at New Iberia, with about 500 men present for duty and a sick-list of 100. The weather continued severe, with continuous rain and frequent sleet. Under such circumstances the question of re-enlisting, under the offer of the War Department of special inducements to re-enlisting regiments, came up for practical decision. With this was complicated the question of the date of expiration of the term of service, already explained in the history of the Seventh regiment. The men generally preferred to be mustered out in June and go home, if that was to be permitted. If on the other hand they must stay eight months longer, to fill out the full term of three years, they were willing to re-enlist and secure the bounty and veteran furlough. The matter was still in suspense, when, on the 6th of January, the regiment was ordered to break camp and march to Franklin, where it remained two months. Here Colonel Thomas rejoined the regiment in February, in renewed health, and with a body of 304 recruits, obtained in Vermont. These were allotted among the companies and brought the aggregate of the regiment up to 915, with 805 reported present for duty. During the colonel's absence the matter of the expiration of the term had been referred to the War Department at Washington, which decided, as in the case of the Seventh, that under the enlistment contracts the men were entitled to discharge June 1st, 1864. This decision was announced at dress parade by Colonel Thomas, who accompanied the news with a speech,

in which he asked the men to consider that each veteran was worth three new recruits to the government, and urged them to re-enlist, as they would have done if they were to be held eight months longer. The response to the proposition, however, was not encouraging, and for a time it was doubtful whether enough would re-enlist to entitle the regiment to a veteran furlough. During this time, at the request of many of the men, Colonel Thomas again returned to Vermont, in order to secure for the re-enlisting men the town bounties offered by many towns to new recruits. He was successful in securing such bounties for a number of the men. Under all the inducements presented 321 men re-enlisted, being enough to secure the title and furlough of a veteran regiment. The proportion of men re-enlisting was pretty uniform throughout the companies, ranging from 22 in company E to 42 in company K.[1] The Eighth was the second Vermont organization to thus secure the honorable title of "Veteran Volunteers" and was complimented in a special order by General Emory, for its patriotic example.

In March the veterans began to make preparation for their furlough of thirty days. On the 8th of March the regiment moved back to Algiers, where the re-enlisted men were paid and on the 7th of April embarked with the Ninth Connecticut Veteran Volunteers, on the steamer Constitution, to which they were escorted by the other troops of the brigade, and sailed for New York. Arriving there eight days later, the regiment reached Montpelier in the evening of July 16th and received an enthusiastic welcome. Hon. Charles Reed welcomed them in an appropriate address, and a generous banquet was prepared for them at Depot Hall. On the 18th they departed to their homes under orders to report at Brattleboro, May 19th. Reassembling at that date, they

[1] Captain McFarland of company A says that of the seventeen men who originally enlisted under him from Waterville, fourteen re-enlisted. Of the other three, one died in the service, one was promoted and one discharged for disability.

waited at Brattleboro six days for transportation and then were taken to New York. On the way Henry B. Wheeler of company F fell from the cars and was left seriously injured at Springfield, Mass. At New York the veterans took the steamer McClellan for New Orleans, where they arrived June 3d.

After the departure of the re-enlisted veterans the rest of the regiment, numbering 560 men, remained in camp at Algiers for a month under command of Major Barstow. Much sickness prevailed among the recruits before they became acclimated, and there were heavy details for detached service. Under these hindrances, the recruits were carefully drilled, especially in target practice, and thorough discipline was maintained.

On the 6th of May Major Barstow was ordered to Thibodeaux with his battalion and took command of the post, in the absence of Colonel Day of the Ninth New York, commanding. The position was threatened by a body of Confederate cavalry that night, and the troops, consisting of 250 men and a section of a battery in addition to the Eighth, were disposed to meet it. Finding them thus on their guard the enemy retired without attacking. Companies C, D, F, I and H, were detached about this time to guard the railroad to Brashear City, all rejoining the regiment on the 29th of May

On the 24th of May the original members who had not re-enlisted, comprising Major Barstow, Captains Leach and Foster, and 168 men, were ordered to proceed to Vermont to be mustered out. They left Camp Hubbard, at Thibodeaux, on the 5th of June, and went to New Orleans, where, on the 6th, they met the veterans who had just arrived from Vermont. After a brief greeting they sailed on the steamer Daniel Webster for New York. Their departure took some of the best soldiers in the regiment, and the loss of Major Barstow, whose condition of health forbade a prolonged stay in that

climate, was especially felt to be a severe one. They reached Brattleboro on the 15th of June and were mustered out June 22d.

The recruits at Camp Hubbard were left for a few days under the command of a major of the Twenty-sixth Illinois. They joined the regiment a little later and it was sent up the Mississippi by transport, to join the Nineteenth Army Corps, then lying at Morganzia, after the close of Banks's second Red River campaign. The regiment arrived at Morganzia June 11th and the same day was reviewed, with the corps, by General Emory, commanding the corps. They found here the Second Vermont Battery, now attached to the corps. On the 12th the regiment went down the river to Waterloo, to disperse some guerrillas but found no enemy and returned to Morganzia. On the 19th, 20th and 21st, the regiment accompanied the division on an expedition to Tunica Bend and Fort Adams, Miss., where the enemy was reported to be in force. The Eighth scouted in detachments in various directions; but found no enemy except one man, who was firing a bridge, and again returned to Morganzia, It remained here two weeks longer.

ORDERED TO THE NORTH.

General Banks, having lost the confidence of General U. S. Grant, who was now commander-in-chief, was superseded about this time in the command of the Department, and on the 19th of June, all were stirred to excitement by the news that the corps was ordered to the North to reinforce the Army of the Potomac.

July 2d the Eighth took transports down the river, and camped the next day for the last time in Algiers. It remained here until the 5th, when it embarked on the steamship St. Mary and sailed to report at Fortress Monroe.

The voyage to the North was pleasant, and on the 12th the St. Mary anchored in Hampton Roads. Early's raid

against Washington was now in progress, and as General Grant had directed the Nineteenth Corps to join the Sixth, for the protection of the capital, Colonel Thomas found orders awaiting him, to proceed to Washington with his regiment without disembarking. Resuming her voyage the St. Mary arrived at Washington next day, where Colonel Thomas reported to Secretary Stanton with the Eighth, as the advance of the corps. Early had been repulsed the day before; and, General Emory not having yet arrived, Colonel Thomas was ordered to join the Sixth Corps, in the pursuit of the enemy, with his regiment and a few other troops of the same division which had reached Washington, making a body of about 700 bayonets. The regiment marched through Washington and past the White House, cheering President Lincoln, who stood in front and lifted his hat to the Vermonters, who never lacked a greeting from him. That night they overtook the Sixth Corps at Tenallytown, Md., and the next day, with other troops of the Nineteenth Corps which had come up, went on to Rockville and next day to Poolesville. The marching pulled hard on the men and they were glad to rest there a day. On the 16th they marched to the Potomac at White's Ford, forded the river and bivouacked at Leesburg, Va., after a long and dusty march. Here under orders from General Emory, Colonel Thomas searched the houses for concealed arms and arrested every man capable of bearing arms. On the night of the 18th the Eighth bivouacked at Snicker's Gap after a tedious march of twenty-five miles. Moving on again after a day's rest, the division climbed the mountains and at daylight of the 20th the men of the Eighth had their first view of the Shenandoah Valley. Fording the Shenandoah they halted near Berryville on the pike until evening, when the army counter-marched, recrossed the Shenandoah, swollen by a thunder storm till it was barely fordable; marched along the sandy roads through Snicker's Gap, and on all night, and the next day

back through Leesburg—with only a single halt to make coffee, the solid rations having given out—to Goose Creek. This forced march of thirty-four miles with its accompaniments of heat, dust, hunger and blistered feet, was one of the severest experiences in the history of the regiment. Moving on again they re-crossed the Potomac at Chain Bridge on the 23d, and encamped on Georgetown heights for two nights.

On the 26th the brigade marched twenty miles to Hyattstown; camped without supper; started before daybreak next day and marched another twenty miles to Monocacy Junction and thence through Harper's Ferry to Halltown, Va. Then, counter-marching, with no time for rest, in the flurry caused by McCausland's raid into Maryland, they were marched, on half rations, back into Maryland, and to a point three miles beyond Frederick City, where they were permitted to camp and rest for four days. None who shared the toil and hardship of this period ever forgot the month of July, 1864, which brought them from Louisiana to Maryland and gave them three weeks of the hardest marching they ever experienced.

On the 4th of August the corps moved back to Halltown, and was there on the 7th, when General Sheridan took command of the Army of the Shenandoah. In this army the Eighth was part of the Second brigade (McMillan's) of the First division (Dwight's) of the Nineteenth Corps, under General Emory.

Moving with the corps, on the 10th, up the valley, the first sight of the enemy in the valley was had on the 12th, when the skirmishers of the Eighth had a slight encounter with the enemy's cavalry near Cedar Creek. On the 13th the regiment picketed the corps front on the Front Royal Pike. In the night of the 15th the corps moved to Winchester and on the 21st was back at Halltown, while the old brigade was fighting at Charlestown. The lines were en-

trenched at every halt, and the Eighth did its part in digging, as well as in marching and skirmishing, during the various movements to and fro of Sheridan's army. But the old soldiers in its ranks well knew that the time of manœuvring would not last forever, and that the two armies facing each other from the opposite sides of the Opequon would not separate without fighting; and they understood what it meant when, on Sunday, the 18th, an arrival of extra supply trains and a removal of the sick to the rear followed a visit of General Grant to Sheridan's headquarters. There were many grave faces in the ranks that day as the regiment gathered for a short religious service, read from the prayer book by Quartermaster Dewey, the regiment having been without a chaplain since Chaplain Williams was mustered out, three months before. Anticipation became certainty, in the afternoon, when orders came to be ready to move in light marching order at two o'clock the next morning, with two days' cooked rations and 100 rounds of ammunition to a man. At nightfall the men rolled up their little shelter tents instead of crawling under them, and slept an uneasy sleep upon their arms.

BATTLE OF THE OPEQUON.

At two o'clock in the morning all were roused and hard bread and coffee were served, and at three o'clock the first two brigades of Dwight's division, the third being left at Halltown, formed in the darkness and took their way to the battlefield of the Opequon. Dwight's column followed Grover's division, which, after a halt of two hours on the Berryville pike to allow the Sixth Corps to pass, followed that corps across the Opequon and through the defile beyond, and deployed at 11 A. M. on the right of the Sixth Corps and of the pike, for the assault. How steadily Grover attacked and how terribly he was repulsed cannot be related here. For an hour the sounds of the strife in their

front came back to the men of Dwight's division over the rolling crests which hid the scene of action from view Then came the turn of that division. The First brigade moved first over the crest of a hill in front. Then McMillan's brigade, of which the Eighth Vermont was a part, was ordered to the right and then forward into a wood, on the farther verge of which Grover's men were endeavoring to rally. Bearing still to the right, the brigade came out into open ground and in full view of the fighting in front, where the First brigade was resisting Gordon's advance from the woods he had retaken from Grover. McMillan's brigade was now wanted in several places at once, and was divided, two regiments remaining to support the First brigade, while the Eighth Vermont and Twelfth Connecticut were taken to the left, where Birge's brigade had made a stout fight and been badly shattered and where Molineux's brigade was in danger of entire destruction. Cannon shot tore through the trees as the regiment advanced, killing and wounding several men, but the line moved forward steadily, with company F, Captain W H. Smith, thrown forward as skirmishers, through the woods, and out into the open ground, strewn with the dead and wounded of both armies. It came at once under heavy fire, both of musketry and artillery Lieut. Colonel Dutton here had his arm broken by a ball, and was taken to the rear. For a moment the regimental line faltered, but became firm at once under Colonel Thomas's shout of "Steady, men!" In front, at the base of a descent, lay a thin line of men, firing feebly. The Eighth, followed by the Twelfth Connecticut, hurried at double-quick to their aid, rescuing on the way the colors of the Fourteenth New Hampshire, which, with their color-guard, were taken into the line of the Eighth. The regiment halted within musket range of the woods in front, in which Gordon had halted to await the arrival of Breckenridge. There was sharp musketry fire from Gordon's line in the edge of the wood,

perhaps 200 yards in front, and Colonel Thomas ordered the regiment to lie down in the long grass. But as the enemy were on higher ground, only partial shelter could be secured, and the bullets of the Confederate marksmen found a number of victims. The fire was returned by the men of the Eighth, and doubtless with effect, an ascending range being commonly more effective than a descending one. This position, far in advance of the main body of the Nineteenth Corps, was maintained by the regiment for more than two hours, while Crook with the Eighth Corps, was making his detour. At three o'clock Crook's lines advanced to the attack on the enemy's left and were received with a fire from the edge of the woods, as continuous and deadly as was ever delivered. It was described by an eye-witness as "an uninterrupted explosion, without break or tremor." The diversion of Gordon's fire from the Eighth to the division, Thoburn's, which was advancing nearest them, gave Thomas an opportunity to assist the latter, which he was quick to seize. He ordered the Eighth Vermont and Twelfth Connecticut to charge with the bayonet, and himself led the way. He prefaced his order by a little speech. "Boys," said he, "if any of you are in the habit of praying—and I hope you all are—pray now, and pray quick and hard. Remember Ethan Allen and Old Vermont; and we will drive those fellows to hell, where they belong." The Eighth, accompanied by the Connecticut regiment, charged at double-quick, drove the enemy from the woods in front, and passed on through the timber to the farther edge. This was a very valuable piece of service; and it is doubtful if Thoburn's charge would have been successful without it.[1]

[1] "The bayonet charge of the Eighth Vermont regiment, led so splendidly by Colonel Thomas, was undoubtedly one of the best achievements on that brilliant field, and proved to be a large factor in the decisive movement. The regiment was so pushed to the front that it became a pivot on which the Eighth and Nineteenth Corps swung up to victory." —Captain F. H. Buffum, 14th New Hampshire.

"Thomas's bayonet charge was the iron prow to Crook's engine of

Beyond the woods a second line of the enemy was now visible, about 400 yards to the left and front. Wheeling the Eighth to face this Thomas opened fire and soon dispersed it. But several guns of Braxton's artillery remained on the left, and were at first taken by Colonel Thomas to be a battery of the Sixth Corps. General Upton, who knew better, rode forward to Thomas and ordered him to "fire on that battery," as he wanted to move his brigade in there. Thomas declined, saying that he thought it was one of their own batteries. Upton threatened Thomas with arrest, if he did not obey, but Thomas still declined. The dispute was ended by the clearing away of the smoke and disclosure of a Confederate flag borne by the infantry support of the battery; and Thomas at once turned the fire of the Eighth upon it and cleared the ground for Upton's advance. His lines now came up on the left of the Eighth; and soon Torbert's cavalry appeared to the right, charging full upon the enemy's left and rear. "No man," says Captain S. E. Howard, "ever saw a more thrilling sight than that cavalry charge." Early's lines now broke in utter rout, and the Vermonters pressed forward with the rest in the final charge of the three corps which swept over the works and through Winchester.

The details of this battle, as seen from the ranks of the Eighth Vermont, are thus graphically described by Herbert E. Hill, of company I, who, then a boy of 19 years, was a gallant actor in these memorable scenes.

The line of battle is formed. We march to our position in the fight between nine and ten o'clock. The rebels are in the field and woods in front, but we cannot see them distinctly. Their cannon fire shell and solid shot. A shell comes crashing into our midst, literally throwing one man into the air, taking the leg off another, and tearing open the

war. It gave force to Crook's assault. It relieved him from the withering flank fire. It broke the enemy's main line of battle in front, resulting in the swift overthrow of Early's entire army. It was like running a rapier into the vitals of the enemy, and holding it there until the Eighth Corps came rushing in on our right, the Sixth on our left, and the Nineteenth in support."—Herbert E. Hill.

abdomen of a poor fellow, so that his backbone protrudes in a shocking manner. It is useless to fire, for we can see only smoke. One of our batteries, of six pieces, is stationed a little to our left, exposed to a terrible fire from the enemy. Spiteful puffs of smoke are seen constantly over the guns and horses, and rebel shells are bursting. The horses rear and plunge, and occasionally one falls, or is cut loose by the bursting shells. The artillery men flit like spirits from caisson to gun, while cannon belch forth their death missiles, then recoil ten or fifteen feet. A man drops dead here and there, or crawls away wounded and bleeding. This is the Fifth Maine Battery.

We are under fire, but not firing ourselves. Some of the men laugh; possibly one weeps; the face of another is pale as death; his next neighbor's is flushed; one man swears a fearful oath, while his right-hand man is praying silently; the next is excited, fretful, and crowding. Here and there one is calm and cool, as if marching in review before his commander. There is absolute equality for the time being. All are on the same plane, so to speak, the rich and poor, the high and low, the learned and unlearned. The minie ball and the screeching shell make no distinction, but plough their cruel furrows until exhausted, or pass on like invisible fiends.

We move to the right, over a rolling field, then forward again under a heavy fire into a sheltering timber. The bullets spatter against the trees and glance off, and then a sharp cry of pain is heard. Shells tear through the tops of the trees overhead, severing the limbs, which drop upon the men below. On again, through the timber to the opening, and we see the line of battle we are to relieve. It is being literally cut to pieces by the enemy, who are massed in the woods in front. Into this fatal clearing and beyond, the brigades of Birge, Molineux, and Sharpe, of the second division, had gallantly charged and been driven back with great slaughter. Wounded men and fragments of decimated regiments are passing back through our line to the rear. The flags of an almost annihilated New Hampshire regiment of Birge's brigade approach, and Colonel Thomas instantly adopts them with the quick indorsement of General Dwight, only a few feet away with General Emory, who says: "Yes, fall in with the Eighth Vermont; I'll guarantee you will be taken care of there."

Now the One Hundred and Sixtieth New York, of our brigade, is hastily ordered off to fill a gap elsewhere, while the Forty-Seventh Pennsylvania is used in connection with the first brigade of our division.

We can see squads of the enemy crowding out from the woods toward us. Thin clouds of white smoke rise rapidly from the muzzles of Molineux's rifles, as his men valiantly continue their desperate struggle. We are needed at once, and on the double-quick we rush forward nearly across the bare field, greeted by a fierce wail of musketry from the second woods, while the remnant of Molineux's line we relieve, rises from the ground and passes quickly back to the timber we have left. The Twelfth Connecticut is soon sent to our support and stationed at our right. Our fresh volleys come none too soon, but they are heeded, and the enemy's advance is checked in our front. A tall man near me receives a bad gash in his forehead; the crimson blood flows down his face and bosom. Another has his chin shot away, leaving his tongue dangling exposed over his throat. Both must probably die; but life is dear, and with a beseeching, parting look, they crawl back to the rear and from my sight forever; but their faces are imprinted in my memory.

We are in an open field. The enemy are strongly posted in the woods only a few rods in front, and nothing between them and us but thin Virginia grass. What a change comes over the men. No more of that strange, helpless feeling. Now every man can fight for himself. All fear is gone; in grim silence the men load their guns while lying on their backs, rise quickly to their feet, glance across the gleaming barrel, and fire. The first man to die on this spot is Walter Pierce, who had the strange presentiment of his fate last night. A minie bullet strikes his face as he rises to fire for the third or fourth time. Not a word escapes his lips as he falls lifeless to the earth.

In front and rear Confederate and Union batteries are firing over our heads. The shells have an awful, unearthly, hissing sound, like the terrible rush of escaping steam from a boiler, only a thousand times greater. A desolating fire of musketry sweeps across the exposed ground we occupy, the bullets sounding like angry hornets, as they cut the air so close to the face as to be felt. Men tear a cartridge and ram home the ball, and speak to their comrades about home or matters of interest a thousand miles away. Now word is passed along that Charles Blood is killed. Another is wounded, and we wonder who will be the next, when Corporal James Black settles slowly to the ground. And still the ugly work goes on. Colonel Thomas sits like a statue on his horse, refusing to dismount, encouraging the men within sound of his voice. Sergeant Francis E. Warren is at

my side, and has partly risen to watch the rebel movements, when a bullet enters the socket of his eye, and comes out near his ear. With a groan he bows his head between his knees, and drops at my feet. The next to fall is Edmund Fisher, a man past fifty years of age, and never yet absent from his post of duty. He rises deliberately, takes careful aim, and fires his last shot; a rebel bullet pierces his right hip. He exclaims "I'm killed! I'm killed! My home! my home!" I hastily examine his wound, and find the ball protruding from the hip bone. With my thumb and finger I press the bullet out and show it to him. He is so delighted to find his hurt so slight that he draws up his paralyzed limb to hobble away. In vain I advise him that to needlessly expose himself as a target will be sure death. He rises slowly to his feet, takes one anxious step to the rear, I distinctly hear a dull thud, as the leaden death messenger enters his back, and he falls a dead man. Our rifles become so hot and foul from constant and rapid use, that we are obliged to abandon them and take others from the dead soldiers lying within reach. But our ammunition is giving out, and Sergeants Henry Downs and Lamb volunteer to cross the open field to our rear for more, and soon return with a fresh supply; but none too soon, for the lull in our firing is evidently taken advantage of, and the rebels swarm out from the woods and charge towards us with wild yells. But they are quickly driven back by the fierce volleys along our line. Company I is losing heavily; four of their men are shot dead, and the captain falls and is supposed to be dying. A bullet strikes Sergeant Thorn, glances and wounds Corporal Eddy, and others are wounded. Three times, after continued firing, our ammunition is exhausted, and Colonel Thomas calls for volunteers to go for more cartridges, exposed to a raking fire. Downs and Lamb nobly respond. Among those who respond to Thomas's call for men to crawl out in front and watch the enemy's movements are Sergeant Halliday of company B, and Daniel Martin of company I, who after the war enlisted in the regular army and died with Custer in his last fight in the Plains.

The First brigade, having repulsed the foe in their own front, have moved back to the woods as a reserve, and the Eighth Vermont and Twelfth Connecticut are now alone on this advanced line. Upton's troops of the Sixth Corps are on our left and rear, with quite an interval between us. It is three o'clock. The enemy are pressing out towards us from the woods in front. At this moment, some distance to

our right and rear, great cheering is heard, and we discover a body of troops advancing in magnificent array in solid column, with banners flying aloft, and moving rapidly up, with intent, as we suppose, to take position on our right as reinforcements to our thin line. It is Colonel Thoburn's division of Crook's corps, and as the solid column advances, the terrible flank fire from the enemy in our front mows them down like grain, leaving literally a swath of dead in their wake. Colonel Thomas is not idle. The moment the enemy's fire is turned away from us, he makes a daring move on the checker-board of war. He sees an opportunity to hurl two veteran regiments like a thunderbolt against the enemy, which is concentrating every available gun to break Crook's exposed flanks. "Boys," says he, "what we can't give them for want of powder and ball, we'll make up in cold steel. Fix bayonets!" It gives one a peculiar sensation to hear the sharp rattle of steel, and the whole scene changes. It is ugly work, but the regiment is up and ready for the conflict. Colonel Thomas walks in front of his own regiment and talks tenderly with the men, as though they were of his own flesh and blood. He passes down in front of the Twelfth Connecticut, whose colonel has been killed, and asks the officer in command if he and his men are ready to join the Eighth Vermont in a bayonet charge. Many of the men respond by springing to their feet. The captain explains that his ammunition is exhausted. "So is mine," said Colonel Thomas. "Three times my regiment has fired the last cartridge." "So has the Eighth Vermont," said their gallant old leader. Then walking back, he determines to lead his own regiment to the charge, and leave the others, believing they would follow. He moves forward, holding his sword high in air. His faithful men spring to the line, their bayonets glistening in the sunlight. The Twelfth Connecticut, inspired by this courageous dash, soon follow, and the enemy are driven at the point of the bayonet from their works in the timber, our own regiment capturing scores of prisoners who could not get away, so sudden and desperate was the assault. In vain do staff officers and General McMillan himself ride furiously after the men, shouting to Colonel Thomas to halt his lines;[1] the brave old commander—God

[1] General Emory is reported to have said to General McMillan: "They [the Eighth Vermont and Twelfth Connecticut] will be cut all to hell if they go there," and ordered him to stop Thomas; but McMillan did not reach the latter till after he had made the charge.

bless him!—is riding with drawn sword, in front of a line of steel bayonets, and cannot be reached. Nor do they halt until the colors they bear are planted on the open plain in sight of Winchester. Not a Union flag to be seen in the wide sweep to the left, not a Union flag in front, not a Union flag to the right; only rebel flags and batteries, one above the other, with infantry massed between, frowning down upon us, who are amazed at the grandeur of the scene. The regiment awaits the next order, while their leader hastily scans the field, which at that moment his men hold in sole possession.

A flash, and an angry roar and a horrid screeching sound is heard, as a shot tears through the air a few feet over our heads, and then we discover immediately on our left and front two pieces of artillery. The enemy we have driven back has retreated to the battery. Quickly Colonel Thomas orders the regiment to double-quick to the tall trees ten or fifteen yards to the left, form on the colors, and give them a volley. In scarcely more time than it takes to write it, the regiment obeys, and the order to load and fire is accompanied by a queer remark about "riddling their shirts." It is literally carried out; for the volleys which follow instantly silence both pieces, and sweep every sign of life from the guns. Among those killed here was Charles Jenks of company I. When the line reached the timber, where the enemy's dead and wounded were lying as they had fallen, showing the effect of our rifles, the attention of the regiment was attracted to a strange scene;—a dead rebel lay stretched on the ground and in front of him sat a little brown dog, trembling with fear, bolt upright but facing square to the front, faithful unto death. Not a bayonet or a foot touched the faithful creature; the line of steel parted and the human wave rolled on through the woods, leaving the little sentinel undisturbed in his death-watch.

This exciting affair is hardly over when white puffs of smoke dot the plain, and a storm of iron hail is rained upon our uncovered heads from guns planted further up the plain, one above and back of the other, and from different points, which bids fair, for a few moments, to completely wipe us out. But the Twelfth Connecticut has joined us on the right, and the advance lines of Crook's corps are rushing in from the same direction. Plunging shot and shell are creating terrible havoc in the tree-tops over our heads, when a Union flag bursts from the woods into the opening on our left; then another and another, and the plain for a long dis-

tance to our left swarms with Union troops of the Sixth Corps, the flags and regiments appearing *en echelon*, while almost at the same instant the cannonading concentrated on us is suddenly distributed along the whole line.

Now we realize for the first time how far the rushing bayonet charge has carried our regiment in advance of the main army. Meanwhile General Upton of the Sixth Corps, whose men are coming up on our left, rides up through the regiment and engages in hasty conversation with Thomas, concerning troops obscured by smoke still further to the left. When the cloud-wreaths lift, and we catch sight of the familiar southern cross on the enemy's battle flags, the colonel orders the sights on the muskets raised, and one or two quick volleys are fired upon their confused lines. But our flanks are now up, and with infantry in front, cavalry and infantry on the enemy's left flank, with one grand rush the Union troops close on the Confederate army, and the finishing charge is sharp and crushing. Brave Colonel Van Petten, although wounded, moves to the right of the Eighth Vermont with the One Hundred and Sixtieth New York, and, connecting with the right of Upton's troops, we advance rapidly toward the enemy's left centre, in the direction of their retreat, delivering an enfilading fire as we advance, and receiving in turn a heavy artillery fire. Men from Crook's corps, without any formation whatever, join us till we come to a stone wall, passing the bodies of the dead artillerists. But the enemy's artillery breaks down the wall, the stones of which flew in all directions under their fire, when we move back a few yards and then charge over beyond; and by this time the entire rebel army is on a race for life, and soon after Sheridan is able to telegraph to the war department that he has sent the enemy "whirling through Winchester," and that "this army fought splendidly."

Horace Greeley, in his carefully prepared History of the Great Civil War, has singled out this bayonet charge as one worthy of special mention, for its national importance.[1]

[1] "Colonel Thomas, Eighth Vermont, ordered his men to charge at double-quick with the bayonet. In vain general officers shouted 'Halt!' 'Lie down!' 'Wait for supports!' etc.; for, while some were still confused and vacillating, a staff officer from the right galloped in front, and pointed with his sabre to the woods which sheltered the enemy. At once all dissent was silenced, all hesitation at an end; the whole centre, as one man, swept forward cheering and plunging into the woods, meeting there Crook's corps, charging from the flank. All the rebels who could still travel were by this time going or gone."—Greeley's American Conflict.

In fact, it was the only actual bayonet charge in the great battle. Colonel Thomas simply anticipated Sheridan's plans, and by this charge accomplished exactly what Sheridan wanted, to wit, to break the rebel left; and the important thing desired by General Sheridan was secured in twenty minutes after Thomas's regiment was once under way. And when Thoburn's gallant men reached the enemy in the woods in their own front, they found his line to the left utterly shattered for more than three hundred yards by Thomas's bayonet charge.

During the charge Lieut. Colonel Babcock of the Seventy-fifth New York, who had received a terrible and mortal wound, and a prisoner in the hands of the enemy till now, raised himself from the ground, in the woods, while his life blood was ebbing away, and waved us on, shouting: "Colonel, you are doing it gloriously! When you are through, remember me." Thomas waved his sword back to his dear friend, and answered: "My dear fellow, I'm sorry for you. I'll remember you." He kept his word and sent Sergeant Bowman back with a detail, and had Colonel Babcock carried from the field; and while in the hospital the dying officer remarked that he never experienced a happier moment in his life than when he saw Thomas leading that bold and successful bayonet charge.

The loss of the regiment in this battle was surprisingly small considering its very exposed positions. That it did not suffer more while confronting Gordon was largely due to Colonel Thomas's care. While exposing his own person recklessly, he kept the men close to the ground, directing them to load while down and to rise only to fire. The list of casualties was 7 killed and 33 wounded. Among the wounded were Lieut. Colonel Dutton, one of the most efficient and popular officers of the regiment, who received a ball through his right forearm, which shattered the radius and occasioned his honorable discharge a month later; Captain Geo. O. Ford of company K, slightly in the arm; Lieutenant Wheaton Livingston, company B, severely in the chin, and Lieutenant Nathaniel Robie, company I, severely in the leg.[1]

Killed—Corporal Marshall W. Wells and Lawson Whittemore, known to have been wounded and supposed dead, of company A; Edmund Fisher,

In reporting his list of casualties, Colonel Thomas was able to say: "I am happy to say that every officer and man did his whole duty. As an evidence of their attention to duty I am proud in behalf of Vermont to say, when we bivouacked for the night we had not a man missing. Those who have fallen, fell as a soldier should fall, face to the enemy."

THE EIGHTH AT FISHER'S HILL.

In the pursuit of Early next day, the Eighth marched with the Nineteenth Corps, crossed Cedar Creek in the afternoon, and bivouacked with the army just north of Strasburg, the Nineteenth Corps being in front, in the meadows on each side of the pike, with its headquarters in the village. The next forenoon the lines of both corps were moved forward to the high ground on the north side of Tumbling Run, facing Fisher's Hill on the other side of the run, where Early had taken position. Dwight's division was on the right of the pike, with the Sixth Corps on its right, the two corps being massed opposite the enemy's centre. At four o'clock in the morning of the 22d, McMillan's brigade was moved forward into the woods, where shovels were supplied, and the men threw up some slight breastworks. Behind these they lay for nine or ten hours, while Crook was making his detour around Early's left. This movement of the Eighth Corps was as un-

Charles J. Blood, Walter W. Pierce, Charles E. Jenks and Corporal James F. Black of company I.

Wounded—Sergeant Kirk F. Brown, Corporal Roger Hovey, Gilman W. Blood, Michael Hurley, Wm. B. Page, Wm. H. Palmer and Carlos S. Clark of company A; Corporal Wm. H. Henry and Edward Belville (died from wounds) of company B; Corporal Lawrence Swinger, John Miller and Henry A. Dow of company C; Sergeant Jacob Mills, Jr., Edgar Barstow and James Casey of company D; James W. Averill and Thomas F. Ferrin of company E; Paul Bouskay and D. L. Payne of company F; Fabian Dupuis of company G; Sergeant Francis E. Warren, Corporal George P Eddy and Sergeant Charles S. Smith of company I; First Sergeant Perry Porter, Jr., Corporal George Furbush, Samuel T. Penfield, Simon Scheikert, Corporal Wm. H. Silsby and Lewis J. Ingalls of company K.

known to the men of that part of Sheridan's army as it was to the enemy, and they waited and wondered why nothing was done. Suddenly, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the Union batteries broke out furiously, and General Dwight ordered the expected advance. At Colonel Thomas's command, the men of the Eighth sprang over the breastworks, deployed into line with the brigade, in the open ground in front, and all started forward. Soon the heights in front, along which Early's artillery flashed and roared, came plainly into view. To storm them looked like a desperate task. But the enemy, though firing rapidly, was firing wildly, and the losses were small. Suddenly General McMillan rode up, shouting: "Crook is shelling their rear." The men could scarce understand this; but they pressed on with increased speed. Then Captain Wilkinson of Emory's staff dashed down the line, waving his hat and shouting: "They have left their guns and are running like cowards!" General Sheridan and one or two of his aids followed, urging everything forward. The lines of cheering troops rushed down the slope, crossed the run, climbed the ascent beyond, and could scarce credit their senses when they found themselves inside the works of Fisher's Hill, and no enemy there. Twenty Confederate cannon stood undefended, where they had been last fired. "Right where my company jumped over the works," says Captain S. E. Howard, "was a brass piece with the shot half driven home and the rammer still in the gun. Materials of war were scattered about everywhere. The camp kettles hung over the fires, with the half-cooked supper still boiling in them. The blouses of the men hung on the low limbs of some trees. The dead and wounded lay as they had fallen, but the living enemy had fled in utter rout. Then it was Winchester over again. Line after line dashed forward, and battery after battery boomed its parting salute to the flying enemy."

The Nineteenth Corps led the pursuit that night, and

the Eighth Vermont led the column of the corps, for twelve miles, to Woodstock, in darkness so dense that it was impossible to keep the proper distance between the skirmishers and the head of the column. As it drew near Woodstock it had a skirmish with Early's rear guard. This episode is thus described by Captain Howard: "Marching over and down a considerable hill, we noticed a light spring up in a small house by the roadside at the foot of the hill; and just as our regiment reached the house we were opened upon by a battery stationed on some high ground in advance of us. At the same moment, the timber which flanked the road on each side of us, at a little distance, was lit up by a blaze of musketry. The battery had our range, and burst its first shell directly over us, wounding several men. The position was unpleasant. My company was directly in front of the house where the light was, and I made a rush for it, and, finding the door fastened, dashed out a window, and reaching through, overturned the light with my sword. Colonel Thomas ordered the regiment to charge up the bank to the left, which was done with a rush, and the temerity of the enemy was punished by the cutting off and capturing of about 250 of their men, in command of a major." A shot from a Union battery which had come up, completed the discomfiture of the rear guard of the enemy, and the brigade followed the latter to Woodstock, marching through the village just before dawn and bivouacking in a field beyond. In this little affair Lieutenant Edward F Gould and two men, George Remick of company A, and J. B. Thomas, company F, were wounded. John F Morrill of company G, straggled and was captured this night, and died several months after in the hands of the enemy.

The Eighth marched with Sheridan's army to Harrisonburg, and on to Mount Crawford, and back to Cedar Creek; and a detail of the Eighth was on picket near Tom's Brook on the 9th of October and saw the cavalry fight, in which the

First Vermont Cavalry had a gallant share, when General Rosser "lost everything he had on wheels," and learned not to crowd upon Sheridan's rear.

CEDAR CREEK.

On the 10th of October the Eighth went into camp with the Nineteenth Corps on the plateau north of Cedar Creek west of the pike, the right of Dwight's division resting on Meadow Brook. It lay here, intrenching and doing picket duty, till the battle of Cedar Creek, in which it was to have so brilliant a share, took place. The main features of this battle have been described in previous pages of this history, and need not be repeated here. It is worthy of note that as the field officer of the day for the Sixth Corps, on that famous 19th of October, was a Vermonter, so the field officer of the day for the Nineteenth Corps was a Vermonter; and that it was not through the portions of the picket line in charge of these two officers that the entrance of the enemy was effected. The latter was Colonel Stephen Thomas, and so far from being surprised, he was especially on the alert. During the afternoon previous, while examining with his field glass the ground in front of his picket line, Thomas had noticed two men, on foot, apparently reconnoitring the Union position. The circumstance looked suspicious, and he reported it to General Emory, who asked him to mention it to General Wright, then commanding the army, in Sheridan's absence. General Wright did not consider the matter especially important; but Thomas was far from easy in his mind. He posted his line with unusual care that night; and two hours before daylight next morning he was in the saddle and rode out upon the line, accompanied by Lieutenant Howe. All seeming to be quiet, he crossed the creek and rode up the pike a short distance beyond his picket line, to see what could be seen. Suddenly he was halted by an order, coming from a small body of cavalry, hardly visible in the fog and

darkness: "Surrender, you d——d Yankee!" "Not just yet; it's too early in the morning," replied the colonel; adding, as he wheeled his horse: "Besides, your language is not respectful." Putting spurs to his horse, Thomas made a hasty retreat, followed by several bullets. Satisfied that some hostile enterprise was on foot, Thomas now hurried back to the camp, which by that time had been aroused by the firing in the camp of the Eighth Corps. The troops of the Nineteenth Corps were falling into line; and as General McMillan, in the temporary absence of General Dwight, was commanding the First division, the command of the Second brigade fell to Colonel Thomas, and Major Mead took command of the Eighth Vermont. Two hundred men of the regiment were out on picket, leaving with the colors 16 officers and 150 men. These promptly fell in with the rest of the brigade, and were awaiting orders, when General Emory directed McMillan to send the brigade across the pike, to check the Confederate columns, which, having overwhelmed the Eighth Corps, were advancing almost unopposed upon the front and flank of the Nineteenth Corps. To attempt to stop them was a desperate endeavor.[1] The portions of three brigades which were available for the purpose, had each to confront a division or more, and must fight without supports. Thomas's brigade was not full, one regiment, the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania, having been detached temporarily, while the other three—

[1] General Emory said to Colonel Thomas, when they met upon the same field many years after: "I never gave an order that caused me more pain than the one I gave you that morning. I knew it was sending you into the jaws of death, and I never expected to see you again." In a letter to Captain Geo. N. Carpenter, the historian of the Eighth, General Emory says: "When I sent the heroic colonel of the Eighth Vermont, Colonel Thomas, across the pike at Cedar Creek, I was immediately occupied in defending my own headquarters, and in changing the front of battle of the Nineteenth Corps, which was assailed in the rear by the total collapse of the Eighth Corps. But I well knew the gallantry of the Eighth Vermont and of the officers who commanded it; and I felt safe in doing the only thing that could have been done under the terrible circumstances surrounding us."

the Eighth Vermont, Twelfth Connecticut, and One Hundred and Sixtieth New York—did not take into line over 800 muskets all told. The brigade was ordered into a piece of woods beyond a hollow. Breasting the tide of fugitives of the Eighth Corps, which, thus divided, rolled by on either side to the rear, the brigade moved steadily to the position indicated. With company G advanced as skirmishers, the Eighth pushed into the woods, where it was at once assailed by overwhelming numbers. Flanked on the left by Ramseur, and charged in front and on the right by Kershaw, it was swept back through the woods, and as it came back its ranks were enfiladed by a line of the enemy, which had formed across the hollow through which they had advanced. The Eighth did not fall back without hard fighting. The opposing troops actually intermingled in the woods, and again in the ravine, and at one point a hand-to-hand struggle took place for the possession of the colors of the Eighth. After a bull-dog fight of half an hour's duration, the brigade, with the loss of half its fighting men—the loss of the Eighth Vermont being in still greater proportion[1]—fell back to the pike, where it made a second stand. Driven from this position, it fell back from point to point, repeatedly halting to face the enemy, till it joined the division a mile and a half to the rear. Ramseur's and Kershaw's advance was thus delayed till the Sixth Corps could get into the position where it made its first stand, and the time thus gained was otherwise of the utmost consequence in enabling the Union generals to make their dispositions to stay the general rout.

While Getty's division was making its fight east of Middletown, the Nineteenth Corps was ordered back by General Wright to a point a mile or more to the north, where it halted till Sheridan came up. During this halt, the portion of the regiment which had survived the fight on the "hill of

[1] "I never on any battlefield saw so much blood as on this. The firm limestone soil would not receive it."—Captain De Forest.

sacrifice" was joined by the pickets, under Lieutenant Henry Carpenter—less some twenty of their number who were captured on the picket line in the early morning by Wharton's advance. This accession about doubled the number of bayonets in the line of the regiment. When Sheridan came the Nineteenth Corps was advanced and formed the right of the general infantry line. Gordon's lines were within musket range in front, and there was some sharp exchange of musketry fire between the enemy and Thomas's brigade, which had hastily thrown up some frail breastworks of stones and rails, for its protection. About this time General Dwight returned to the division and General McMillan to his brigade, and Colonel Thomas resumed command of the Eighth, which after Major Mead was wounded in the early morning, had been commanded by Captain McFarland, a brave and capable officer. At last the order forward came; and springing over the breastworks, with the rest of the line, the Eighth dashed eagerly at the enemy. In the grand advance of Sheridan's lines the Eighth Vermont was, as it is believed, the first to break the enemy's line. The portion of this which it struck was Evans's brigade of Georgia troops, which gave way before the charge and inaugurated the rout of Gordon's division. General Early says: "A portion of the enemy penetrated an interval which was between Evans's brigade on the extreme left and the rest of the line, when that brigade gave way and Gordon's other brigades soon followed." But the "interval" which the Eighth Vermont penetrated, was one which it made with its bayonets. A portion of Evans's brigade, thus cut off from the rest of Gordon's line, opened fire on Thomas from some timber in his rear, whereupon, changing front to the right, he drove them from the position. Then turning back and joining the brigade in a half wheel to the left the Eighth followed the retreating enemy from point to point, taking many prisoners and halting at dusk in its camp of the morning. The work

of the Eighth this day has been vividly described by Herbert E. Hill. Of the stand made by Thomas's brigade in the early morning east of the pike, he says:

The Eighth Vermont, under Major Mead, occupied the most exposed position in the brigade, as the enemy, with deafening yells, were moving swiftly in from front and flank. As the great drops of rain and hail precede the hurricane, so now the leaden hail filled the air, seemingly from all directions, while bursting shell from the enemy's cannon on the opposite hill created havoc on our only flank not yet exposed to the rebel infantry. Regiment after regiment of the Eighth Corps had crumbled away and gone past to the rear; our two companion regiments, the Twelfth Connecticut and One Hundred and Sixtieth New York, terribly smitten, clung tenaciously to us, their love as cordially reciprocated; yet the sudden rush of the enemy from every direction, in their yellowish suits, breaking through even the short intervals between the commands, forced each regiment to fight its own battle; and so the Eighth Vermont was practically alone for a time, as the swarming enemy broke upon it with almost resistless fury.

Suddenly a mass of rebels confronted the flags, and with hoarse shouts demanded their surrender. Defiant shouts went back: "Never!" "Never!" And then, amid tremendous excitement, commenced one of the most desperate and ugly hand-to-hand conflicts over the flags that has ever been recorded. Men seemed more like demons than human beings, as they struck fiercely at each other with clubbed muskets and bayonets. A rebel of powerful build, but short in stature, attempted to bayonet Corporal Worden of the color-guard. Worden, a tall, sinewy man, who had no bayonet on his musket, parried his enemy's thrusts until some one, I think Sergeant Brown, shot the rebel dead. A rebel soldier then levelled his musket and shot Corporal Petrie, who held the colors, in the thigh,—a terrible wound, from which he died that night. He cried out: "Boys, leave me; take care of yourselves and the flag!" But in that vortex of hell men did not forget the colors; and as Petrie fell and crawled away to die, they were instantly seized and borne aloft by Corporal Perham, and were as quickly demanded again by a rebel who eagerly attempted to grasp them; but Sergeant Shores of the guard placed his musket at the man's breast and fired, instantly killing him. But now another flash, and a cruel bullet from the dead rebel's companion killed Corporal Per-

ham, and the colors fell to the earth. Once more, amid terrific yells, the colors went up, this time held by Corporal Blanchard—and the carnage went on. Lieutenant Cooper was seen to raise his arm in the air; and shouting, "Give it to them, boys!" he too was stricken with a death wound, and his white, sad, dead face is one of the living memories of the spot. Lieutenant Cooper's death was instantly avenged, however, by Sergeant Hill of company A, who shot the rebel. Hill then turned to assist a wounded companion who had fallen at his side, when an excited enemy made a lunge at him, his bayonet gliding between the body and arm. He sprang quickly away, and by an adroit movement knocked the rebel down with clubbed musket, and continued fighting until surrounded and forced into the enemy's ranks, but refused to surrender, when a side shot tore away his belt, cartridge-box, and the flesh to his backbone, which crippled him to the ground; but when Gordon's divisions swept the spot, some of the rebels wearing blue coats supposed to be taken from Crook's men, Hill rose and joined them in the charge, shouting with the rebels, and actually firing harmless shots at his own regiment. He was once challenged by a rebel officer, to whom he answered that he belonged to the Fourth Georgia. At the next stand made by the brigade on the pike, Hill rushed into the Union line, although exposed to the fire of his friends as well as his foes, and continued fighting till he sank to the ground from loss of blood, fell into the enemy's hands, and was again rescued at night.

The fight for the colors continued. A rebel discharged his rifle within a foot of Corporal Bemis of the color-guard, and wounded him, but was in turn shot dead by one of our men. A little later, Sergeant Shores and Sewall Simpson were standing together by the flags, when three rebels attacked and ordered them to surrender; but as they (the enemy) had just discharged their pieces, Simpson immediately fired and shot one, while Shores bayoneted the other. Sergeant Moran, whose devotion to the flag was intensified by the regiment's forty-four days' heroic action before Port Hudson, marvellously escaped, for he was in the hottest of the fight, and held the United States flag all the while, several times assisting in protecting the colors. Twice during the morning the writer was ordered to surrender, but respectfully declined. But as the enemy crowded on, a hundred rebels took the place of the dozen grasping for the flags. Sergeant Lamb, a noble, generous fellow, was shot through the lungs and taken prisoner, but later he fell into our hands again,

and then died in great agony. Captain Howard was twice wounded while within a few feet of the flags, and almost in the centre of the savage *melee*, but he managed to hobble away when the regiment was swept back. Captain Hall, honest and fearless, whose memory is sacred, gave his last order as he yielded to a deadly wound. Captain Ford was shot through both legs by bullets coming from opposite directions, and fell flat on his face, but refused to surrender, struggled to his feet, and escaped in the excitement. Captain Smith, who so coolly led the skirmish line at Winchester, swells the bloody list. Major Mead, while fearlessly facing the enemy, was badly wounded in the side, and shortly turned the command over to Captain McFarland.

Later on, the brigade flag was in imminent danger of being captured by the enemy, when Captain Franklin, with half a dozen of his company, furiously attacked the rebels who were struggling for it, and rescued it from their clutch. Moving back he was wounded, but gallantly remained with the regiment during the afternoon. Lieutenant Cheney was mortally wounded and fell heavily to the ground. Lieutenant Bruce, while beating back a foe with his sword, was severely wounded. Lieutenant Welch, who so gallantly led the skirmish line at daybreak, and was then fighting like a tiger, was shot in the thigh, but stood his ground till the regiment went back. Private Austin received a terrible blow on his head from the butt of a rebel musket, instantly killing him. Captain Shattuck, after receiving a bad wound, bravely continued with his men, and Lieutenants Sargent and Carpenter joined the list of heroes who shed their blood around the flags; while scores of brave fellows in the ranks were torn and shattered in a manner fearful to behold.

Over one-half the regiment was wounded or killed, when the third color-bearer, Corporal Blanchard, was also killed, and the silken colors, their soft folds pierced with bullets and their third bearer weltering in his blood, bowed low to the earth amidst triumphant yells of the enemy; but to their chagrin in a few seconds it was again flaunting in their faces. Bleeding, stunned, and being literally cut to pieces, but refusing to surrender colors or men, falling back only to prevent being completely encircled, the noble regiment had accomplished its mission.

Colonel Thomas with his immortal brigade blocked the advance of the rebel divisions, and actually held the Confederate army at bay until the Union commander could form the lines on grounds of his own choice. In this terrible charge

the Eighth Vermont, the Twelfth Connecticut, and the One Hundred and Sixtieth New York were almost annihilated. Our own regiment lost over 100 gallant fellows, out of 159 engaged, and 13 out of 16 commissioned officers, who were killed or wounded in the fearful struggle, and many of those who fell had been shot several times.

It was useless to stand against such fearful odds; and the regiment, which had maintained its organization and gloriously performed its mission in holding the enemy in check, now almost completely surrounded by dense masses of rebel infantry, was for a few moments tossed about as a leaf in the small, fitful circle of a whirlwind, and then by a mighty gust lifted from the ground and swept back on the field; but not without the flags.

When nearly encircled and driven from the pike, the command of Colonel Thomas made another stand northeast of Sheridan's headquarters, to support the only piece of Union artillery that had not been withdrawn from the field. For this purpose the colonel collected fugitives from the Eighth Corps, and with his own brigade formed a line, and held the position until a portion of a wagon train entangled in Meadow Run could pass on and escape. Then instead of moving directly to the rear, as the rest of the Union troops had done, Thomas took his command round the front of the Belle Grove House, and made a second stand just west of it. Then he crossed Meadow Run and made a third stand in the rear of the camp deserted by the Sixth Corps, fighting the enemy all the way back for a mile.

Still, notwithstanding the advantages gained and the gallant contest for every foot of ground, the enemy was haughty, arrogant, and aggressive, and our army had been driven back several miles, when Sheridan, at 9:45 o'clock, mounted on his black horse Winchester, swept up from the pike amid great cheering into the midst of his broken regiments,—a great light in a dark valley. The despair of the morning's awful struggle was now soon to give way to the ecstasy of victory

Sheridan hastily formed a line across the valley for the purpose of checking the advancing foe, and to that end phantom breastworks had been hurriedly thrown up by means that under almost any other circumstances would have been thought out of the question and useless. Small trees were cut down and thrown in front; with bayonets earth and stones were dug up or loosened, and with coffee cups this was thrown in among the brush and leaves, together forming a slight protection against the enemy's bullets, whenever he should ad-

vance again. Imagine then the surprise and amazement when Sheridan dashed over the field and gave us the order to advance and meet the enemy in open fight.

It was now life or death, and every man knew it. The order was instantly obeyed, and what were left of the Second brigade sprang over the little earthworks, and moved rapidly to the front until they approached the timber. Here were scattering trees with thick underbrush, from which there suddenly burst a sheet of flame and smoke, before which the regiment slightly recoiled. Crashes of musketry rolled down the entire line to the left. Sheridan was riding furiously among the troops. Regimental officers were shouting their commands, and the hideous "rebel yell" rent the air.

Quickly the regiment dashed into the thick cedars, pouring a rapid volley into the very faces of hidden foes. This rush brought us into close quarters; and, our own volleys exhausted, we again met spattering crashes of musketry following in quick succession, and the regiment once more partially recoiled before the withering fire. Commanding officers vied with each other in urging the men on, and the instant the enemy's volley slackened, the regiment swept forward and upon the rebel line, which was only a few yards distant and in plain sight; only the low cedar bushes separated us. A mighty shout went up, and at that instant we realized that the enemy's line was giving way, and we occupied the ground they held a moment before.

It is useless to attempt to describe the excitement of the next few moments, as the regiment flung itself, so to speak, upon the enemy. After the terrible experience in the morning, it was but natural in this moment of victory that the men should go to the opposite extreme of exultation; and again, as in the morning, virtually we were fighting alone, for the woods to our left shut off the main army from our view; but by the roar of battle and the wild shouts and yells which rose above the din of artillery, we could easily determine the position of the Union and rebel lines to our left.

As a fact, there was a continuous line along our entire front; and as far as we could see to the left and some distance beyond our right flank we had driven this line back, but as yet were unable to pierce it. Every inch of the ground was stubbornly contested. The opportune time for the brigade had come upon which we now entered. Owing to the clearing and favorable condition of the ground, Thomas's own regiment gained a decided advance, pierced the enemy like an arrowhead, and had the fortune to witness the first

break in their line. We emerged from the woods, and to our front was an open field for a quarter of a mile, unobstructed save by the tall dried grass and fragments of a zigzag rail fence. The brigade swept into the field on the run. Owing to the nature of the ground, the men crowded together, but just as the rebel line was reached it broke and with wild shouts the brigade dashed ahead. We pierced the enemy's line of battle, and from that moment his doom was sealed. All was now confusion; a portion of the enemy's line surged down to the left and into the woods. Others retreated on the run in our front, while another portion, perhaps to the number of two or three hundred, rushed to the right and into the timber, which offered the most natural and immediate protection.

In the meantime Colonel Thomas's horse was shot and fell to the ground. Suddenly, spattering shots, quickly increasing to a rapid fire, came down from the trees on the right, where a body of rebels had boldly returned to the attack and opened a murderous fire into the right flank and rear of the brigade.

I stood near our regimental colors, which had halted, probably on account of the accident to the colonel, and shouted to the men to return or the flags would be captured. The sharp firing from the right instantly attracted the attention of the regiment, and in squads and singly within five minutes most of them returned to the colors. The enemy's fire was rapidly returned, the men firing at will, when by order of Colonel Thomas the brigade with shouts and yells charged into the woods. The enemy broke in great confusion and ran to the south and west. The brigade then swung to the front again, and with excited shouts and cheers, accompanied by Colonel Thomas on foot, rushed on after the now thoroughly defeated and disheartened foe.[1]

[1] "The attack was brilliantly made; the enemy's resistance was very determined. His line of battle overlapped mine, and by turning with that portion of it on the flank of the Nineteenth Corps caused a slight momentary confusion. This movement was checked, however, by a charge of McMillan's brigade on the re-entering angle, and the enemy's flanking party was cut off."—Gen. Sheridan's report.

"Then followed one of the most extraordinary reversals in the history of any war. Sheridan moved around our flank, swept down it, and broke our line all to fragments."—Gen. Gordon's account; Burr's history.

"The contest was very close for a time, but at length the left of the enemy's line broke and disintegration soon followed along the whole line."—U. S. Grant; Personal Memoirs, Vol. II.

"In the final attack of the day, which decided the fate of Early, it was an attack by Dwight's division which made the beginning of the end."—B. W. Crowninshield.

It was a singular coincidence that the brigade which marched out and met the fiercest fire in the morning, and suffered the heaviest loss, was the first to pierce the enemy's line in the afternoon. There was also a grim satisfaction in knowing that the swath was being cut through the identical divisions from which we received the combined assault at early dawn.

Here again human nature showed itself as some of the men jumped up and down, shouted, and threw their hats or caps into the air in their excitement. I remember distinctly at that moment looking back and seeing a line approaching from the rear and left, which I suppose to have been the troops General McMillan mentions in his report as the two regiments of the First brigade, ordered to swing to the right and assist in dislodging the hidden foe. But as a fact they did not come within hailing distance until after we had charged and routed the enemy.

Early's left flank (Evans's brigade) was now completely shattered, and his demoralized forces retreated rapidly toward his centre, with the exception of the few who went off to the right. Then we charged down into Gordon's other brigades, and soon found ourselves passing down diagonally in front of the main army. Sheridan was in at the break. He was mounted on his gray charger, to which he had changed from the black horse Winchester, and once during the fight was so near we could have touched him.

After this there were vain attempts to check our onward course; but there was hardly a halt of the regiment as we pressed through timber or clearing, with two or three exceptions,—the first, when we encountered two pieces of artillery, and on one occasion felt almost sure they were within our grasp; but after emptying themselves of grape and canister, they were hauled off to our left and front, to annoy us again further on. The second, when we were crowding on them too closely, they savagely turned and shot down Corporal Worden,[1] our temporary color-bearer. This only seemed to rouse the regiment to further effort, and it pressed fiercely on again.

Wounded and dead men marked the enemy's pathway as we rushed over logs, fences and through thickets, till the regiment emerged from the timber and came out on the brow

[1] Worden carried the ball in his thigh for over nineteen years, when it was removed by a surgeon in New York city.

of a hill, in advance of any other Union troops, and in full view of almost the entire rebel army. What a sight! Such as our army never beheld before, and never would again; the event of a lifetime. We had completed so much of a turn as to face nearly east, and double the enemy's left back upon their centre, and stood on their flank overlooking what then became a great, rushing, turbulent, retreating army, without line or apparent organization. At that moment, the Sixth Corps, seeing our men across the skirt of the meadow, mistook them for Confederates, and fired upon them. But the regiment ceased firing, and waved its flags, to enable the Sixth Corps to identify it.

This danger soon past, the regiment resumed firing with a vengeance, only to attract the attention of the enemy's artillery; and a battery of two guns opened on us from a little eminence opposite our right and across the meadow. The first shot buried itself in the bank below; then a second, and a little nearer; while the third plunged underneath us, tearing up the ground and whirling the writer completely about. The regiment at this point lost several badly wounded, and two or three killed.

An officer rode up from the rear and hurriedly ordered Colonel Thomas to charge and take the battery. "That's what we are after, sir," replied Thomas; "I'm only waiting for support." As a fact, the Eighth regiment at that moment was entirely alone. But the order to move forward was given, and the regiment dashed down the bank skirting the meadow and alongside the flying fragments of rebel regiments, closely followed by the Twelfth Connecticut, cheering as they ran. The battery saw us coming, and fired with redoubled energy, but our close proximity and the depression of the ground saved us from loss, and in their confusion the gunners fired wildly, so that most of the storm intended for us fell short or swept just over our heads. The guns were hastily hauled down the opposite slope out of our clutches, to join in the grand rush across Cedar Creek, under a shower of bullets from our victorious rifles.

As the pursuing infantry reached again the ground where their morning camp had stood, the Eighth Vermont still in advance, a halt of half an hour was made, for bringing in our wounded men, some of whom fell in the morning and had lain all day on the disputed field, and were shivering in the raw night air. Fire was built, and coffee prepared for the refreshment of the men after their long fast; but be-

fore it could be served, orders came to advance again, and, leaving the wounded to the surgeons, and the dead uncared for, on we went again, after the flying foe.

The enemy crossed Cedar Creek, hurried on and entrenched near midnight behind their old breastworks, beyond Fort Banks and Strasburg. But our regiment followed closely, and, crawling up under their works, found themselves on the very spot they had occupied the night before the battle of Fisher's Hill. The men lay on their arms, under strict orders to observe silence and not even to speak aloud. But before daylight Thomas moved his regiment back to Fort Banks. Rosser's cavalry still hovered on the pike below, and the Union cavalry coming up, the regiment had a chance to watch from its position a brief but sharp engagement before the rebel horsemen fled.

The Eighth Vermont entered the fight nearly two hours earlier than the other Vermont troops. It received the fiercest charge of the day Its relative loss of numbers actually engaged in the morning fight was heavier than that of any other Union regiment. It led the charge back, and was a part of the "arrow-head" which had the honor to first pierce the enemy's line of battle in the forenoon;—maintaining that advance, it was at midnight farther to the front in pursuit of the enemy than any of Sheridan's infantry. Thus closed the battle.

With not over 350 effective men on the field, and at no time having in line over 200 bayonets, the Eighth Vermont this day lost 15 killed, 82 wounded and 27 missing—total, 124; a percentage of casualties only exceeded among the Vermont regiments by that of the Fifth regiment at Savage's Station.

Among the killed was Lieutenant A. K. Cooper of company A; Captain Edward Hall of company E, received a shot through the bowels, from which he died nine days after; and First Lieutenant Nathan C. Cheney of company K, also received a mortal wound, from which he died two days after. Among the wounded were Major Mead, who received a flesh wound in the side in the morning, but after having his wound dressed returned to duty at night; Captain A. B. Franklin, in the leg; Captain W H. Smith, in

head and arm; Captain G. O. Ford, shot through both thighs; Captain S. E. Howard, who received two wounds, one a severe one in the arm, which occasioned his discharge six weeks after; Adjutant S. W Shattuck, leg; First Lieutenant A. J. Sargent, severely in hip; Lieutenant James Welch, severely in leg, occasioning his discharge four months later; Lieutenant Wm. H. Spencer, severely in thigh, occasioning his discharge five months after; Lieutenant Franklin R. Carpenter; Lieutenant Henry H. Newton, leg broken by fall of his horse while on detached service; and Lieutenant Lewis Child, on the brigade staff, also injured by the fall of his horse, which was shot under him. The officers thus killed or permanently disabled were among the most meritorious officers in the line, and their loss was deeply felt in the command.[1]

[1] The casualties among the rank and file were as follows: Killed—Lucius Estes of company A; Corporal George F. Blanchard, James S. Bigelow and William J. Fadden of company B; John H. Day of company D; George E. Austin of company G; Sergeant Jonathan V Allen and George E. Ormsby of company H; Sergeant Lewis H. Lamb, Alonzo Mills and Charles F. Phillips of company I; Corporal Lyman F. Perham, Franklin Russell and Paschal P. Shores of company K.

Wounded—Sergeant Seth C. Hill, Oliver P. Dunham and Aliston E. Shepard of company A; Sergeant Henry H. Holt, Corporal Myron P. Warren (fatally), Silas Baker, Orville R. Brooks, George W. Derby and Samuel Guthrie of company B; William Leith, Oscar Page and Cyrus S. Root (fatally) of company C; George H. Austin, George N. M. Bean, William C. Bliss, Joseph Mansur, Joseph S. Rollins, Sergeant Henry C. Richardson, Samuel W. Scott, Jeremiah D. Styles, Freeling G. Thomas (fatally) and Asa Thompson (fatally) of company D; Corporal George Maxham, Mason P. Burke, Horace A. Hull, Edwin Phelps, Julius L. Poor and James Robinson of company E; Abraham Douglass and George G. Smith of company F; Sergeant Martin L. Bruce, Corporal William D. Plumley, James H. Bement, Fabian Dupuis and James Tracy of company G; Sergeant Henry B. Brown, Samuel S. Childs (fatally), Simeon Canedy, Albert O. Evans (fatally), George R. Harrington, William H. Reed (fatally), Cyrus M. White and George A. Williams of company H; Corporal Leonard C. Bemis, Corporal Alfred S. Warden, Warren W. Kerr, Sidney L. May and Daniel B. Mills of company I; Sergeant Ethan P. Shores, Sergeant Solon P Simons, Corporal John Petrie (fatally), Ransom Coolbeth, Albert D. Grant, George Page and Sewall Simpson of company K;—and 13 others.

Colonel Thomas, in his report, recommended Captain Franklin for promotion, at the first vacancy, making especial reference to his service in rescuing the brigade headquarters flag from capture; he also made especial mention of Captain McFarland for brave and efficient conduct in command of the regiment.

With Cedar Creek the hard fighting of the Eighth Vermont ended, and no more men fell in its ranks by hostile bullets.

On the 12th of November the regiment was at Newtown in the valley, with the Nineteenth Corps, when Merritt and Custer engaged Rosser's and Lomax's cavalry. In this action a New York infantry regiment, which had been advanced to support the cavalry, was driven in through the picket line of the Nineteenth Corps. This was held near the turnpike by the Eighth Vermont; and the men piled some breastworks of rails, and kept back Payne's Confederate cavalry till Sheridan sent out supports, and the enemy were driven across Cedar Creek.

During November and December the following promotions took place: Major J B. Mead was made lieutenant colonel; Captain A. B. Franklin, company H, major; First Lieutenant Henry Carpenter, company F, adjutant; First Lieutenant L. M. Hutchinson, captain of company E; Adjutant S. W Shattuck, captain company H; M. L. Hodgkins, first lieutenant company F; James Welch, company G, first lieutenant; Second Lieutenant Joseph N. Dunton, company H, first lieutenant; Second Lieutenant Ezra H. Brown, company A, first lieutenant; Henry H. Newton, company A, second lieutenant.

When the Sixth Corps left the valley, the Nineteenth remained with Sheridan, and the Eighth Vermont lay for five weeks at "Camp Russell," at Newtown, throwing up breastworks and preparing winter quarters. It was not to winter there, however. On the 20th of December came orders to

break camp, and in the afternoon the Eighth started down the valley with the corps, marched through Winchester in the evening, and continued on till nearly midnight, making a march of about twenty miles. The men bivouacked on frozen ground, woke in a severe snowstorm, and pushed on next morning in the snow to Summit Point, half way between Winchester and Harper's Ferry. Here the troops stockaded their tents and built block-houses along the railroad—five miles of which were guarded by the brigade—for protection against Mosby's irregular cavalry.

The most exciting event at Summit Point was the capture by guerrillas of eleven men of a party of twenty who were out chopping wood. These were taken to Richmond, but were soon after exchanged and rejoined the regiment.

The first of the new year, 1865, found the regiment at Summit Point, with 675 men on the roll, of whom 470 were reported present for duty. During the month of January the regiment was orphaned by the departure of Colonel Thomas, whose three years' term was about to expire. Under the rules of the War Department he could not be re-mustered with his present rank, as the regiment did not have men enough to entitle it to a colonel; and it already had a lieutenant colonel. Under the circumstances, Colonel Thomas felt constrained to apply to be mustered out. With what reluctance his request was granted, is shown by the endorsements of his brigade and corps commanders. That of General McMillan stated that he forwarded the request "with great regret, as Colonel Thomas is a most valuable officer to the service, and his place cannot be easily filled." General Emory's was as follows: "The general commanding regrets exceedingly to lose the services of Colonel Thomas, whom he has twice recommended to be brevetted for gallantry and meritorious services; and he yet entertains the hope that Colonel Thomas will receive the promotion that he merits, and return to the corps." Ten days afterwards Thomas was ap-

pointed brigadier general, his commission bearing date of February 1st, 1865. Before he was again assigned to further active service the war ended, and he did not return to the field. It is the simple truth to say that few, if any, officers in the army had more of the respect and affection of the officers and men of their commands than he.

Returning to Vermont, Colonel Thomas interested himself in procuring recruits for the Eighth, enough of whom joined the regiment the last week in February to enable Lieut. Colonel Mead to be mustered as colonel on the 4th of March.[1]

On the 5th of March more recruits arrived, carrying the aggregate of the regiment up to 781, with 662 for duty. April 4th the regiment with the rest of the corps and other troops, under General Hancock, General Sheridan having left the valley with the cavalry corps, moved up the valley to Newtown; and a week later returned to Summit Point.

The following promotions in the regiment were made early in the year 1865: February 23d, Second Lieutenant Geo. G. Hutchins, company E, to be first lieutenant; Sergeant Francis E. Warren, company I, to be first lieutenant, and then, April 18th, to be captain; Sergeant Newell H. Hibbard, company E, second lieutenant; Sergeant George W Hill, company K, second lieutenant; March 3d, First Lieutenant Joseph N. Dunton, company H, captain of company C; Hospital Steward Wm. H. Haskins, captain of company D, vice Captain A. E. Getchell, whose term had expired; Lieutenant James W Smith, company K, captain; Lieutenant Waitstill R. Pettie, company H, first lieutenant;

[1] Colonel Mead was a native of Stratham, N. H., but came to Vermont in his boyhood, and at the opening of the war was a farmer in Randolph, Vt. He enlisted, at the age of 30, in January, '62, went out as second lieutenant of company G, and rose by merit through the intermediate grades to the colonelcy, sustaining always the character of a capable officer, a good disciplinarian and a Christian gentleman. He was prominent in civil life after the war, and died at Randolph, in December, 1887.

Sergeant Martin L. Bruce, company G, first lieutenant; Sergeant Horace P. Emerson, company D, second lieutenant; Sergeant Hymenius A. Davis, company H, second lieutenant; Sergeant Abner N. Flint, company G, second lieutenant. April 6th, Sergeant Curtis W Lynn, company B, second lieutenant; April 18th, Sergeant Henry W Downs, company I, second lieutenant.

Rev. Thomas Bayne of Irasburgh, was commissioned chaplain, February 23d.

April 15th the regiment, with other troops, was hurried to Washington by rail, and formed part of the cordon of infantry that was drawn around the city of Washington to prevent the escape of John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln. The men stood on guard through the night. Next day it became known that Booth had escaped beyond the encircling line, and the regiment returned to Summit Point. At this time the last squad of recruits, 21 in number, joined the regiment, bringing its aggregate up to 847, with 713 for duty.

April 21st the regiment left the Shenandoah Valley for Washington, where it encamped at Brightwood, near Fort Stevens, and during the trials of the assassins of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, it was stationed, as part of the military reserve, near the Arsenal, in which the assassins were confined.

May 23d the regiment participated in the review of the Nineteenth Corps by President Johnson.

June 1st Dwight's division of the Nineteenth Corps was ordered to Savannah, and the men of the Eighth, much against their will, for they had seen enough of the South as soldiers, embarked at Alexandria, in a steamer which was to sail next morning.

But almost at the last moment, Governor Smith, who was in Washington, procured from the Secretary of War a revocation of the order, so far as the Eighth Vermont was con-

cerned. At two o'clock next morning, two hours before they were to sail, Colonel Mead received an order to report to General Wright, commanding the Sixth Corps, and the regiment joyfully disembarked. This order detached the regiment from the brigade, division and corps with which it had so long been associated. It parted from them to their sincere regret and with the respect and esteem of all. "The Eighth Vermont," said General Emory in a letter to Captain Geo. N. Carpenter, written in 1885, "was a solid and reliable regiment, that could be depended on under the scorching heats of the South as well as in the rigorous winter climate of the Shenandoah." After a week in a pleasant camp near Alexandria, the regiment joined the other Vermont troops in camp with the Sixth Corps near Munson's Hill. Here it participated in the review of the Vermont troops by Governor Smith on the 7th of June and in the review of the Sixth Corps by President Johnson on the 8th. The men took especial pains to prepare for these reviews, and the regiment was highly complimented for its fine appearance.[1]

The regiment remained two weeks longer at Munson's Hill, when the recruits whose terms would expire within three months were mustered out on the 21st of June. A week later the remainder were mustered out. The regiment left Washington next day, June 29th, and arrived at Burlington July 2d, with 650 officers and men. Marching to the City Hall, the regiment was received by Colonel L. B. Platt, of the Citizens' Reception Committee, and welcomed home by Rev. N. P Foster. Colonel Mead, who was present, though suffering from injuries received in a railroad accident on the way home, from which he narrowly escaped with his life, responded fittingly. A collation was served in the hall

[1] "The Eighth Vermont, a veteran regiment, four years in the service, commanded by Colonel John B. Mead, was especially noticed for its excellent marching and the perfect alignment of its bayonets. Every soldier bore in his cap a sprig of cedar, emblem of his State."—Washington *Intelligencer*, June 9th, 1865

by the ladies, and the soldiers acknowledged their welcome by hearty cheers for the ladies and citizens of Burlington, adding three cheers for their old commander, General Thomas. On the 8th and 10th of July they were paid off, and departed to their homes.

The final statement of the regiment shows that a larger number of its members re-enlisted than of any other Vermont regiment except the Seventh; and that more men of the Eighth were promoted to be officers in other regiments than of any other Vermont regiment, no less than 33 of its members receiving commissions in the regiments of the United States colored troops, which were officered by white men. Those so commissioned were Henry C. Abbott, Samuel H. Bailey, Charles W Blake, Isaac Blake, Orwell Blake, Frank Brown, Lucius N. Bissell, Rufus H. Clark, Charles C. Cotton, William K. Crosby, Charles A. Cutler, Charles B. Fullington, Oscar W Goodridge, Hiram P. Haney, Augustine P Hawley, Lucius C. Herrick, Harvey O. Kiser, Rufus Kinsley, Sumner W Lewis, James A. Matthews, Edward D. Mooney, James Noyes, Parker J. Noyes, William S. Peabody, George W Peavey, Hiram E. Perkins, William F Peters, Elijah K. Prouty, Harvey L. Smith, Stillman Smith, Warren B. Stickney, John M. Thompson, Lewis R. Titus, Michael B. Tobin, William G. Westover, Azariah F Wild, Lemuel I. Winslow, and Charles G. Wood.

The list of battles and actions in which the Eighth Vermont took part is as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE EIGHTH VERMONT.

Occupation of New Orleans,	May, 1862.
Boutte Station and Bayou Des Allemands,	Sept. 4, 1862.
Steamer Cotton,	Jan. 14, 1863.
Bisland,	April 12, 1863.
Port Hudson, assault,	May 27, 1863.
Port Hudson, night engagement,	June 10, 1863.
Port Hudson, assault,	June 14, 1863.
Opequon,	Sept. 19, 1864.
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Newtown,	Nov. 12, 1864.

The final statement of the Eighth regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 980; total.....1016

GAINS.

Recruits, 752; transfers from other regiments, 4; total..... 756

Aggregate.....1772

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 69; total..... 71
Died of wounds—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 31; total..... 33
Died of disease—com. officers, 6; enlisted men, 207; total..... 213
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 20; from accident, 8; total 28

Total of deaths..... 345
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 16; for wounds and disability, 6; enlisted men, for wounds, 12; for disability, 224; total..... 258
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 6; total..... 9

Total discharged..... 267
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—officers, 3; enlisted men, 35; total..... 38
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, signal service, regular army, etc..... 62
Deserted, 86; dropped from the rolls, 1; unaccounted for, 4; total.... 91
Mustered out—com. officers. 46: enlisted men, 923: total..... 969

Aggregate.....1772
Total wounded..... 236
Total re-enlisted..... 321

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE NINTH REGIMENT.

Organization—Rendezvous at Brattleboro—Departure for the War—Winchester—Siege and Surrender of Harper's Ferry—March to Annapolis—Journey to Chicago—Guarding Confederate Prisoners—Sombre Experiences—Exchanged and Ordered to the Field—Suffolk, Va.—Yorktown—Mortality from Disease—Newport, N. C.—Battle of Newport Barracks—Retreat to Beaufort—Reoccupation of Newport—Expedition to Jacksonville, N. C.—New Berne—Departure from North Carolina—Joins Army of the James before Richmond—Bailey's Cross Roads—Battle of Chapin's Farm—Capture and Defence of Fort Harrison by General Stannard, and Storming of Battery Morris—Battle of Fair Oaks—Sent to New York City—Return to the Army—Winter Quarters—Competitive Inspections—Fall of Richmond—Triumphal Entry into the City—Guard duty at Richmond—Return Home.

The Ninth regiment was recruited early in the summer of 1862. In the first twelve months of the war Vermont had forwarded nine thousand men to the front; and recruiting had ceased in the State, as elsewhere in the North, in April, 1862, because the government had all the men it wanted. That the half million of federal troops in the field would be enough to end the war was taken for granted, and the young men who had been thinking of enlisting turned their attention to the pursuits of civil life. The belief that no more soldiers would be needed was, however, suddenly dispelled by a despatch from the War Department to Governor Holbrook on the 21st of May, directing him to raise at once an additional infantry regiment. This order was followed, on the 25th of May, when Stonewall Jackson had driven Banks out of the Shenandoah Valley, by a despatch stating that the enemy was threatening Washington, and directing the governor to forward at once all the volunteer and militia force

in the State. There were no troops of either kind in Vermont to send; but the State authorities bent all their energies to the effort to raise at once another regiment of volunteers. Recruiting stations were established and recruiting officers appointed as follows: Bennington, Sanford M. Robinson, Jr.; Bradford, John C. Stearns; Brattleboro, Francis Goodhue; Burlington, Reed Bascom; Hyde Park, Charles Dutton; Irasburgh, Amasa Bartlett; Middlebury, Albert R. Sabin; Perkinsville, Charles Jarvis; Plainfield, Albion J. Mower; Rutland, Edward H. Ripley; St. Johnsbury, Edwin B. Frost; Swanton, Albert B. Jewett. The people responded well. Enlistments were promoted by the selection for colonel of Lieut. Colonel Stannard of the Second, who left the field to assist in the work of raising the regiment; and though all the machinery of recruiting had to be reorganized, in six weeks from the receipt of the order the Ninth regiment was in camp.

The companies organized as follows: A, Swanton, June 14th, Captain V G. Barney; B, Rutland, June 20th, Captain Edward H. Ripley; C, Middlebury, June 24th, Captain Albert R. Sabin; D, Perkinsville, June 25th, Captain Charles Jarvis; E, Irasburgh, June 25th, Captain Amasa Bartlett; F, Burlington, June 25th, Captain George A. Beebe; G, Bradford, June 26th, Captain William J. Henderson; H, Hyde Park, June 27th, Captain Abial H. Slayton; I, Plainfield, June 30th, Captain Albion J. Mower; K, Brattleboro, July 3d, Captain David W Lewis.

The companies were uniformed at the recruiting stations, and reported at the rendezvous at Brattleboro in the last week of June and first week of July—a period when the mails and telegraph wires were freighted with the exciting news of the seven days' fighting before Richmond and of President Lincoln's call for 300,000 more volunteers.

The regiment was rapidly equipped, under the active exertions of Quartermaster General Davis, and armed with

Belgian rifles—the best gun that could at that time be procured. The men went into camp in wall and Sibley tents (which they took with them to Washington), and were kept busy with squad and company drills, under experienced instructors. The field and staff officers of the regiment were in character and experience second to those of no regiment as yet organized. The colonel was George J. Stannard, a soldier of experience and high military capacity. The lieutenant-colonel was Dudley K. Andross, who had been captain of the Bradford company and under fire in the First regiment. The major was Edwin S. Stowell of Cornwall, late captain in the Fifth, and one of the best line officers in that regiment. The adjutant was John C. Stearns, late the capable sergeant-major of the First regiment. The quartermaster was Francis O. Sawyer of Burlington, whose business training had been that of an express agent, and who speedily demonstrated the fitness of his selection. The surgeoncy was first tendered to Dr. Charles L. Allen of Rutland, who declined it, as he had been offered a higher position, and was then filled by the appointment of B. Walter Carpenter, assistant surgeon of the Second Vermont and one of the most popular and efficient members of the medical staff of the First brigade. The assistant surgeon was Dr. Horace P Hall of St. Albans. Rev. Lucius C. Dickinson of Cavendish, a worthy clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal church, was appointed chaplain.

Nearly or quite a third of the line officers had held commissions or served in the ranks of the First regiment. The rank and file were largely farmers and farmers' sons, averaging a little younger than the men of the preceding regiments. Among them were a number of boys of 18; but many also were men of mature years, of education and property and recognized standing in their respective towns.

On the 9th of July the regiment was mustered into the United States service, with 920 officers and men, by Major

Wm. Austine, U. S. A., United States mustering officer for Vermont. The regimental colors were presented by Governor Holbrook in a fitting speech, to which Colonel Stannard responded.

On the morning of the 15th of July the regiment broke camp in the rain and took train for the field, with the usual demonstrations. At Springfield the regiment received an artillery salute from the guns at the United States arsenal; and refreshments were served in the cars by the citizens. At New Haven, in the afternoon, the regiment took the steamer Bay State and landed at New York the next morning, all eyes opening wide as they passed the mammoth English steamer, the Great Eastern, moored in the East River. Landing at the foot of 23d street, East River, the regiment marched to Madison Square, where the men stacked arms and had breakfast.

As the Ninth was the first regiment to pass through New York for the field, under the new call for troops, its arrival aroused unusual interest, and that city, which always gave a kindly greeting to the Vermont soldiers, welcomed this regiment with especial enthusiasm. Admiring crowds surrounded the boys in Madison Square and lined the streets through which they marched, and the New York papers did not stint compliments for the Green Mountain State and its soldiers.[1]

[1] "The Green Mountain boys are the first to respond to the call of the president for additional troops. * * * The march of this magnificent body of 1000 men through the aristocratic avenues and the grand thoroughfares of trade and traffic excited unusual interest and provoked the most enthusiastic demonstrations. The doors, windows and balconies of the brown stone palaces were graced with fashion, wealth and beauty, and Broadway was lined with vast multitudes of men and women eager to honor the Green Mountain boys as they marched to the music of the Union. A salute was fired as they passed the City Hall and refreshments were distributed from the Astor House. Dr. Marsh supplied the regiment with 1000 of his temperance tracts."—N. Y. *Tribune*, July 17th, 1862.

"The State of Vermont has the prestige of sending the first regiment under the new call of the president to the seat of war. * * * The

The officers were dined at the Fifth Avenue Hotel by the "Sons of Vermont," and speeches were made, to which Colonel Stannard and Chaplain Dickinson responded. At four o'clock the regiment marched through Fifth Avenue, Nineteenth street and Broadway to the North river, the men finding the sun hot and the knapsacks heavy. At the ferry Mr. Horace Greeley made them a patriotic speech from the wheelhouse of the boat. Taking train at Jersey City, they arrived at Philadelphia at two o'clock A. M., and had breakfast at the Union Relief rooms. The regiment marched through Baltimore with loaded muskets; and at ten P. M. reached Washington, where it was quartered in the dirty barracks north of the Capitol. Here the regiment spent three days, during which time the Belgian muskets were exchanged for Springfield rifles, and many men fell sick from poor food and worse water.

It was now in the lull of fighting following the close of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. General Pope had been assigned to the command of the Army of Virginia, and was in Washington directing the movements of the troops around the Capital and in the Shenandoah Valley. On the 19th Colonel Stannard was ordered to take his regiment across the Potomac, and report to General Sturgis, whose division was lying at Cloud's Mill, four miles west of Alexandria. The regiment started next morning. It was Sunday The day was bright, the sun hot, the men unused to marching; and though the march was one of less than fifteen miles, they suffered severely. Hundreds threw away their knapsacks, which were gathered from the roadside and brought to camp by the wagons, and were returned to the men with an admonition

march down Broadway was characterized by the greatest enthusiasm and we could not help imagining that the early days of the rebellion were upon us. Long and loud were the cheers that went up in encouragement of the soldiers who were hurrying to the defence of the government, now more than ever in danger. The Ninth Vermont is as fine a body of men as has yet left the State."—N. Y. *Herald*, July 17th, 1862.

from the colonel that if they threw them away again they would go without them. The stay at Cloud's Mill was short. On the 23d Colonel Stannard was ordered to report to General A. S. Piatt, who with a small brigade was stationed at Winchester, which position he had been ordered to intrench and hold. He wanted reinforcements, and the Ninth was sent to him, to the disappointment of many of the men, who had hoped that they might join the First Vermont Brigade. The regiment marched to Alexandria on the 24th; took boat to Washington; lay in the hot sun during the afternoon; took train in the evening; spent the night in freight cars; reached Harper's Ferry next day; and after various detentions—one occasioned by the derailing of the train which conveyed the advance of the regiment—reached Winchester next day, and went into camp on the heights northeast of the town. A day or two after their arrival General Piatt was relieved by General Julius White, a capable and energetic officer. Here in "Camp Sigel" the regiment spent five weeks, largely occupied in throwing up a bastioned fort, called Fort Sigel, with variations of picket duty, night alarms, and midnight marches to the rifle-pits. The hot days, cool nights and hard work sent many men to the hospital. During the first week in August, Surgeon Carpenter, who had just been released from duty with the Second regiment, joined the regiment, was warmly welcomed, and found enough to do. On the 9th of August, Captain George H. Beebe of company F, the youngest officer in the line with one exception, and one of the most promising,[1] and Private Stephen Parker of the same company, died of dysentery, and other deaths followed.

[1] Captain Beebe was a clerk in Burlington when the war broke out. He enlisted and served with credit in the First Regiment; and was elected captain of the Chittenden County company of the Ninth, at its organization. He was a genial and spirited young officer, and a universal favorite. His remains were taken to Vermont and interred at his home in Highgate.

The activity of the irregular Confederate cavalry on all sides of General White's force; the capture and destruction by them of a railroad train between Winchester and Harper's Ferry, and other threatening indications, caused the work on the fortifications at Winchester to be pressed with all vigor. Fort Sigel was soon so far finished as to have a flag-raising, and the stars and stripes were hoisted over it with due parade and speech-making. The fort was armed with heavy siege guns, and the orchards and timber around it were cleared away, rifle-pits and abatis constructed, and the magazine filled with ammunition. The camp of the Ninth was moved close to the fort, where officers and men were stifled with dust; and though there was a lack of experienced gunners, all felt fully able to hold the position against thrice their number.

Soon after the middle of August, following the battle of Cedar Mountain, Lee began to press General Pope (whose headquarters were now at Culpeper) to the north; and the sound of the artillery duel between Sigel and Jackson near Sulphur Springs, on the 24th, came distinctly through the gaps of the Blue Ridge to the ears of the troops at Winchester. On the 30th and 31st Pope fought the second Bull Run. On the 1st of September he withdrew within the defences of Washington; and on the 2d of September, in view of the certainty that Lee would throw a heavy force into the Shenandoah Valley, General White was ordered by General Halleck to remove his artillery or render it unserviceable, destroy his fortifications, and withdraw his command to Harper's Ferry. His compliance with this order was hastened by a report, brought in by his scouts, that a Confederate column of 20,000 men was within twenty miles of him.[1] The guns

[1] The scouting party which obtained this information was commanded by Major Stowell of the Ninth, who at this time was General White's chief of scouts. The party consisted of Major Stowell, Sergeant T. S. Peck, and 30 men in citizens' clothes. They went through Ashby's Gap to Paris, on the road to Salem. Learning that Jackson's advance was at Salem, they returned, followed by Confederate cavalry, to Winchester.

were hastily dismounted and spiked; all stores that could not be loaded in the wagons were piled with the tents, gun-carriages and other combustibles, in readiness for the torch, and a train was laid to the magazine. The men witnessed these preparations and packed their knapsacks in deep bewilderment. At nine P. M. came the order to fall in, and at eleven the brigade moved away from the fort, in the darkness, leaving Captain Powell, U. S. Engineers, with some battery-men, to fire the stores, explode the magazine, and burn the army store-houses in Winchester.

In this sudden departure the men who were too sick to march—some 40 in number—were left in hospital in Winchester under the care of Surgeon Carpenter, who was in charge of the post hospital, in the seminary building. Among those so left were Captain Lewis, company K; Lieutenants Sherman and Jewett, company A, and Lieutenant Dartt, company D. Other invalids and convalescents, officers and men, staggered along with the column. It was a forced march of over thirty miles. When four or five miles on the way the explosion of the magazine of Fort Sigel thundered behind them, and the blaze of the burning store-houses in Winchester lit up the sky.[1] All night the column moved, the men needing little urging to keep the ranks closed up. At daybreak they forded the Opequon, then running breast-high; at seven halted for a short rest, and at nine moved on again till four o'clock P. M., when they halted, exhausted and depressed, at Harper's Ferry

HARPER'S FERRY.

The place was full of troops, increased by the arrival of White's brigade to 11,500. General White ranked Colonel Miles, commanding the garrison, but waived his right to com-

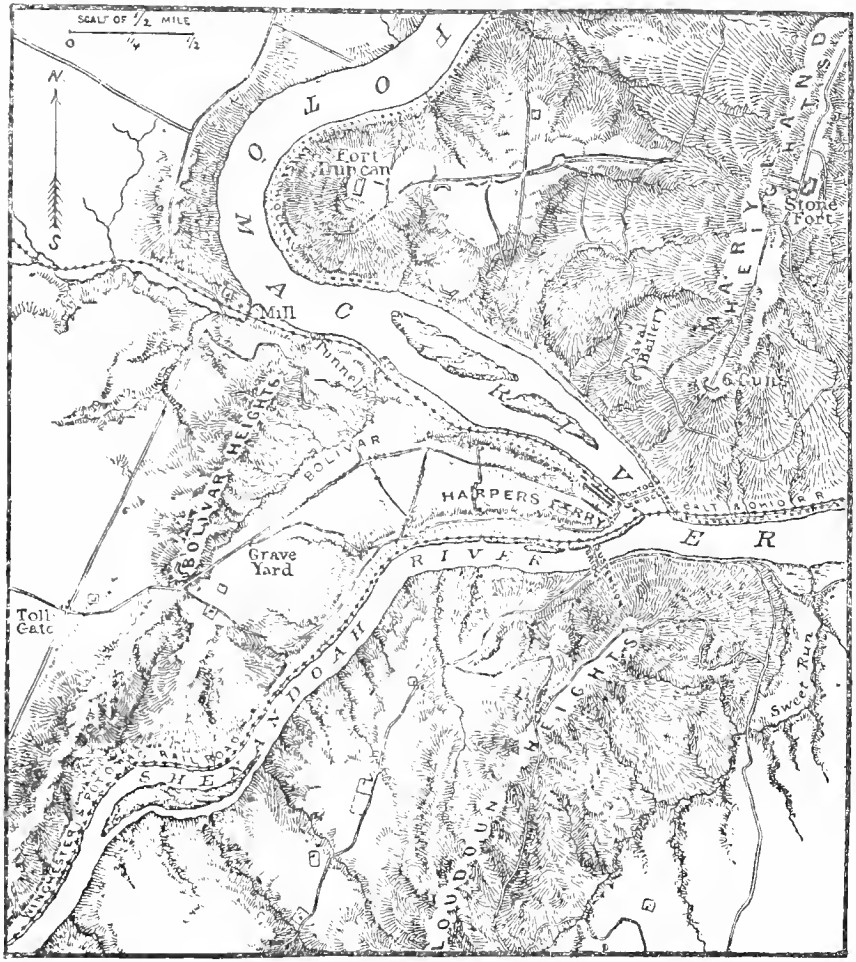
[1] The last man in the magazine was Private Charles H. Sweeney, of company H of the Ninth, who was on guard at the magazine and, under direction of Captain Powell, scattered powder thickly on the floor of the magazine and connected the fuse by which it was exploded.

mand, and under Miles's orders took charge of a force of 4,000 men stationed at Martinsburg, ten miles northwest of Harper's Ferry. In a re-brigading of regiments, the Ninth Vermont now became part of a brigade commanded by Colonel Trimble of the Sixtieth Ohio.

Within twenty-four hours after the Ninth arrived at Harper's Ferry, Lee's army was crossing the Potomac into Maryland, ten miles below Harper's Ferry, and the garrison knew that they were cut off from Washington. For ten days the garrison waited in growing anxiety, while six divisions of the Confederate army were converging around them. That they were not withdrawn was the error of General Halleck, who to McClellan's request that Miles be withdrawn and sent to him, replied that Miles was already so surrounded that it was impossible to withdraw him. That, however, was not the case. That the garrison was not marched out of its trap, to ground on which it could have held out till help came, was the fault of Colonel Miles. That no help came to save Miles, was, as has been already noted in the history of the First Brigade, owing to the tardiness of McClellan and Franklin. The omission of any one of this series of blunders would probably have saved the garrison from capture, and made Antietam something better than a drawn battle.

Harper's Ferry, and the heights surrounding it, are divided into three parts by the confluence of the Shenandoah with the Potomac, at the point of an obtuse angle made by the latter. The heights on the Virginia side of the Potomac north of the Shenandoah are known as Bolivar Heights; those on the Virginia side south of the Shenandoah, as Loudon Heights; those on the Maryland side, as Maryland Heights.[1]

[1] "A man may travel far and wide in America without coming upon a lovelier spot than the heights above Harper's Ferry. The town itself is low and unattractive; but one who stands above it may see the beautiful valley of Virginia extending far to the folded hills of the southwest. As he looks to the town the Loudon Heights rise boldly on his right, and between him and them the Shenandoah—a stream that deserves the epithet



HARPER'S FERRY, 1862.

To these three heights Lee sent back from Maryland as many bodies of troops, the smallest of which comprised three brigades, the next ten brigades, and the largest fourteen brigades. Stonewall Jackson, with his corps of three divisions, crossing the Potomac above Harper's Ferry, came down upon Bolivar Heights from the northwest. Walker, with his division, crossing below Harper's Ferry, came up to Loudon Heights from the southeast. McLaws, with his own and Anderson's divisions, advanced against Maryland Heights from the east. On the 14th of September they had encircled the town, and on the morning of the 15th their guns were pouring a combined and powerful fire into the Union camps. The following graphic description of the siege and surrender was written for these pages by General E. H. Ripley, then captain of company B of the Ninth:

No sooner had the regiment recovered from the immediate effects of its severe march and got settled in its new camp at Harper's Ferry than it began to study with anxiety the peculiar situation it had been placed in. We were, as it were, in the bottom of a bowl, one portion of the rim being occupied by an inadequate force on Maryland Heights, the rest open to the occupation of the enemy unless we seized it at once. The occupation of Loudon Heights, which alone would make our position in the basin tenable, was discussed; but it was decided that it was not possible to get guns up there, either by us or by the rebels. This was against Stannard's judgment, who wished to be sent there, and who added, with decision, when his offer was declined, that nothing now remained (if the crossing of the river and the place were important to the operations of the Army of the Potomac) but to throw the whole force across upon Maryland Heights, and from there command the entire situation. We should have the entire rebel army to deal with, and concentration on that impregnable mountain would alone enable us

of "arrowy" as well as the Rhine—rushes to its union with the broad and yellow Potomac. In the hollow before him is the town, with Maryland Heights rising like the Trossachs beyond the river; and there is the canal with 'margin willow-veiled' to give the contrast of utter repose to the vehemence of the Shenandoah and the rugged grandeur of the hills."—Colonel F. W. Palfrey.

to resist the weight of that army and execute the wishesof McClellan. This was the talk of every company mess, of every camp-fire of the Ninth Regiment. The commonest soldier, sitting there and watching the clouds of dust down the river in Maryland, could see the inevitable disaster as Lee's Corps marched northward behind Maryland Heights, toward Antietam, between us and the Army of the Potomac.

The morale of the regiment was good. We were conscious of a peculiar and highly important duty to perform to our comrades of the Army of the Potomac, who were pressing Lee to a decisive battle but a few miles away, and when, day by day, for ten days, we saw no work done, except a small amount of felling timber to extend the artillery range and afford an obstacle to cavalry, we grew critical and restless and on all sides we heard expressions of distrust in Miles's capacity or loyalty. Everything was going on in a listless, nerveless way, except that Colonel Stannard began a sharp and vigorous system of squad, company and regimental drill. This was the first opportunity we had had since entering the field to undertake any drill. Although on the eve of a great trial of our staunchness we were absolutely raw and undisciplined.

Day by day the rebels were crowding in upon us, the beleaguering camp-fires stretching in a semi-circle around from the Shenandoah to the Potomac. We had established our camp on the southern slope of Bolivar Heights, with our right resting at the little redoubt where the Charlestown Pike crosses them; our color line just north of and running parallel with the pike. There was nothing to interrupt the anxious monotony, until Thursday the 11th, when our work began in earnest as the skirmishing broke out on Maryland Heights, and from the plateau below we watched the lines of blue thin smoke as they advanced and retreated along its steep and woody slopes.

McLaws's division was the first of the three columns sent by Lee to surround us, that made its presence felt. Its skirmishers felt of our position Thursday afternoon, its main line more seriously on Friday. On Saturday forenoon with indignation and foreboding we saw our troops slowly pushed off Maryland Heights, Miles abandoning the key of the position to the enemy, instead of throwing us all over there, as we hoped and prayed might be the decision. The roar of our batteries on Camp Hill and Maryland Heights was incessant, and there was a wicked waste of ammunition to little purpose.

General Walker, with his brigade, made his appearance far above our heads on the overhanging crest of Loudon Heights on Saturday afternoon, about the time that Maryland Heights was given up. We had no grave apprehensions from his presence there, for it had been repeated over and over again that it was not in the range of human possibilities to get guns up those almost inaccessible heights; so we laughed at their misspent exertions.

From the West, on Thursday, came, driven in from Martinsburg by Jackson, General White's brigade, which bivouacked on the level plateau between us and the bluff dropping down into the Shenandoah. A. P Hill's division pressed up closely on our left on Saturday afternoon, and the Ninth Vermont was sent out to resist his advances, together with the Third Maryland. We held the line in the woods until dark with some fighting on our right. I was on the extreme left flank and my company, B, was deployed down the side of the bluff overhanging the river, the canal and the river road. As I was in a measure isolated in the darkness, the companies connecting on my right had orders to keep up a careful contact with us. After a while the firing on the right seemed to drop back as though our line had given way, and I heard a confusion to the right of our front. Creeping carefully up in the darkness I discovered our line gone and the rebels pushing in between me and it. Without an instant to spare, I whispered my orders to the men, and we slid silently down the slope and made our way within our new line by the bank of the river, after we were supposed to have been cut off and captured. Upon this ground the enemy placed the two batteries, in the morning, whose fire was so effective against Rigby's and Potts's batteries.

We lay out all night, and at daylight Sunday morning were brought into camp. A little later the right wing under Colonel Andross, was sent out to reinforce the picket line, and Colonel Stannard was detailed as general field-officer of the day for the command.

No sooner had dawn broken over the mountain tops than we saw that the rebels had spent a busy night on Loudon Heights and were working like beavers on batteries in two places. Immediately our batteries on Camp Hill opened an ineffectual fire on them. We watched them uneasily as our shell crawled slowly up toward them but never seeming to reach them, and asked each other anxiously can it be possible they have succeeded in dragging guns up there.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon Major Stowell and I were lying on our backs in the grass behind our tents watching our shell lift themselves up so wearisomely in their long flight toward the hostile working parties, when suddenly I saw two, three, four, half a dozen puffs of smoke burst out in the very centre of them, and we jumped to our feet, clapped our hands, and hurrahed in delight: "Our guns have the range, and the rebels have got to go." Suddenly, in the very centre of White's brigade, there was a crash, then another and another, and columns of dirt and smoke leaped into the air, as though a dozen young volcanoes had burst forth. Stowell caught the situation quicker than I, and exclaimed: "It's their guns!" In an instant the bivouac turned into the appearance of a disturbed ant-hill. Artillery, infantry, and cavalry were mixed in an absurd and laughable melee, as the panic increased. The rebel batteries were now in most rapid play, and as the fugitives came streaming towards us, the shells followed them with unerring practice. All at once one dropped into our camp, and Stowell sprang up with the exclamation that it was getting to be no laughing matter and we had better be taking care of ourselves. Then in a cool and quiet way our four companies in camp fell into line, in their company streets; and, as the shelling increased, at the word of command from Stowell, marched by the flank up the slope of Bolivar Heights, and lay down over the crest, where the shells skipped over our heads into the valley beyond. Again we laughed, but only for a moment, and for the last time in Harper's Ferry. We lay peering over at Loudon Heights, and with occasional scannings of the front at our left, where we could see the rebel lines moving in and out of the fringe of woods, and batteries going into action. Suddenly, immediately behind us, we heard new concussions shake the earth, and to our dismay, right across the open ground where the Shepherdstown road entered a fringe of woods, was an appallingly long bank of cannon smoke not over 1,000 yards away We could plainly see the brass guns as they were run out of the woods. In an instant the air seemed alive with the exploding shells. We were between two fires, and there was no shelter that would protect a rabbit. Of this attack the rebel general, Walker, commanding on Loudon Heights, says: "About an hour after my batteries opened fire, those of A. P Hill and Lawton followed suit, and near three o'clock those of McLaws. But the range from Maryland Heights being too great, the fire of McLaws's guns was ineffective, the shells bursting in mid air. From my position on Loudon

Heights my guns had a plunging fire on the Federal batteries a thousand feet below, and did great execution. By five o'clock our combined fire had silenced all the opposing batteries."

For a space of time that seemed to me interminable we did the best we could by moving over from one slope to the other, to avoid the shell, and were miraculously preserved. Later in the afternoon we were glad to get orders to march by the flank over to the left to help Colonel Downey, who was being driven in by the steady advance of A. P Hill's division. Of this movement Colonel Trimble, commanding our brigade, in his evidence before the court of inquiry, convened to try General White for the surrender, says: "When I asked Colonel Willard to send his regiment, the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York, to support Colonel Downey, he said it was no use to march that regiment to meet the enemy, they were so panic-stricken he could not hold them together to face the enemy; and I was compelled to send Colonel Stannard with only four companies of his regiment to support Downey. There were portions of other regiments, I have ascertained since, that had already become panic-stricken and left."

Stannard, as corps officer of the day, conducted us to Downey's support and though a very exposed movement it was executed as coolly and steadily as though we were veterans, and yet we were no more experienced than the other regiments who became terror-stricken and Colonel Willard was an experienced and gallant West Point officer. I do not believe the same number of men from any other Vermont regiment under the same fire and helpless exposure would have been more calm and undaunted.

That night we could hear the rebels very busy across the Shenandoah exactly in rear of our left flank. We were withdrawn from Colonel Downey's line during the night, and lay in a young peach-orchard underneath and perhaps fifty yards from the guns of Rigby's battery, to support it from an attack along the Charlestown Pike. As far as the eye could reach in the circle, from the Shenandoah to the Potomac, was the lurid glare of Jackson's camp-fires, close up around us. The darkness of the night, with the protection it brought us, was so grateful that we wished we might always be enwrapped in it, so inevitable was the hopeless contest to be forced on us with the first streak of dawn. At last it broke; heavy fogs filled the valley, but they quickly rose and stood along the mountain side, enveloping the crest

of Loudon Heights, but bringing into view the dreaded sight of the new batteries in the corn-field across the river.

Quoting General Walker again: "During the night of the 14th, Major R. Lindsay Walker, chief of artillery of General A. P Hill's division, succeeded in crossing the Shenandoah with several batteries and placing them in such a position on the slope of Loudon mountain far below me, as to command the enemy's works. McLaws got his batteries into position nearer the enemy and at daybreak of the 15th the batteries of our five divisions were pouring their fire on the doomed garrison. The Federal batteries promptly replied and for more than an hour maintained a spirited fire, but after that it grew more and more feeble until about eight o'clock it ceased altogether, and the garrison surrendered."

Probably no regiment there that morning was so terribly tried as the Ninth Vermont. The hottest fire of the enemy was concentrated on Rigby's and Potts's batteries. We were in a straight line between Rigby and the batteries across the Shenandoah, and in a straight line with Potts and the batteries on either side of the Charlestown Pike, and took much of the fire intended for each, while the sabots from Rigby's guns annoyed us not a little. There was not a tree-trunk in the orchard an inch in diameter, or with foliage enough to make a screen, and we lay on our faces plainly exposed to at least three batteries. All we could do was to lie still and wait till these batteries got the range on us and then Stannard would coolly jump us up and throw us forward at a double-quick as far as he could move to the front and then drop us flat again. When they got this range, we would jump up and double-quick back under Rigby's guns. In this way the regiment was most skillfully preserved from a heavy loss. The movement could never have been made and so often repeated except under a cool, indomitable and trusted commander like Stannard, and with a command made of the same hearts of oak and ribs of steel that made the old brigade.

Rebel and Union testimony since given, confirm my memory that *nine* batteries played on us during those two long hours, with not less than fifty guns, to which we replied with an equal number, making one hundred guns crashing and reverberating against the sides of those encircling walls. We were as helpless as rats in a cage, and when the long-range ammunition suddenly gave out and A. P Hill's long lines of battle emerged from the woods for the assault, Colonel Miles's heart failed him for the men he had so badly

handled, and he gave up the contest to spare a needless slaughter. Taking out his pocket handkerchief and ordering his staff to do the same he rode up into a prominent place on the extreme east end of Bolivar Heights, nearly a mile away from us and waved it, and then rode along the crest toward us. The valley was much shut in again with fog and cannon-smoke, and the rebels recognized the white flag but slowly—one battery after another, however, ceasing firing as ours ceased. The last to surrender was Rigby, who kept pounding away and held his colors up after word had reached him to haul them down, swearing that if the enemy wanted his battery and his colors they must take them.

When the word reached us that the white flag had gone up Stannard jumped up and swore a bitter oath that he would never surrender without a struggle. At his command, we sprang into line, and rushed at a double-quick step down the ravine to the river road and thence into town, making for the ponton bridge across into Maryland, with the determination to risk the fire of the Maryland and Loudon batteries in crossing it, hoping that once across we could by a bold dash cut our way into McClellan's lines. But Hill had advanced his lines of battle, so that they occupied our camp before we got to the village, and when we were missed from the line General White sent one of his own and General Hill's aids to intercept us and bring us back. They caught us as we were breathlessly entering the head of the ponton bridge. At first Stannard refused to obey the order, but upon being impressed with the penalties which would be inflicted upon the other troops by his attempt to violate the terms of surrender, he yielded with anguish of heart.

While this altercation was going on, I well remember standing with a group of officers about the colors, hurriedly debating what it was best to do with them. I remember taking them from the staff; I remember trying to crowd the men around so as to hide what we were doing from the rebel aid; I remember big, handsome Color-Sergeant Quinn of company I, as he helped take them off; I furnished a knife; I remember a proposition to wind them around his body, and the remark that there was where the flag would first be looked for. Then a proposition was made to cut them up and divide them, as souvenirs, to keep them out of the hands of the enemy. I can look back through these twenty-four years and see the picture of all this—the street, the bank of the stream, the mounted aids, the regiment at the halt, the excited group about the colors. I have always supposed this was

what became of the colors, because I certainly got my share of them, carried the pieces in my pocket all through the war to its end, and have them sacredly preserved as I write. When, years after the close of the war, the colors of the Ninth Vermont were discovered among those found in the rebel archives in Richmond and brought thence to Washington, it was a startling as well as an inexplicable mystery to me. I would swear that I saw those colors slit up; but it is probable this was not wholly done and the remnant fell into rebel hands. We marched back, reaching Bolivar Heights to find the surrender over and a long and melancholy row of stacked arms along its crest, and the troops all dismissed to their camps. We added our arms to the stacks, and then entered our camp, to find it full of rebels, who were pillaging it freely in spite of the terms of surrender.

A group of mounted officers sat on their horses in the road in front of the street of company E. It began to be whispered about that the one with full and sandy beard was the redoubtable Stonewall Jackson. We stood on the side, watching him and not knowing whether to resent the intrusion of his men or not. Suddenly, I saw Lieutenant Quimby of company E, a hot-headed, bold fellow, stride out of his street down to the side of Jackson's horse, and say: "Are you Stonewall Jackson?" Jackson replied, "Yes." Then said Quimby, "Did you not agree to protect us under the terms of the surrender?" "Yes," said Jackson. "Then, by God, sir," said Quimby, "I want you to drive these lousy thieves of yours out of my camp and stop them robbing my men." We were terror-stricken at Quimby's rage and audacity, and looked for a scene; but Jackson said quietly: "This is all wrong and I will see it stopped," and turning to one of his staff he sent him to order the men out of our camp; but this was not done until much damage and loss was inflicted upon us. Lieutenant Samuel Kelley of company B was made to give up his sabre to one of A. P Hill's staff, in violation of the terms, and the officer strapped his own sabre to his saddle. After a while he dismounted, and leaving his horse with his orderly, the boys of company B watched their chance and stole the sabre, and Kelley wore it to the close of the war and brought it home. It was a finer one than his own.

That night I lay by the side of the road and saw all night long the grimy columns of McLaws, Anderson and Walker come pouring up through from the ponton bridge, hurrying with mad haste to reach Lee at Antietam by the way of Shepherdstown ford. It was a never-to-be-forgotten night,

and the memory of the unceasing, fast-shuffling feet, the rumbling of the batteries, the clinking of canteens, and the jingling of sabres, the spectral and ghostly look of the column as it voicelessly crowded on in the darkness, will never be erased. The next day we took up our unhappy march across Maryland, *en route* for Annapolis.

Few disasters of the war exceed that of Harper's Ferry in the folly which caused it. Miles was a man of indolent habits and loose principles, with a mind enervated by past and possibly continued self-indulgence,—on this there is conflicting evidence. His loyalty, if not positively lukewarm, was of the kind that never showed energy enough to injure the rebel cause, and he was too proud as an old West Point officer to seek and follow the advice of his volunteer officers, several of whom could have carried the defence of the place to a brilliant issue.

Two men of my company, B, Joseph Graham and Daniel Sullivan, happened to be on duty at the point where Colonel Miles was killed, and helped put him in a blanket and carry him down toward Rigby's battery, where an ambulance could reach him. From them I often heard, that as they bore him along and neared that battery, which Rigby was still fighting, and saw Rigby's colors still flaunting his defiance to the enemy, Miles exclaimed to his aid: "Why don't they haul down that God-damned flag—it has been the death of me?" On the other hand there is sworn evidence that he said on his death-bed to an officer who called on him: "It is a fit way for an old soldier who has tried to serve his country to die, and I am contented."

Had General Julius White, or Colonel George J. Stannard, or Colonel Willard had the command of the defense, Harper's Ferry would have furnished one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the war. It would have been held, beyond any doubt, for they would have thrown the entire garrison on Maryland Heights and endured a short siege in the very sight of McClellan's army. Lee, with Longstreet, D. H. Hill, McLaws and Stuart alone in Maryland, would have been crushed out before he could reach the Potomac, and Stonewall Jackson and Walker, the sole survivors, would have fallen back on Winchester, to open Richmond to McClellan by the shorter route, and the war would have ended that summer.

The Court of Inquiry censured McClellan for his want of energy in relieving us; censured General Wool for his folly in selecting so incapable an officer as Miles for so important a

duty; and should have censured Franklin for not pushing up his success on Sunday afternoon instead of going into camp and waiting to complete his work Monday morning, when it was too late. Franklin could have reached us Sunday night had he been a Sheridan. He had Captain Russell with him, who had forced his way out of our lines to tell him to hurry, and that we could hold out but a few hours longer. The court complimented General White justly for his services; they were gallant, patriotic and self-denying under trying circumstances; but in one particular mistaken,—he should have claimed his rank and command.

In looking back to the scenes there enacted, assisted in my judgment by our experience of the succeeding three years, I am, as I was then, entirely satisfied with the part borne by the Ninth Vermont regiment. We were doomed so long as Miles lived. Had he been killed by the first shell instead of the last, there would have been an instant change in the plan of the defense and we should have been saved. The Ninth was cool, steadfast, willing, more than that, always eager for the struggle from which we were held back. Stannard was urgent to go up and defend Loudon Heights, and was denied. After Ford so shamefully abandoned Maryland Heights, Stannard on Sunday morning said vehemently to Colonel Miles in the presence of a group of officers: "Let me go and retake them and I will guarantee to hold them. I do not ask you to send any other regiment with me, though I shall be glad to have some of these gentlemen go with me; give me some guns, and the Ninth Vermont will answer to you for those heights." Does any man who ever saw Stannard make his pledge to carry a line believe for an instant that he would have failed to keep this one, or that his regiment would have been far behind him in scaling the ridge? There were regiments there to whom the thoughts of Harper's Ferry should forever bring a blush of shame; but no man of the Ninth Vermont can ever but exult that in that first demoralizing baptism of fire, they stood as a rock.

This comprehensive narrative is confirmed on all material points by General Stannard. In a careful statement, prepared for the historian by the latter, he says that before the investment of Harper's Ferry he had repeated interviews with Colonel Miles, in which he urged him, among other things, to fell the woods west of Bolivar Heights—to which Miles objected, saying that the troops were too tired for such

work and that it was too bad for the farmers to lose their timber. He (Stannard) then urged the occupation of Loudon Heights, which he had inspected in person, offering to take his own regiment and a battery and be responsible for the holding of that important position; but Miles made light both of the argument and offer, insisting that Loudon Heights were neither accessible nor tenable, and in general expressing his belief that Harper's Ferry would not be attacked, as it was not of sufficient consequence to the enemy to warrant any delay of his movement into Maryland. Stannard says that when he learned that the cavalry would leave Harper's Ferry Saturday night, he asked for permission to take his own regiment out at the same time. To this Miles objected that his pickets would not permit the infantry to pass out. Upon Stannard's replying that he would take possession of the picket line with his own men and was ready to take his chances of getting out, Miles became excited, used "very strong language," swung his sabre in the air, and ended all further discussion by saying that he had been forty years in the army and did not care to be lectured by one who had been a soldier but a few months. Stannard further says that on Saturday, the 13th, some Confederate soldiers who had been held as prisoners for some days at Harper's Ferry, appeared at Stannard's picket line, he being field-officer of the day, and announced that they had been paroled and were to be permitted to pass outside the Union lines. As the enemy were then close in front, and as Stannard knew that these men had been to and fro among the camps and were familiar with the number and locations of the troops of the garrison, he declined to pass them out and held them under guard till just before dark, when a staff officer came with a written order from General Miles to pass the prisoners out. This order was reluctantly obeyed by Stannard. It is not surprising in view of such facts that he and the Vermonters generally held the opinion that Miles was a traitor. They may have been

mistaken, however. General White, whose opinion ought to be of value, characterizes Colonel Miles's conduct as that of "a brave and loyal officer."

The feeling of mingled surprise, anger and sorrow with which the surrender was received by the men can be better imagined than described. Strong men shed tears, some began to destroy their arms, till stopped by stern orders. Others submitted in sullen silence; all were indignant almost beyond expression.

The fighting on the extreme left, in which the Ninth was engaged in repulsing Archer's brigade of A. P Hill's division, on the evening of the 14th, is worthy of additional note. General White says of this: "Late in the afternoon a division of the enemy, under General A. P Hill, made an assault upon the extreme left, advancing with great spirit. Colonel Miles not being present, I took command for the time and ordered the Ninth Vermont to support Colonel Downey [commanding a battalion of Maryland infantry] and subsequently reinforced them with the Thirty-second Ohio and one section of Captain Rigby's battery. The attack continued till after dark,—the firing being very sharp, and the troops engaged behaving very handsomely—when the enemy was repulsed." The portion of the Ninth concerned in this repulse fired over twenty rounds, and the conduct of the Vermonters there, as throughout the whole affair, was highly approved by General White, who in his report mentions as "distinguished for their gallantry" Colonel Stannard, Lieut. Colonel Andross and Major Stowell of the Ninth Vermont—"a regiment," he adds, "though but just enrolled, whose conduct was worthy of veterans."

A few additional incidents of the surrender may be added: Captain Branch, then a corporal in company C, says: "A rebel officer rode up to our lieutenant colonel, who was riding a beautiful bay horse which the citizens of Bradford gave him when he went to the war, and said:

"Colonel I will exchange horses with you." Andross with tears in his eyes dismounted, exchanged his good horse for a poor old bob-tailed black mare, and as the regiment stood in line (having stacked arms) rode up and down, driving his Mexican spurs into the flanks of his beast, and ordering her with a twitch on the bridle to "Get up here, you —— Southern Confederacy!" Complaint being made to General Jackson, and under his orders to respect the private property of the officers, the lieutenant colonel's horse was returned to him and in due time he was riding 'Frank' again."

To some of the officers of the Ninth, who were ruefully contemplating the prospect of a march to Richmond, a Confederate chaplain said, by way of comfort: "God's will must be done." "Yes," replied Andross, "but you will find that God's will will change in about twenty-four hours;"— and the prophecy was remembered after Lee's retreat from Antietam.

In the cavalry column which made its way out of Harper's Ferry the night before the surrender, was a company of young Vermonters, who while students in Norwich University and Dartmouth College had enlisted in the First Rhode Island cavalry. They had an exciting experience. Pushing out across the mountains into Maryland, under cover of the night, they struck some of the enemy's pickets, which were brushed out of the way. Next they received a volley from a body of Longstreet's infantry, at the point where the Hagerstown road enters the village of Sharpsburg. Recoiling here and making a detour they next struck and pushed through the lines of Longstreet's corps, in bivouac near by. Finally in the early morning they came upon and captured one of Longstreet's ammunition trains, of 85 wagons, and brought it into the Union lines at Greencastle, Pa., where the column arrived that forenoon. In a letter to Mr. S. B. Pettengill of Grafton, Vt., who was one of the company, quoted by

him in his monograph, "The College Cavaliers," General Longstreet said of this capture: "The service you refer to was very creditable and gave us much inconvenience."

The Ninth Vermont did not lay down its arms till about two hours after the general surrender, and was the last regiment to surrender at Harper's Ferry.

The varying reports heretofore current as to what became of the State colors of the regiment, illustrate the contradictions and uncertainties which perplex and burden the military historian. The officers and men of the Ninth, with hardly an exception, were confident that the State colors were not surrendered with their arms, and it was on the strength of such belief that Adjutant General Washburn made the statement, often afterwards repeated, that no flag bearing the arms of Vermont was ever left in the hands of the enemy.[1] When the writer of these pages sought answer to the inquiry: "How did the State colors escape capture?" the replies varied. General Stannard's reply was that the flag was cut from the staff by the color-sergeant, who carried it off under his blouse. General Ripley, Captain Peck and others answered that it was torn into strips and distributed among the officers. Captain Kilbourne, acting adjutant at the time, believed that the colors were wrapped around some side-arms belonging to himself and one or two other officers and thrown into the river. Either account was entirely credible had there been no others, and one of the three would undoubtedly have been accepted as correct, but for the fact that among the Union flags found in the Confederate War Department at Richmond after the fall of that city, and sent thence to Washington and preserved by the United States War Department, the writer of this history

[1] "Our fathers inscribed upon the banner of the State of Vermont, the motto: "Freedom and Unity!" Time and again have the men of the State flaunted the banner bearing that motto in the faces of defiant rebels; never once has it been left in their possession."—General Washburn's Address before the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, October, 1868.

found the State colors of the Ninth Vermont! The flag, substantially entire, was subsequently sent to Vermont at the request of the Governor, and is among the other flags preserved in the State House. The inference is unavoidable that the flag, the tearing up of which General Ripley remembers so distinctly, was some other flag—perhaps the national colors of the regiment.

The inability to hold or transport to Richmond so large a number of Union captives, compelled Jackson to parole and discharge his prisoners without delay—a process considerably retarded in the case of the Ninth, however, by Stannard, who refused to give his parole for his regiment, and insisted that each soldier must give his own parole. This proceeding delayed their captors for some hours. All that Monday night Jackson's legions were marching past the camp of the Ninth, on their way to Sharpsburg. Next morning the Ninth was supplied with a day's rations and ordered to start for the parole camp at Annapolis. The problem how to obtain transportation for the baggage and private property of the officers was solved by Adjutant Stearns, who at the time was acting commissary of subsistence on the brigade staff. He went boldly to General A. P Hill, who was left in command at Harper's Ferry; represented to him that the permission to retain private property was valueless without some means to remove it, and used his powers of argument and persuasion so successfully that Hill gave him an order for six wagons and teams, on his word of honor that they should be returned to the Confederate lines nearest to Annapolis. Stearns accordingly selected six good six-horse teams from the wagon train of the Ninth Vermont, and held them in spite of the remonstrance of a Confederate officer, who declared it to be "pretty business giving wagons to the Feds when we need them all, and more too." The teams did good service, the wagons serving as ambulances for the sick men on the march, as well as conveying all the baggage of the

brigade. At Annapolis they were turned over to Captain G. S. Blodgett, A. Q. M., by whom they were returned to the Confederate lines.

After the plundering immediately following the surrender was stopped, there was little to complain of in the treatment accorded to the Union troops.[1] When the order came to start, the regiments marched down to the ponton bridge crossing into Maryland, past a line of Virginia planters arrayed on the bank, watching for negroes who might try to escape with the troops. All such were at once claimed and dragged from the ranks. In one case a dark-complexioned soldier of the Ninth was claimed and collared by a planter, who discovered his mistake when the soldier's arm shot out. The claimant measured his length on the ground, and arose in great wrath; but the man easily established his membership of the regiment, and passed on with it, unmolested.

Lieutenant Ballard was left sick in hospital in Harper's Ferry.

The sick men left in Winchester, remained in hospital—where they were robbed by Jackson's infantry of all they had worth taking—under the watchful care of Surgeon Carpenter, till they became convalescent, and then were paroled in squads and sent to the Union lines. After the battle of Antietam, Winchester was filled with Confederate wounded, to whom Dr. Carpenter tendered his assistance, till he found that even his professional services were regarded with suspicion, after which discovery he confined his attention to the prisoners. He was kept in Winchester by General Stuart, who occupied the town after Jackson's departure, till any knowledge he had gained of the Confederate movements would be of no value, and then, with the convalescent officers, was permitted to pass north to the Union lines. They

[1] "We were placed under guard of General Branch's division and were treated very kindly by General Branch and his command, who evinced much sorrow for us."—Colonel Stannard.

went via Harper's Ferry and Washington to Annapolis, and finally joined the regiment at Chicago.

The march of the regiment to Annapolis began on the 16th of September, and occupied five days. It was not a triumphal procession. The men were without tents and but few had blankets, and rations were poor and scanty. The only comfort about it was that it was not toward Libby prison. Near Frederick the column met crowds of stragglers of McClellan's army, and among them several men of the First Vermont brigade, following the army to Antietam; and next day, the 17th, the roar of the battle there came plainly to their ears. Stannard allowed no wandering from the ranks, on the march, and the regiment moved in noticeably better shape than most of the paroled regiments.[1] It averaged twenty miles a day, and the last hot day made twenty-three miles, arriving at Annapolis Sunday, the 21st, at 6 P. M.

The footsore men were glad to halt and go into camp, though there was scanty shelter for the 10,000 paroled prisoners now collected there, and no comfort in the old camps, filled with vermin, in which they were quartered. A fresh disappointment came in the news that they were to be sent to a parole camp at Chicago, instead of being allowed, as they had hoped, to return to Vermont until exchanged. They stayed in Annapolis but three days. On the 25th they took boat to Baltimore and thence went by train to Chicago. The railroad journey through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois was solaced by the hospitality of the people, who brought refreshments to the stations. At Fort Wayne the citizens left their church service to feed the soldiers.

AT CHICAGO.

At 9 P. M. of the 28th, the regiment arrived at Chicago, and bivouacked in a grove near the grave of Stephen A.

[1] "We have kept up a splendid column, and have not more than twenty stragglers, while every other regiment is sprawled from Frederick to Baltimore."—Army letter from a captain of the Ninth.

Douglas, for the most part without shelter from the rain, which fell heavily, though a few of the men found refuge in neighboring barns. Next day the regiment marched to the Agricultural Fair ground, which had been assigned as quarters for the brigade, and was quartered in the horse stalls, which when cleaned and deodorized and supplied with fresh straw, made fairly comfortable quarters, in dry weather. In wet weather the rain came freely through the unbattened roofs. The officers took their meals at The Arcade, a small hotel close by. In this camp some 2,000 men were quartered, under command of General Tyler, from whom the camp was named. A much larger number were in parole camp at Camp Douglas, a quarter of a mile away. Soon after his arrival at Chicago, Colonel Stannard was assigned to the command of the third detachment of paroled troops, of which the Ninth formed a part, while Lieut. Colonel Andross took command of the regiment. The officers, of all grades, had their hands full in the endeavor to maintain some degree of order and preserve the command from utter demoralization.

The regiment spent a gloomy month in Camp Tyler. Many of the men were insubordinate, holding that they were Stonewall Jackson's prisoners until exchanged, and so not obliged to obey any orders except from him. Small-pox, measles, malarial fevers and jaundice prevailed. Over 100 men were soon in hospital or sick in their quarters. Deaths occurred in every company and desertions were numerous. The rations were poor and the supply of firewood so scanty that the troops tore down for fuel the fair-ground fence and judges' stand. Rumors that they were to be exchanged and that the regiment was to be sent to Minnesota to fight the Indians—a change which would have been eagerly welcomed —proved false. Camp guard and an occasional regimental inspection were the chief duties. The Vermonters residing in Chicago were attentive and hospitable, and passes were freely given to the well-behaved men to visit the city; but it

was hard for them to find cheer in anything. They chafed and grew demoralized under their exclusion from active service. The contagion of disorder and incendiarism which prevailed at Camp Douglas, spread to Camp Tyler, and on the night of October 12th the guard house was burned by some men of a New York regiment. The fire spread to the company quarters of the Ninth, and those of companies B and C were burned, some of the men losing all their clothing, of which there had been a new issue, except what they had on their persons. The Vermont troops were considered among the most orderly in the camps, and were sometimes sent for, from Camp Douglas, to help maintain order there. On one occasion a guard of 125 men of the Ninth, under Major Stowell, was so sent, and was sharply pelted with stones, after dark, by some of the paroled men of other States.

On the 1st of November the regiment left the horse-stalls for winter quarters at Camp Douglas. Here it found comfortable barracks, with sufficient supplies of fuel and clothing, and here it remained through the winter.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the morning report showed an aggregate of 704, of whom 147 were sick and 21 "absent without leave." The regiment had lost since its arrival in Chicago, by death, discharge and desertion in about equal proportions, 170 men. Its number was further reduced, during the month, by the efforts of government recruiting officers, who appeared in camp with authority to enlist ten men from each company of the volunteer regiments into the regular army, to be transferred as soon as exchanged. The prospect of such further depletion of the force of the regiment was intensely displeasing to its officers, and in conjunction with the officers of the Sixty-fifth Illinois, Colonel Cameron, they addressed a strong memorial to Congress, protesting against the action of the War Department as being in violation of the articles of war, and as an indignity upon the volunteer service. This, however, had no effect, and about a

hundred men of the Ninth enlisted and were transferred into the regular army.

On the 10th of January the regiment was exchanged and armed with new Enfield rifles, and the men were glad enough to get muskets into their hands again. The spirit of the regiment revived, company and battalion drills were resumed with spirit, and Lieutenant Peck of company C had a large class in bayonet exercise and "zouave drill." Confidence that they would soon return to the field was now high, till it was destroyed by the arrival at Camp Douglas, on the 26th of January, of 4,000 Confederate soldiers, captured at Murfreesboro and Arkansas Post—to which number 3,000 more were shortly added—and by the announcement that the Ninth were to remain to help guard the prisoners. The post was now under command of General Jacob Ammen, who had relieved General Tyler in command. He was a trained soldier; and under the stricter discipline enforced by him, the morale of the regiment rapidly improved. Two Illinois regiments, the Sixty-fifth and One Hundred and Fourth, were associated with the Ninth in the custody of the Confederates, the daily details for camp guard being 250 men and ten line officers. The Union troops were penned with the prisoners within a tight and high board fence, and the guards were about as much prisoners as the "Johnnies." The care of these was far from pleasant duty. They were as well fed and as comfortably quartered as their guards; but a large proportion of them were ill-clad, uncleanly, and sickly. The small-pox ran through their ranks, and under the change of diet, unaccustomed climate, with the mercury sometimes at 20° below zero, and inaction of their life in confinement, they sickened and died by hundreds, in spite of all the efforts of their surgeons. The sight of four sallow men, clad in butternut, bearing the corpse of a comrade to the dead-house, was an almost hourly spectacle. The majority of them were Texas and Arkansas troops; but they comprised natives of

nearly every State, Vermont not excepted. They were generally obedient and quiet, and many of them glad to be where they were, rather than in the field.[1]

Various changes among the line officers took place during the stay of the regiment in Chicago. Second Lieutenant Dartt of comapny D, left sick with pneumonia in hospital at Winchester, rallied on the brink of the grave; but did not return to the regiment, and resigned, in enfeebled health, in November. Sergeant C. W Haskell was thereupon promoted to be second lieutenant. Captain A. R. Sabin of company C resigned in December, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Herman Seligson, and Sergeant James F Bolton was commissioned as first lieutenant. Captain A. H. Slayton, company H, resigned in December, and was succeeded by Lieutenant G. H. Guyer, who resigned in February, and was succeeded by Lieutenant L. H. Bisbee.[2] Second Lieutenant J. T. Gorham became first lieutenant, vice Bisbee promoted. Second Lieutenant C. R. Loveland of the same company resigned in March, and was succeeded by Sergeant Stillman Stone. Second Lieutenant O. C. Campbell, company I, resigned in December, and was succeeded by Sergeant A. P Vaughn. In January, Q. M. Sergeant T. S. Peck was promoted to be second lieutenant of company C, vice E. B. Sherman, resigned. In February, Captain W J. Henderson, company G, resigned and was succeeded by Lieutenant E. A. Kilbourne.

[1] "Every State in the Confederacy is represented among our butternut friends, and with them are Indians, negroes, Mexicans, half-breeds, and octoroons—a motley group, ragged, dirty, and covered with vermin. Their clothes are a mixture of cotton and wool, dyed in oak-bark. Some are minus hats, some shoes, some coats; their blankets are red, white, black, brown, or bed-quilts of as many colors as Joseph's coat. They look as though they were clothed in sack-cloth and ashes, doing penance for their sins. Their bill of mortality averages almost fifteen per day. One thousand are receiving medical treatment."—Army Letter from Camp Douglas.

[2] Lieutenant Guyer returned to the service as a lieutenant in the Seventeenth Vermont, and fell in battle, before Petersburg.

In March important changes took place among the field and staff officers. On the 11th of that month Colonel Stannard was promoted to be brigadier general, and assigned to the command of the Second Vermont Brigade. He left the regiment a few days later, carrying with him the high respect and esteem of officers and men, which took tangible shape in the presentation to him by the officers of a fine horse, of "Post Boy" stock, which General Stannard rode during the remainder of his service and kept until the noble animal died of old age, many years after the close of the war. The rank and file of the regiment added a handsome set of equipments. Upon Stannard's promotion, which was accepted as testimony that neither he nor his regiment was considered to have been disgraced by their surrender, Lieut. Colonel Andross was commissioned as colonel.[1] Major E. S. Stowell was thereupon promoted to be lieutenant colonel, and Captain Edward H. Ripley of company B,—the youngest captain in the line —was appointed major. Assistant Surgeon Hall resigned about this time.

An end at last came to the tedious and inglorious stay of the Ninth at Chicago. On the 28th of March the regiment

[1] Dudley Kimball Andross was a native of Bradford, and of pioneer Vermont stock, one of his great-grandfathers, Bildad Andross, having been an early settler in that town and a member of the first convention which met to organize the commonwealth of Vermont, and another, Captain Broadstreet Spafford, having been the first settler in Fairfax, in 1783. His great-uncle, Obadiah Kimball, was killed in the Battle of Bennington. He had been a lumberman in his youth; then a railroad builder, as such helping to lay the first rail of the Rutland and Burlington railroad: and afterwards a gold-miner in California. When the war broke out he was in business as a miller in Bradford, and was a lieutenant of the Bradford company of militia. In the re-organization of this for service, upon the first call for troops in April, 1861, Lieutenant Andross was elected captain, and served as such with the First Vermont throughout its term. He was considered one of the best captains in that regiment. He returned to the army as lieutenant colonel of the Ninth. He was now in his 39th year, tall, straight and soldierly; rough in his ways, but kind in deeds; and a favorite with the men, whom he had commanded most of the winter, Colonel Stannard commanding the brigade of several regiments of paroled troops.

was ordered to escort 2,500 of the Confederate prisoners to City Point, Va., for exchange. They were to be forwarded in five installments, each guarded by two companies of the Ninth. The regiment accordingly left Chicago by piece-meal between the 30th of March and 2d of April. The regiment on the 1st of April had 502 men reported for duty; and, subtracting those absent on furloughs and details, about 400 efficient men bade good bye at this time to Camp Douglas. Sixty were left behind in hospital and fifty had yielded to disease in the Chicago camps and found graves on the shore of Lake Michigan. The detachments went with their charges by way of Fort Wayne, Pittsburg and Harrisburg to Baltimore, and thence by steamer to Fortress Monroe and up the James to City Point, the journey occupying a week. At City Point the exchanged Texans, strong, fat and fit for immediate service, were sent within the Confederate lines, and the steamers brought back to Fortress Monroe as many lean, hungry and half-naked men, released from the Confederate prisons, many of whom had been stripped of shoes and blankets on their way from Richmond to City Point.

On the 9th of April the regiment was concentrated at Fortress Monroe, with the exception of two companies which arrived later; reported to General Dix, commanding the Seventh Corps; and went into camp at Camp Hamilton across the Hampton river, within ten rods of the spot where the First Vermont regiment camped two years before.

The armies of Hooker and Lee were then facing each other across the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. General Dix was in command at Fortress Monroe. Norfolk was held by the Union naval and land forces; and at Suffolk, eighteen or twenty miles southwest of Norfolk, was a heavy force under Major General John Peck. Suffolk was a small village, but an important position, being at the head of the navigable portion of the Nansemond river, and at the crossing of the railroads connecting respectively Petersburg and Nor-

folk, and Portsmouth and Weldon, N. C. General Peck's command here covered the landward approaches to Norfolk. He had fortified the line of the Nansemond for eight miles and was picketing a line to the Dismal Swamp. During the stay of operations on the Rappahannock, while Hooker was preparing for his Chancellorsville campaign, General Lee sent an expedition against Suffolk, hoping by thus threatening Norfolk to cause a heavy detaching of troops from Hooker's army. The expedition, which comprised three divisions under Longstreet, moved by way of Petersburg to the line of the Blackwater, a few miles west of Suffolk, and the corps of General D. H. Hill was brought up from North Carolina to co-operate. In consequence of this movement General Peck had been reinforced in March by Getty's division of the Ninth Corps.

On the 12th of April Longstreet began to press upon Peck's lines, and there was heavy skirmishing that day and the next, in which four small gunboats which, under Admiral Lee, were co-operating with General Peck, took part. On the 14th a gunboat was riddled and disabled by the enemy's batteries. The sound of the artillery was plainly heard in the camps near Fortress Monroe, and the men of the Ninth were not much surprised to be ordered next day to the front.

AT SUFFOLK.

The regiment broke camp in haste, was taken to Norfolk by steamer, and thence, next morning, by train, to Suffolk. The regiment was here first attached to a brigade commanded by Colonel Dutton of the Twenty-first Connecticut, of Getty's division which was holding the right of the lines, along the east bank of the Nansemond.

The Vermonters found here 20,000 men, their front protected by ten redoubts with connecting rifle-pits and their flanks guarded by the river on the one hand and the Dismal Swamp on the other. Here the regiment had its first experience of shelter-tents. It lay for two days in camp about

a mile north of Suffolk, and then moved to a camp in a piece of woods—christened "Camp Wood-tick" by the men. In front of them was a battery of 20-pound Parrott guns, on the shore of the river. The cracking of musketry between the pickets on the opposite banks of the river was almost incessant, and there were frequent artillery duels between the opposing batteries, making much noise and excitement.

On the 19th a portion of the regiment took part in an enterprise, planned by Gen. Getty, which resulted in the capture of a prominent battery, at Hill's Point, called "Battery Huger" by the enemy, the fire from which had been quite damaging to the gunboats. The work was taken by a battalion of 270 men of the Eighty-ninth New York and Eighth Connecticut, who crossed the river in a gunboat, and took the battery by a single rapid dash, capturing seven officers and 130 men of the Forty-fourth Alabama, with five brass guns. Two companies of the Ninth, D, Captain Jarvis, and F, Captain Brooks, with other troops, supported the attacking party, joined them in the captured work, remained in it during the night, worked hard next day in throwing up a breastwork in the rear and were withdrawn after dark of the 20th, when the work was evacuated and abandoned.

On the 23d the regiment was transferred to a newly organized reserve brigade, commanded by Colonel Wardrop of the Ninety-ninth New York. On the 24th the brigade was sent to the left to replace troops with which General Corcoran was making a reconnoissance toward Edenton, but was recalled in haste to the right, in the evening, in consequence of a "scare" in that quarter. For ten days or more, at this time, the service was severe, the troops being ordered out before dawn each morning, on duty in the rifle pits or at work on the fortifications all day, and being occasionally aroused and standing to arms at night. The weather was rainy and the mud deep, and the sick list increased. During the last week in April, the two new assistant surgeons, recently appointed, Dr. Story N. Goss, of Georgia, Vt., and

Dr. Walter S. Vincent, of Plainfield, joined the regiment and entered on their duties.[1]

On the 1st of May, when Hooker's movement to Chancellorsville became developed, Lee sent for Longstreet, and on the 3d he withdrew from the front of Suffolk, masking his retreat by a strong picket line, and by free use of his artillery; and after three weeks of constant skirmishing the so called "siege of Suffolk" came to a sudden end. A portion of the Ninth, under Lieutenant Leavenworth, were on the picket line that night and advanced to the enemy's abandoned rifle pits next morning. A strong force of infantry and cavalry followed the enemy to the Blackwater, where the pursuit ended, and the troops returned, bringing in with them several hundred stragglers, from over forty Confederate regiments. On the 5th, the regiment was sent out eight miles on the Edenton road, south of Suffolk, on the edge of the Dismal Swamp, to dig down the Confederate earthworks in that quarter. These gave the men four days of hard work, for which they found some conpensation in the abundance of chickens, bacon and sweet potatoes which somehow made their way into camp.

May 10th, the regiment moved back to Suffolk and went into camp in a field near Fort Union, south of the town. It was here occupied with work on the fortifications, which were still being strengthened in anticipation of a return of the enemy. On the 14th, the Ninth was brigaded with the Ninetieth and One Hundred and Eighteenth New York and Nineteenth Wisconsin regiments, forming part of the First division of the Seventh Army Corps, and having for its brigade commander Brigadier General Isaac Wistar.

On the 11th, Lieut. Colonel Stowell resigned. By the acceptance of his resignation, which had been once before

[1] Dr. Goss was appointed assistant surgeon in September previous; but had remained till now in Vermont on duty at the State camp and hospital at Brattleboro.

tendered, the regiment lost one of the best field officers in the service, brave, trusty, efficient and popular alike with officers and men. The vacancy was filled on the 16th by the promotion of Major Ripley. About this time the regiment lost another of its most patriotic and prominent officers, by the resignation of Adjutant John C. Stearns, on account of ill health. He was succeeded as Adjutant by Lieutenant Josiah O. Livingston, a capable officer. Second Lieutenant Curtis A. Hibbard resigned on the 16th.

On the 20th, the regiment moved, with the brigade, to Windsor, ten miles out on the Petersburg railroad, Lieut. Colonel Ripley commanding in the absence of Colonel Andross, who was in poor health and had decided to leave the army Next day the Ninth moved out five miles farther to Barber's Cross Roads, on the Blackwater, and after a week of out-post duty in that quarter, returned to Suffolk. Here it remained twenty days.

Early in June, the resignation of Colonel Andross, tendered May 22d, was accepted, and Lieut. Colonel Ripley was appointed colonel.[1] He was one of the youngest colonels on the roll of Vermont officers, being now less than 23 years old. Tall, straight, handsome, vigorous, high-spirited, a splendid horseman, apt in command and equal to every position, he

[1] Colonel Edward H. Ripley was the second son of William Y. Ripley, a wealthy and prominent citizen of Rutland. He was in his junior year in Union College, when the war broke out. In compliance with the wishes of his parents, he remained in college—though he would rather have been in the army—till May, 1862, when, under the call for troops to protect Washington, he left college and undertook to enlist a company for the Ninth regiment. He pushed recruiting with great energy, and his company lacked but a day of being the first to be filled for that regiment. He was made its first captain. His enthusiasm and energy and the standing of his company, which speedily took rank as one of the best in the regiment, marked him for promotion, and upon the first vacancy among the field officers, he was recommended by Colonel Stannard for appointment as major. His further advancement was very rapid, the dates of his commissions as major, lieutenant colonel and colonel, being March 20th, May 16th, and May 20th, 1863,—all within a period of nine weeks.

was a fine type of a volunteer soldier. He was ambitious to have his regiment second to none in appearance as well as efficiency. It was drilled with method and especial care. The men were required to keep their arms and accoutrements in perfect order; and though the colonel was dubbed a "regular" by his men, from his attention to details of discipline and drill, he held their confidence and respect; and they became justly proud of the distinction accorded to the Ninth Vermont for soldierly bearing, thorough discipline and superior appearance on parade.

The promotion of Lieut. Colonel Ripley was followed by that of Captain Valentine G. Barney to be lieutenant colonel, and of Captain Charles Jarvis, company D, to be major. Lieutenant L. E. Sherman became captain of company A; Lieutenant Samuel H. Kelley captain of company B, and Lieutenant Asaph Clark captain of company D. Second Lieutenant E. W Jewett was promoted first lieutenant, and Sergeant E. F Cleveland, second lieutenant of company A; Second Lieutenant A. C. Ballard was promoted first lieutenant, and Sergeant W A. Dodge, second lieutenant of company B, Second Lieutenant C. W Haskell was promoted to be first lieutenant, and Sergeant A. H. Snow, second lieutenant of company D. Captain L. H. Bisbee having resigned, Lieutenant James T. Gorham was appointed captain of company H, Second Lieutenant Stillman Stone being promoted to first lieutenant, and Sergeant Charles H. Hodge to second lieutenant of that company. Sergeant Patrick Hobon of company C was at this time appointed second lieutenant of company I.

The Ninth, during its two months at Suffolk, saw plenty of powder burned, became familiar with the music of bullets and shells, and gained valuable experience as soldiers. After the departure of Longstreet, 10,000 or more of the Union troops at Suffolk were sent to the Peninsula. Wistar's brigade was among those so withdrawn; and on the 17th of

June the Ninth went by rail to Norfolk, and thence by transport to Yorktown, where it went into camp, to await the arrival of the rest of the brigade, near the knoll on which General Washington had his headquarters at the time of Cornwallis's surrender.

AT YORKTOWN.

General Dix was now organizing the movement against Richmond which he had been directed to make from the Peninsula when Lee's movement to the north, on the Gettysburg campaign, became developed. The command of the expedition was entrusted to General Keyes, commanding the Fourth Corps; and had the operation been pushed with vigor while Richmond was largely stripped of defenders, as was the case at the time, the Ninth Vermont would probably have visited the Confederate capital twenty months before it finally marched into its blazing streets. But the movement proved to be a sluggish and fruitless affair. After a week's stay in Yorktown, while five or six thousand men, under General Getty, passed by them up the York river to White House, the Ninth was sent with the Nineteenth Wisconsin regiment and Sixteenth New York battery, under General Wistar, to occupy West Point, ten miles below White House. The regiment reached West Point by transport in the evening of the 25th, bivouacked on the bank of the river, and next day went into camp half a mile from the landing. Here it spent ten days, doing picket duty, picking blackberries, and waiting impatiently for orders to enter the back-door of Richmond, at which General Keyes was supposed to be knocking, and for news from the armies in Maryland and Pennsylvania. General Keyes got as near Richmond as Baltimore Cross Roads, fourteen miles out from the city; did some skirmishing on the 26th of June and 2d of July; and having discovered that Richmond was not wholly undefended, retired as he came. The Ninth re-embarked on the 7th and returned

to Yorktown, disgusted at the inglorious result of the expedition. The news of the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee in Pennsylvania, however, afforded substantial consolation, and the regiment rejoiced especially in the fame won by their old colonel and his brigade at Gettysburg.

Wistar's brigade spent the rest of the summer at Yorktown. The Ninth was quartered in barracks within the formidable fortifications erected by Magruder in the spring of 1862. The chief occupations were drill and guard duty, for which the regiment furnished a detail every third day. Four companies, B, E, L, and K, were drilled as heavy artillery and did duty on the siege guns. The bathing was good, and oysters and peaches plenty in their seasons, but in spite of such alleviations, the regiment as a whole would have been glad to exchange its safe and inactive life for sterner duty with the army of the Potomac.

That the Ninth Vermont stood well with General Wistar was indicated by the number of its officers selected by him for staff duty—Quartermaster Sawyer being detailed as brigade quartermaster, Surgeon Carpenter having charge of the "Nelson" General Hospital, Captain Brooks being provost marshal, Lieutenant Leavenworth inspector General, and Lieutenant Jewett engineer, on the brigade staff. At one time fifteen officers were taken from the regiment by such special details.

On the 25th of July, in consequence of intelligence that hostile cavalry had been seen across the York River, the regiment was put on a gunboat, before daylight, and taken up the river to Cappahosack, landed there and marched to Gloucester Court House. No hostile force was found, and the regiment returned by way of Gloucester Point to Yorktown, bringing in a number of horses and wagons taken from the farms of secessionists, and a confederate mail-bag with its contents, captured from the carrier. The regiment marched about thirty miles that day, with no straggling, though it was a very hot day.

During August and September the regiment was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Barney, in the absence of Colonel Ripley, who was detailed as member of an Examining Board and Court of Inquiry which sat at Fortress Monroe. Malarial fevers were prevailing and the sick list increased to 163 on the 15th of September and to no less than 255, or two thirds of the command, on the 1st of October. Colonel Ripley did his best to get the regiment removed from "Fort Malaria" and twice orders to move were obtained. Once the regiment was partly embarked for Portsmouth, Va. But each order was countermanded by a new commander of the department, and the Ninth staid on. It was a time of deep depression of mind and body throughout the garrison. A brigade of 2,000 men ran down with Yorktown fever, till it could hardly supply a detail of 350 men for guard duty. Deaths were less numerous among the Vermonters than among some other troops; but company B of the Ninth lost seven men by death, and twenty-five men of the Ninth died from disease in September and October. The list of effective men ran down to 75, and then to 36; and at last, one day, the entire regiment was excused from duty by Assistant Surgeon Vincent, hardly a man being able to carry a musket. The medical staff were overworked. Dr. Vincent fell seriously ill. Assistant Surgeon Goss resigned. Quartermaster Sawyer and several other officers went to Vermont on sick leave. Many men became permanently broken down by disease.

Finally, through the efforts of Senator Foot and Governor Smith, an order was obtained directly from Secretary Stanton, for the removal of the regiment to some more healthful locality. The order to move came on the 23d of October and put new life into the feeble men. They knew not where they were going, but were glad to go anywhere, away from the pestilential air of Yorktown. A day or two later they found that they were destined for New Berne, North Carolina. On the 24th, they embarked, together with part of the Ninety-

ninth New York, on the propeller John Rice. The boat proved to be too small for her load, and stopping in Hampton Roads, Lieut. Colonel Barney with eight companies of the Ninth, numbering 320 men, were transferred to the steamer United States. Vilas Smith, a young soldier of company I, fell overboard from the Rice as she lay tossing at anchor, and was drowned. The two vessels put to sea on the 25th in a furious gale which compelled the United States to put back to Fortress Monroe, where the detachment landed and spent three days in camp recovering from sea sickness and waiting for the storm to abate. The Rice kept on, and after a fearfully rough passage, the storm being so tremendous that the probable loss of the steamer with all on board was reported in the New York papers, arrived on Monday, the 26th, at Morehead City, N. C., the coast terminus of the railroad leading inland to New Berne and Waynesboro. General Peck was then in command at New Berne, having been sent thither after the evacuation of Suffolk. Colonel Ripley promptly reported to him there with the right wing of the regiment, but was sent back next day to Newport, ten miles up from Morehead City. Here he was joined a day or two later by the rest of the regiment. The men went into old barracks, built of pitch-pine logs and populated with vermin, and were allowed to rest and recuperate.[1]

Colonel Ripley was placed in command of the post at Newport barracks, and of the fortifications guarding the approaches to Morehead City and Beaufort, N. C., from the

[1] A hundred or more sick men were left in the general hospital at Fortress Monroe. Several remained on detached duty at Yorktown, and were still there when, on December 16th, the hospital of the One Hundred and Forty-eighth New York and the magazine burned. The last man to leave the roof of the burning arsenal—shortly before the explosion took place by which a million dollars worth of ammunition and government property was destroyed, was Sergeant John N. Thomas of the Ninth. Thomas was publicly complimented by General Wistar for his daring service.

west. The village of Newport was on the north side of the Newport River, a deep, unfordable stream emptying into the Neuse. The barracks were on the opposite side of the river, half a mile from the village, and midway between the bridge by which the "county road" or highway between New Berne and Morehead City crossed the river and the railroad bridge half a mile farther down. The main defence of the camp was a redoubt armed with a 32-pound gun and three 12-pounders. On the coast road, leading along the shore of Bogue Sound, at a point about three miles from the barracks, was a block-house, and the picket line extended from this to a point on Gale's Creek, seven miles west of the barracks, and thence to the swamps bordering the river—a circuit of twelve or fifteen miles. The position was guarded by about a thousand men, comprising besides the Ninth, four companies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island heavy artillery, four companies of New York and Wisconsin infantry and three squadrons of New York cavalry. The nearest hostile force was a Confederate cavalry out-post at Onslow Court House, twenty-five miles to the east. The country around Newport was a level stretch of sandy pine land, intersected by numerous country roads and interspersed with morasses. The moss-hung sycamore trees, the alligators and moccasin and copperhead snakes, the snuff-dipping natives, and the hunting of possums, gave new scenes and occupations to the Vermonters.

Colonel Ripley's first efforts were directed to the improvement of the camp and strengthening of the works, by means of the abundant labor of the colored population. Though General Peck had hitherto discouraged all such employment of the negroes, Ripley organized a force of colored laborers, by whom the rickety barracks were repaired, log-houses for the hospital and post headquarters built, the scarps of the fort revetted with turf, and the camps cleaned. General Butler, who succeeded General Foster in command

of the department in October, soon after visited Newport and gave his approval to such employment of the blacks, and authorized the issue of rations and payment of wages to them. The health of the regiment began to improve slowly and on the 12th of November 18 officers and 264 men were reported present for duty.

On the 1st day of December the regiment suffered the severest loss that befell it in the death of any one man. Major Jarvis was sent out that day with a squad of half a dozen men of the Third New York Cavalry, to a house on the road east of Newport, to see if the inmates, who had made complaint of pilfering done by a cavalry-man, could recognize the offender in any one of the party. Learning at the house that three Confederate soldiers had passed the house on foot, an hour before, Major Jarvis pushed on after them. A ride of seven miles brought him in sight of the men, who, seeing that they were pursued, left the road for some neighboring woods. Ordering his men to follow, the major put spurs to his horse and dashed after them, firing upon them as he drew near, with his revolver. Two of them reached the woods. The third, overhauled in open ground, turned as the major galloped up to him, and resting his revolver on his left arm, fired rapidly three or four shots. One bullet cut the major's bridle-rein, another glanced from his sword-belt, a third entered his abdomen, and he sank from his horse. The cavalry-men, who were close behind, soon captured the man, who proved to be a member of a North Carolina regiment, returning to the field after a furlough. Realizing that his wound was very serious, Major Jarvis sent word by one of the cavalry-men to Newport Barracks; and Colonel Ripley, Assistant Surgeon Vincent and Chaplain Dickinson hastened to the spot. They met the party, who were bringing in the major on a mule-cart, and as his condition was evidently critical, he was taken into the first house. He was sinking from internal hemorrhage, and already past

surgical aid. He lived till nearly midnight, conversing calmly with those around him, sending messages to his friends, and expressing his resignation to the will of God, and then yielded his brave and true spirit to Him who gave it. He was the first man of the Ninth who fell by a rebel bullet. His death cast a gloom over the regiment, every man of which respected and loved him, and it occasioned deep mourning in the State of Vermont.[1]

The death of Major Jarvis was followed by the promotion of Captain Amasa Bartlett of company E, to the vacancy, and Lieutenant E. M. Quimby became captain and Second Lieutenant Edward L. Kelley, of B company, was made first lieutenant of company E; Lieutenant Eugene Viele, of company F, was promoted captain of company I, in place of Captain A. J. Mower resigned; Sergeant E. L. Brownell was appointed second lieutenant of company F, and Sergeant Joel C. Baker second lieutenant of company K, in place of Lieutenant H. H. Rice, resigned.

On the 24th of December a detachment of the Ninth, under Colonel Ripley, accompanied an expedition under

[1] Charles Jarvis was the son of Hon. William Jarvis, widely known as "Consul Jarvis," of Weathersfield, Vt. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont, and of the Cambridge, Mass., Law School. He was engaged in the care of the large property left by his father, when the war broke out. He at once went to Washington and tendered himself to the Government for any service he could render. But he was not called upon; and when the Ninth regiment was recruited, being then at the age of 40, he raised a company and went to the front. To his friends who remonstrated and represented the importance of the interests depending on his life at home, he replied: "There are things dearer than life. I would rather die for my country than live in ease at home." He shared all the varied trying experiences of the regiment, and rendered patient and faithful service to the day of his death. In the words of Colonel Ripley, "he passed away as he had lived, a brave soldier and simple-hearted, devoted Christian; and left an example whose impression will never fade from our hearts." His remains were removed to Vermont and interred at Weathersfield, with extraordinary demonstrations of sorrow and respect on the part of the citizens of his town and of Windsor County. The officers of the regiment adopted resolutions of regard for his memory, and wore badges of mourning for thirty days in his honor.

Colonel Jourdan of the One Hundred and Fifty-eighth New York, to destroy some salt works on Bear Sound, thirty miles south of Newport. The troops were taken thither by two gunboats, landed through the surf in small boats, and destroyed four large salt works and a quantity of imported salt, and returned next day with a large accession of blacks. General Peck, in a general order, extended his thanks to Colonel Jourdan, Colonel Ripley and their "gallant commands," who, he says, "suffered intensely from cold in consequence of having been obliged to wade a long distance from the boats to the shore."

The year 1864 opened for the Ninth, at Newport, with an aggregate of 499 officers and men, 183 being sick and 299 present for duty. The regiment guarded a line about twelve miles long, a company being stationed at each end of it, one at the block-house near Bogue Sound, and one at Gale's Creek.

On the 27th of January, Colonel Ripley with a hundred and thirty picked men of the Ninth, accompanied Colonel Jourdan in a reconnoissance into Jones and Onslow counties. The force comprised 250 cavalry, 250 infantry and a small howitzer. It was a hard march for the infantry. Starting at nightfall they trudged all night through the pine forests and over the swamp roads to White Oak river, near Young's Cross Roads, thirty miles from camp. The cavalry, preceding them, surrounded and captured during the night a Confederate out-post of a lieutenant and 27 cavalry-men, found asleep in and about a house, with thirty horses and their equipments. The expedition returned with their prisoners without firing a shot.

On the 27th an accession of 350 recruits, brought from Vermont by Lieutenant Viele, more than doubled the number of effective men, and increased the aggregate of the regiment to 844. The recruits were distributed among the companies, and had a sudden initiation into duty on the battlefield.

NEWPORT BARRACKS.

In the last days of January, General Pickett, commanding the Confederate department of North Carolina, advanced against New Berne with six brigades of infantry, and artillery and cavalry to match. On the 1st of February he attacked the One Hundred and Thirty-second New York, stationed at Bachelor's Creek, eight miles west of New Berne, capturing 230 men, and next day felt of the defences of New Berne sufficiently to satisfy him that they were too strong to be carried by him. While so engaged he despatched General Martin's brigade of North Carolina troops, to break up the railroad and if possible capture the Union force at Newport. Martin reached the vicinity of Newport Barracks during the night of the 1st with three infantry regiments, a battalion of cavalry and three pieces of artillery, in all some 1,700 men. Colonel Ripley was absent, having gone to Fortress Monroe with some prisoners and despatches, leaving Lieut. Colonel Barney in command of the Post, and Captain Kelley in command of the regiment. Company B (commanded for the time being by Lieutenant Ballard), occupied the block-house on Bogue Sound, and company H, Captain Gorham, was doing out-post duty at Gale's Creek, with a cavalry picket out beyond. The first appearance of the enemy was at the latter point. About nine o'clock in the morning of the 2d the cavalry picket came in in a hurry, the lieutenant in command of it showing a sabre-cut in his shoulder. The infantry pickets next came in, less a dozen of their number who had been cut off and captured; but not without having inflicted some loss upon the enemy. One of the new recruits, Oberon Payne by name, shot a mounted man, supposed to be an officer, from his horse, and the animal, keeping on, came within reach of the pickets and was brought in with the empty saddle. Gorham at once deployed his company, numbering about forty men with guns (some of the recruits being as yet unarmed) and

fell back slowly, stopping frequently to fire, and holding the enemy's skirmishers in check till he reached some woods with thick undergrowth, under cover of which he retreated through the swamp and an hour or two later joined the regiment in front of Newport Barracks.

The enemy appeared to company B at the block-house about eleven o'clock, making his presence known by a solid shot which went through the block-house. The fire was returned from an old howitzer which had been mounted on a navy carriage, and the block-house was held till the enemy advanced an infantry line of apparently a full regiment. To oppose this, Lieutenant Ballard had sixty-two men, half of them recruits who had received their guns and a pocket-full of cartridges apiece that morning. He had of course no alternative but to retreat, and fell back with occasional halts to fire upon the enemy.

Meantime, the long roll had sounded in the camp, and the regiment fell into line, and after a short speech from Captain Kelley, was marched toward Bogue Sound in the direction of the later firing. It was halted about two miles from camp in a large clearing, extending across the County road and to the railroad track, which ran parallel to the road and half a mile from it. Here the regiment was deployed in the edge of the woods in a thin single line—there being not men enough to form a line of battle for the front which must be covered—with skirmishers thrown out in the open ground in front. Lieutenant T. S. Peck, commanding the skirmishers on the right of the road, was sent forward to ascertain the position of the enemy, and if possible, open communication with company B. The latter purpose, however, could not be accomplished, as company B had fallen back, pursued by the enemy, along the coast road, to Morehead City. The skirmishers, advancing beyond a strip of woods, came in sight of a strong body of the enemy's infantry, in process of forming a battle line. This soon advanced, firing heavily,

and the skirmishers fell back to the main line. A good piece of service was rendered at this time by Lieutenant Viele, who manned a field-piece, drawing it out from the camp by hand. Stationing this in the road, he opened fire on the enemy's artillery, exploded one of their caissons, and by repeated discharges of grape aided in checking the Confederate advance. Surgeon Carpenter, in the lack of field officers, went to the front, and was active and efficient in watching the movements of the enemy and carrying orders to the various portions of the command. The men behaved well; but the regiment was gradually pressed back towards camp. It halted, however, wherever a strip of woods and bushes afforded cover, and by its repeated stands held the enemy in check for nearly four hours. At six o'clock the regiment had fallen back to the works at Newport Barracks. The Confederate commander was now extending his lines around the right of the position, while on the left the force which attacked company B at the block-house had moved to and occupied the railroad track, cutting off all retreat in the direction of Morehead City.

Had the fort at the barracks and the redoubt north of the river been held by the heavy artillery stationed in them, a final stand might now have been made under cover of their guns; but the artillery-men had spiked the guns, and with the cavalry, who left the infantry to make the best fight they could, retreated to New Berne, spreading the report that the Ninth Vermont had been cut off and again captured.[1]

The only course now open to Barney was to put the river between his command and the enemy. The barracks, hospital and store-houses with a quantity of crude turpentine in barrels belonging to the government, were fired; and

[1] For this misconduct, the captains of the artillery companies were court-martialed, on charges preferred by Colonel Ripley, and one of them was cashiered.

giving the enemy a final volley from a low crest in front of the camp, the regiment retired across the river by the two bridges. At the highway bridge a rear guard, under Lieutenant Peck, tore up the planks of the bridge and kindled the pine stringers with bunches of dry grass, while others checked the advance of the enemy by firing across the stream. At the railroad bridge Lieutenant Jewett, with company K, took a position on the track north of the river, commanding the approach to the bridge, and kept back all comers by a vigorous fire of musketry till Lieutenant Livingston and Surgeon Vincent had fired the bridge. A number of stragglers and recruits who had lost their way, reached the river too late to cross the bridges, and plunged into the river. It was supposed at the time that some of these were drowned; and the river was subsequently dragged for their bodies, but without finding any. After firing the bridges the rear guards followed the regiment, which was making its way in the gathering darkness, by a long detour around the swamps and inlet, to Beaufort, where it arrived at sunrise next morning.

The feelings of the officers and men of the command, as they halted and dropped in their tracks at Beaufort, may be imagined. They had been driven from their camp, saving nothing but their arms and the clothing on their backs. They were hungry, faint and exhausted by a forced night march of twenty-seven miles. They missed comrades from their number, who were killed, drowned or in the enemy's hands. Yet they had done some fighting; and, considering that half their number were raw recruits, many of whom had never handled a musket, and that they had held their ground for hours against greatly superior numbers, they thought they had done pretty well. They had at least frustrated a well-laid plan for their capture. They had their colors and their arms, and the right to use them. So it might have been worse.

The loss of the regiment in this affair was three killed, 14

wounded, two of whom died of their wounds, and 47 missing. Thirty-five of the latter were recruits, who, when cut off from the rest, being wholly unacquainted with the ground, fell into the enemy's lines while seeking their own. Among the wounded was Lieutenant Bolton of company C, who received a ball through both shoulders, and among the missing was Lieutenant Holman of company G, who was captured early in the engagement.[1] Of the men captured twenty-eight, or about two-thirds, whose names are starred in the list of missing, died in the prison pens of Andersonville and Salisbury The enemy's loss, as obtained from wounded prisoners and reported by Lieut. Colonel Barney, was a captain and two lieutenants and fifteen men killed, and thirty wounded.

From Beaufort the regiment was ferried across the inlet the same day to Morehead City, where the men of company B, who had retreated thither the previous evening,

[1] The killed were Joseph Osier of company C, and William Piper and Nathan C. Smith of company D. Peter Osier of company C, and Matthew Riley of company G, died of their wounds.

The rank and file wounded were: Company B, Nathan Deforge, leg; W. P. Smith, head; company C, Peter Osier, Charles Van Steenburg; company D, Thomas P. Garry, arm, Guy B. Walker; company F, William Melcher, leg, Alfred Tatro; company H, Stephen Burroughs, hand; company K, T. E. Marcy, hand; Charles W Stoddard, hip.

The rank and file missing were: Company A, *Burchard Clough, *Oscar F. Davis, *George W. Loud, *Z. P. Proud, *H. C. Smith; company B, *Franklin Caswell, *John Grant, *Franklin Ives, *Thomas Ripley, Thomas Rudd, *David Weller; company C, *Peter Barton, *H. A. Beadle, James N. Dower, Peter Osier, Nelson Steinhower; company D, P. D. Duphinny, Thomas Griswold, *Patrick Marrion, *George H. Pearson, E. G. Rounsevel, *A. D. Whitney; company F, Alson H. Blake, J. K. Clark, W. Melcher, *Alfred Tatro; company G, *A. M. Bacon, *L. Raymore, *Milo Tucker; company H, *A. H. Cole, H. P. Chase, *C. E. Freeman, J. D. Finnegan, *E. W. Havens. *Wayne Hazen, Henry Jackson, Patrick McGowan, *T. H. Pettit, *H. W. Phelps, †S. M. Reynolds, *Benjamin M. Smith, J. C. Vosburgh; company I, *Franklin Averill, *W. C. Beede, *J. Bohonan, Henry Cobb, C. S. George.

* Died in the Confederate prison pens.

† Corporal Reynolds lived to reach Annapolis and died there in Parole Camp.

were found, and all hands were set actively at work digging rifle-pits, in anticipation of an attack from Martin's force. The abandonment by Pickett of the attack on New Berne, however, had necessitated the withdrawal of Martin, and he departed after tearing up portions of the railroad and destroying whatever had been left unburned by the garrison at Newport Barracks. On the 5th the troops at Morehead City were reinforced by the Twenty-first Connecticut, sent down from Fortress Monroe; and the Ninth, under Colonel Ripley who had returned, went back to Newport Barracks. The bodies of the three men killed on the 2d were here found where they fell, stripped of clothing, together with two severely wounded Confederates, who had also been stripped by their comrades in anticipation of their death. They were, however, kindly cared for by the Union surgeons and both survived. The next night, in consequence of a false alarm, the regiment fell back four miles and formed line across the neck. Next day, the 7th, they returned to Newport Barracks to stay. Out-posts were again thrown out to Gale's Creek and Canady's Mill; a new line of defence was established and entrenchments thrown up; new guns were mounted, the woods slashed and abatis constructed. The position was thus made very strong; but no opportunity to test its strength occurred. About the middle of February the weather became very cold, the ground froze and snow fell. The men had just received some new tents; but suffered much for want of the overcoats, blankets and underclothing which had gone to warm the backs of Martin's men.[1]

On the 23d Colonel Ripley established a new camp for the regiment, on the south side of the railroad track. The

[1] For these Colonel Jeffords, Fifth North Carolina, made acknowledgment in a letter dated at Burnt Church, February 6th, addressed to the "Officer commanding Yankee forces," and left at the out-post at Gale's Creek when the enemy retired. In this he said: "I am impressed we are equal with you for the capture of our pickets at Young's Mills. Our men are extremely obliged for the hats, boots, overcoats, etc., left by you."

men rafted logs down the river, ran a saw-mill and sawed lumber for floors for the tents and for officers' quarters, and made themselves comfortable. An arrival of 70 more recruits made good the losses of February 2d, and on the 1st of March the regiment had an aggregate of 876, the largest in two years, with 192 men on the sick list—this heavy list being due to an epidemic of measles of a typhoid type, which ran through the recruits and proved fatal in many cases.

The work of strengthening the position at Newport went forward actively under various alarming reports received almost daily from General Peck at New Berne, and occasional appearances of the enemy's cavalry in front. Strong fatigue parties worked steadily day and night, lighting the ground by fires at night. By the 6th of March, about which time apprehension of an immediate attack abated, the fort had been rebuilt and better armed than before; strong breastworks thrown up; the timber cleared from a wide area; rifle-pits dug and approaches obstructed; and the Ninth would have welcomed a chance to try the affair of the 2d over again with General Martin.

On the 16th of March the regiment suffered another serious loss in the death of Major Bartlett. He had recently returned to the regiment after an absence in Vermont, and had just assumed his position as major, when he was stricken down with spinal meningitis, and died after a brief illness. He was in the prime of early manhood, not yet 30 years old, and though quiet and retiring by nature, was a man of decided ability and superior character, and gave promise of distinguished usefulness. He was a general favorite, and his death occasioned deep grief in the regiment. His remains were taken to Vermont for final interment. Captain Brooks of company F, a competent officer, was promoted to the vacancy, and Lieutenant Bascom was made captain of company F. On the 9th of April Dr. Erastus P. Fairman of

Wolcott, who had been serving as a private in the ranks of the Seventeenth Vermont regiment, was appointed assistant surgeon, and joined the command soon after.

For ten days in April, in the absence of Colonel Jourdan, General Ripley commanded the sub-district of Beaufort, N. C., with headquarters at Morehead City, leaving Lieut. Colonel Barney in command of the post at Newport Barracks. On the 27th, on receipt of word that a fishing party was taking fish on Bogue Banks, for the Confederate commissary department at Kinston, Captain Kelley was sent after them with a detail of twenty men, and brought in a sergeant and three men, with 500 pounds of sea-trout, a seine, and three canoes. On the 29th he was sent to capture a rebel cavalry outpost at Swansboro, N. C. Taking fifty men and a ponton to White Oak river, opposite to Swansboro, he crossed the stream and at night captured a lieutenant and seventeen men of the Seventh North Carolina Cavalry with their horses and arms, a 6-pound howitzer, and several sailboats, and after destroying a quantity of Confederate army stores, returned with his prisoners without the loss of a man.

The last half of April and first week of May were not a quiet time in North Carolina. The enemy, under General Hoke, attacked and captured Plymouth, within one hundred miles of Newport, with its garrison of 1,600 men. Washington, N. C., had been evacuated. There were naval conflicts between the iron-clad ram Albemarle, the terror of the coast, and the Union gunboats. General Beauregard had come up from Charleston to Goldsboro to push military operations in the department. New Berne was again threatened, and communication between Newport and New Berne was broken by hostile batteries planted at Croatan, commanding both the railroad and river. The sound of cannonading at that point was plainly heard at Newport Barracks, and the regiment prepared for action. But the emergency at Richmond, now threatened by Grant, caused the withdrawal of the Con-

federate forces from the vicinity of New Berne, and comparative quiet again reigned in that quarter.

On the 19th of May, the Ninth accompanied an expedition under Colonel Jourdan, commanding at Beaufort, the object of which was to cut the railroad between Wilmington and Goldsboro. The regiment, with four days' rations, took train to Croatan, whence the column, comprising infantry, cavalry and artillery, pushed into the country to the southeast; halted a while at Evans's Mills, that night; marched all next day, to White Oak River, near Young's Cross Roads, and on the 21st went nearly to Jacksonville, in the centre of Onslow County. The cavalry, after a brush with a small force of Confederate cavalry, occupied Jacksonville for an hour. Having gone half way to the railroad Jourdan's heart seems to have failed him at this point, and he started back. The Ninth returned by way of Young's Cross Roads (where there was a little picket firing at night), Peletier's Mills, and Gale's Creek, and reached camp at Newport Barracks at midnight of the 24th. It had marched about eighty miles in four days and five nights, in hot weather and over sandy roads, and the men were tired and foot-sore.

Three weeks of drill and easy duty in the pleasant camp at Newport followed. On the 11th of July, A, F, H and K companies, under Major Brooks, were ordered up to New Berne by rail, to replace troops whose term of service had expired; and on the 22d and 26th the remainder of the regiment followed, and was stationed at various outposts within a circuit of ten miles, with headquarters in a beautiful location on the south side of the Trent, near Fort Spinola. Two companies, D and K, were posted at Red House; two, I and E, at Rocky Run; A at Evans's Mills; H at Beechwood, on the railroad; K on the Trent; F in Fort Spinola, and B and C at headquarters.

On August 3d, the regiment paraded to witness the painful spectacle of the execution of a deserter, of another regi-

ment. Malarial fevers prevailed, and the sick list ranged from 130 to 190. On the 29th, companies H and E were sent down from Beechwood to Croatan, where some guerrillas had crossed the Neuse, torn up the railroad and thrown a train from the track, which, however, they did not wait to capture. Company H took five prisoners and two boats.

On the 31st, Colonel Ripley received orders to join the army in front of Richmond as soon as the regiment should be relieved by other troops. This took place two weeks after, and the Ninth gladly bade adieu to the land of tar and turpentine. It broke camp on the 12th of September; embarked next day on the steamers Escort and Winona; arrived at Bermuda Hundred, on the James, in the morning of the 15th; and, marching six miles to the west, bivouacked in the rear of the Union lines, midway between the James and Appomattox rivers.

IN FRONT OF RICHMOND.

The Ninth was here assigned to the Eighteenth Army Corps, General Ord, of the Army of the James, under General Butler, who was holding the lines north of the James from Point of Rocks to Deep Bottom. General Stannard was now in command of the first division of the Eighteenth Corps, and the regiment hoped that it might join his division, but it was assigned to the First brigade (Ames's) of the second division. Of this brigade, Colonel Ripley, being the ranking colonel, took command, and the command of the Ninth devolved on Lieut. Colonel Barney, who, as a careful commander, a good disciplinarian and a responsible man, had the confidence and respect of the regiment. In a reorganization of the command, soon after, the Ninth was transferred to the Second brigade of the division.

On the 17th, 170 recruits joined the regiment, carrying its aggregate up to 1,129, and giving it over 700 effective men. In numbers the regiment now actually exceeded some

brigades in the corps. It was in crack condition, as regarded clothing, equipment and appearance; and it was justly regarded as a very important accession to the division. It was put into immediate service, a detail of 100 men under Lieutenant Jewett being stationed in Fort Dutton, an advanced work within half a mile of the Confederate works which guarded the Richmond and Petersburg railroad. Other large details were made for picket duty and supports to the mortar batteries in the trenches. The opposing picket lines were within pistol shot of each other, but by mutual agreement picket firing was suspended. About this time all the hospital stores and books were lost by the accidental burning of a steamer moored at Point of Rocks, on which they had been placed.

On the 20th the First and Second brigades, with three new Pennsylvania regiments, making a force of some 5,000 men, was temporarily detached and sent under Colonel Ripley, to Bailey's Cross Roads, about four miles south of City Point—where a large quantity of Union army beef on the hoof had just been taken by Rosser's cavalry—to support the cavalry of Kautz and Gregg, who were preparing for a counter-raid, and to guard City Point from attack. The position at the Cross Roads was entrenched, the men working night and day for a week. Then Ripley was suddenly ordered back to the Bermuda Hundred front, with the First and Second brigades (leaving behind the Pennsylvania regiments), to take part in a demonstration against Richmond, which General Grant had decided to make with the Army of the James.

As Ripley was ordered to keep the movement of his command from the knowledge of the enemy, his troops were ordered into line at midnight and were marched to their utmost; but the men were worn by hard work on the rifle pits, the straggling was heavy, and it was daylight before they crossed the Appomattox and 10 A. M. before they

reached their former camp. They threw themselves upon the ground and many slept in spite of the artillery firing, till, at 4 P. M., all were aroused by orders to prepare for a grand corps review. The muskets were accordingly cleaned and clothes brushed, though all believed that something besides a review was on foot, and their surmise was confirmed when, in the evening, sixty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations were issued, and other troops began to move past the camp toward the front of Richmond.

General Grant had some little hope that Butler might find Richmond open to surprise and capture; and it *was* so far open that there were that day in the Confederate intrenchments north of the James, only six brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, in addition to the heavy artillery in the forts. Grant's main design, however, was to threaten the city and prevent the sending of reinforcements to Early, who at that time was receiving rough treatment from Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. So far, at least, as most of the members of the Ninth Vermont were concerned, the temper of the Union troops was favorable for offensive operations. The older members of the regiment had long burned for a chance to wipe out the disgrace of Harper's Ferry They were now animated by the Union victories at Winchester and Fisher's Hill and Atlanta and Mobile; and were ready to welcome any opportunity to show what metal they were made of. Such an opportunity was now at hand.

CHAPIN'S FARM AND FORT HARRISON.

The movement was carefully planned. General Ord, with the Eighteenth Corps, was to move up the Varina road, leading north from Aiken's Landing, carry the works which crossed that road at Chapin's Farm, and there dividing, one brigade was to move to the right and attack Fort Gilmer, a strong work half a mile north, while the rest of the division

should move to the river and prevent the sending of reinforcements from Petersburg and the south side of the James by way of the ponton bridge which the enemy maintained at Chapin's Bluff. General Birney, with the Tenth Corps, was to move from Deep Bottom by the Newmarket and Darbytown roads, assault Gilmer in front and force a passage through the works southeast of Richmond. The most serious piece of business assigned to the Eighteenth Corps was the storming of Fort Harrison. This was a powerful work, four miles north of Aiken's Landing, crowning a hill and commanding the approach to Richmond by the Varina road. It mounted sixteen heavy guns, one being an 8-inch Columbiad, and the others 64 and 32-pounders. For the assault upon it General Ord selected his first and second divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Stannard and Heckman. The former was to lead the way along the Varina road, till the open ground near Fort Harrison was reached, then form in column on the left of the road, and assault the works.[1]

Heckman was to follow closely and push through the breach, which it was not doubted Stannard would make. The Ninth Vermont was honored by being selected to lead the column of Heckman's division; and Ripley's brigade, when inside the front line, was to turn to the right and take in reverse Fort Gilmer and the Laurel Hill batteries, farther to the right.

[1] "General Stannard told me, in after years, that when he received his orders he went to corps headquarters, and was told that General Grant had personally indicated him to lead the attack. He then went to General Grant, who was at Deep Bottom, and said: 'I am told that I must lead this attack, and I have come to protest in behalf of the poor men of my division, who have led every assault of the Eighteenth Corps, from Cold Harbor until now, and are fought down to a skeleton of a division. I have not a word to say for myself—I will freely go wherever you send me; but it is inhuman to give my men so much more than their share of these forlorn hopes.' General Grant quietly replied: 'General Stannard, we must carry Fort Harrison, and I know you will do it.' "—Statement of Colonel Ripley.

The Ninth took into the assault about 700 bayonets. It was commanded by Major Brooks, in the absence of Lieut. Colonel Barney, who was absent on sick leave. It started very quietly at midnight, and at 2 A. M. reached the James, at Aiken's Landing, where the engineers were laying a ponton bridge, and Stannard's division was waiting to cross. Both divisions were across the river by daylight and moved toward Fort Harrison, the skirmishers under Colonel Donahue of the Tenth New Hampshire driving in the enemy's skirmishers, which were met not far from the river. The scattered firing in front increased as the columns moved on through the pine woods, and as Stannard's division came out into the open ground near the fort, the guns of Fort Harrison opened heavily. The space between the head of the column and the mouths of the guns was 1,400 yards. In front was a piece of low ground, covered with fallen brush; then came a wide, open slope; then an abatis and a deep ditch; then the parapets of Fort Harrison. Retaining his formation in column by division, in order to secure the momentum of a mass, Stannard ordered his Second brigade (Burnham's) forward to the assault, supported by the other two brigades of his division. Stannard had intended to strike the fort at the sally-port on the southeastern side; but its guns swept the approach to this with such a destructive fire that he changed direction to the right, till he was past the eastern bastion of the work; and then, turning at a right angle, charged directly upon this, through a terrible fire of musketry and artillery. General Burnham, leading the charge, was killed, and his successor, Colonel Stevens, fell severely wounded. His successor in the command of the brigade was also wounded; and when the thing was over the brigades which formed the storming column were each commanded by a lieutenant colonel. A third of the men in the division and about half of the actual storming party fell; but nothing could stop the rush of Stannard's men.

They plunged through the ditch, climbed the steep embankment, sprang inside the parapet, and captured a considerable portion of the regiment which defended the fort, with the lieutenant colonel who commanded it. General Stannard rode at the side of his Third brigade, and entered the fort with his men. Three officers of his staff were wounded during the movements preceding the assault. The enemy was next driven from two lunettes, and abandoning that portion of his line, fled to his second line of works, half a mile nearer Richmond.

Ripley's brigade, meantime, was not idle. As Stannard's division emerged into the open ground, General Heckman rode up to Colonel Ripley, who according to the plan was to closely follow Stannard, and directed him, instead, to move his brigade across the Varina road to the right and charge a redoubt and bastion on the north of Fort Harrison. The road, at the spot where they must cross it, was blocked by a light battery which had lost a number of horses from the fire of a heavy gun in the fort, which raked the road at that point. In endeavoring to aid its commander in clearing a way for the passage of the brigade, Colonel Ripley was struck from his horse and stunned by a piece of shell, which clipped the hair on his temple, but did no further harm, and he soon resumed direction of the movement of his brigade. Moving on to the right of the road, the Eighth Maine of his brigade became entangled in the swamp, and when the order to attack came a few moments later, the Ninth Vermont had to go alone. In passing through the swamp and the felled timber beyond, the troops largely lost their organization, but kept on, all spurred to their utmost by the cheers of Stannard's division, which rose above the roar of artillery as they charged. As the men of the Ninth reached the open ground, they could see the First division pouring into the fort. Without waiting to re-form their ranks, they pushed for the works, Felix Quinn, the tall

color-sergeant, leading with the colors. The regiment followed the general line of the Varina road, which, making a sharp turn to the right within 600 yards of Fort Harrison, ran directly past the front of the fort and the entrenchments leading from it to right and left. Fortunately, the guns of the fort were now in Stannard's hands, and were silent; but a few hundred yards to the north, Battery Morris stood squarely across the road, and its guns swept the road for a quarter of a mile. As the regiment started for the latter work, recruits vieing with veterans for the honor of being first over its parapets, the left companies veered to the right to avoid the felled timber, and crowded into the road, which at that point ran through a cut, which soon became filled with men. In vain Ripley, dreading a discharge of grape which might do fearful execution on such a mass, ordered them out of the road. They were too much excited to obey, and kept on as they were. The enemy's cannoneers, however, did not improve their opportunity; and passing out of the cut, the line partially deployed, and all rushed in a wild race for the works in front. Fifteen or twenty of the fleetest runners, among whom was Colonel Ripley, were the first to reach and scramble over the ramparts of the battery. Its defenders withdrew as they sprang in, but halted a few feet away and delivered a parting volley, which knocked over nearly every one inside the work. Lieutenant Dodge of company B received a ball in the leg. Sergeant Major Henry D. Belden, who was probably the first man inside the works, though a dozen sprang in about together, had a ball enter his wrist and come out above his elbow; but with his sound arm he seized the trail of a gun, which Ripley was trying to wheel, saying: "Go on, colonel, we wounded men will work these guns." Sergeant Burlingame of company K and John Riley of company B were badly wounded; and others less severely. The remainder of the regiment at the same time piled into the rifle-pits on the right of Battery Morris, taking about forty

prisoners. A lunette on the other side of the fort was taken by other troops, and Fort Harrison and its accessory works on either hand, with 22 guns, were thus carried and held.

It was now ten o'clock, and so far all had gone well. But now Grant's well-arranged plan began to fail of execution. General Ord, exposing himself recklessly with the troops which were to sweep down the works to Chapin's Bluff, was wounded in the leg, and had to turn over the command of the corps to General Heckman, who proved unequal to the occasion. He had already partially modified the plan of the day, by sending Ripley in on Stannard's right, and now, instead of letting him pass inside the captured line to the rear of Fort Gilmer and take that work in reverse, he ordered him to assault it at once from the front. This was madness. The Tenth Corps had not arrived. The brigades of Jourdan and Fairchild of the Eighteenth Corps, which were needed for supports, were entangled in the swamps some distance back, and did not get out for hours after. Ripley had but the Ninth and a few men of the Eighth Maine (the rest of the latter regiment being still in the swamp) with which to assault a fort as strong as Fort Harrison or stronger, and fully manned. Nevertheless he reformed his command and started forward. He had not gone far before his progress was impeded by a slashing of oak timber. Shells from the fort began to cut swaths through the regiment, and as it was plain that it would be a waste of life to advance, he ordered the command back to the nearest cover. The regiment, which had kept wonderfully steady under the example and orders of Major Brooks, accordingly fell back a short distance to a road-bed, sunk a foot or two below the surface, and by lying close to the ground obtained partial shelter, while Ripley sent an aid to General Heckman to report the situation and to ask him to examine the position.

About this time Ames's division of the Tenth Corps

attacked the works extending from Fort Gilmer northward, and Brigadier General Birney's colored brigade assaulted Gilmer with great bravery, but without success. Its garrison had been heavily reinforced and nearly all the colored troops that reached its front were killed. The rest came streaming back through the line of the Ninth. After this repulse of a strong division from its ramparts, the order to a single Vermont regiment to attempt to carry Fort Gilmer by storm was not renewed, and no further assault upon that portion of the enemy's works was made. To the left of Fort Harrison, towards the bluff, however, some of Stannard's division were still trying to make headway; and late in the afternoon the Ninth was withdrawn from the front of Gilmer and sent thither. Here the regiment came under the fire of the Confederate gunboats which had come down from Richmond to assist in the defence of the works; and here Lieutenant Jenkins of company E, was mortally wounded by a large fragment of a shell, which cut off his right hand and buried itself in his left thigh, making a frightful wound.

Offensive movements soon ended, and the Union generals turned their attention to the task of making secure what they had gained. At nightfall the Ninth Vermont was taken to the south of Fort Harrison to form part of a line which was extended through slashing and chapparal from the fort to the river. The men were worn out with loss of sleep, marching and excitement, and dropped as soon as halted. But they were not allowed to sleep. Shovels took the place of muskets, and the men dug wearily till the dawn.

The loss of the Ninth Vermont this day was seven killed, 42 wounded, six of whom died of their wounds, and 13 missing. Lieutenant Jenkins had his leg amputated near the body and died next day. Lieutenant Dodge received a ball in the leg. Among the slightly wounded were Colonel Ripley, Major Brooks and Acting Brigade Quartermaster T. S. Peck.

Colonel Ripley thus describes a horrible incident, which occurred after the regiment had been halted in front of Fort Gilmer: "I was standing, field-glass in hand, watching the movements of the enemy. Major Brooks, Lieutenant Peck and two or three others were in the group. The shelling was noisy The men were lying thickly near my feet; and almost under me was a private of a Massachusetts battery who had strayed into the ranks of the Ninth Vermont. He was frightened by the heavy explosions around and at each one would jump upon his feet and stare around as though crazy. I had told him three or four times to keep down; but in a moment, after a louder crash, he sprang to his feet before me. As he did so, I was dashed in the face with a streaming mass of something horrible, which closed my eyes, nose and mouth. I thought my own head had gone. I was helped to sit down and Captain Hart, of Heckman's staff, who had just come up, happening to have a towel in his pocket, they cleaned away the disgusting mass from my face with it, and I opened my eyes. Unbuttoning my sabre-belt, and throwing open my blouse, I threw out of it a mass of brains, skull, hair and blood. The headless trunk of the artillery-man lay between my feet, with the blood gurgling out with the pulsations of the heart not yet stopped. Major Brooks was hit by a spent piece of shell below the knee, and Lieutenant Peck on his belt and leg; but none of us were seriously enough wounded to make it worth while alarming our friends at home by reporting it, so when Adjutant Livingston, at night, asked if he should include me in his report of casualties I refused to allow it. Brooks and Peck did the same. If all the slightly wounded of the Ninth Vermont had been reported, as was done in some regiments, the regiment would have had a much larger list." [1]

[1] The killed of the rank and file were: Corporal William Moranville and John Mickman of company E; George W Patrick, John Nickerson and Leroy L. Bryant of company F; Freeman Baker of company H; Albert E. Newton of company K.

The wounded were: Company A, Nelson C. Roberts, leg; George

Assistant Surgeon Fairman was the only surgeon with the regiment that day. He was sent by the medical director of the corps, to Fort Harrison immediately after its capture; went thither under fire, was the first surgeon there, and in a little operating hospital established on the grass in a hollow near the fort, he dressed the wounds not only of the men of the Ninth, but of other regiments, performing amputations and operations which some of the surgeons of other regiments did not feel equal to, all day and until it became too dark to operate.

The charge of his old regiment on Battery Morris was watched with gratification by General Stannard from the parapet of Fort Harrison. General U. S. Grant rode into Fort Harrison not long after its capture, and personally complimented Stannard on the behavior and success of his division. The general-in-chief was not as well satisfied with some other officers, and that night General Heckman returned

W. Robbins, heel; Samuel M. Maynard, hand; company B, Corporal Holden D. Baker, leg; John Riley, leg; Orick Sprague, leg; Joseph Lafayette, breast; company D, Corporal Norris E. Edwards, leg; Eben S. Haskell, knee; company E, Corporal George W Davis, arm; Corporal Henry Warboys, stunned; Edward R. Cook, arm; Allen E. Cutts, lost finger; Daniel Dwyer, arm (amputated) and leg; Edward Hawkins, leg; James Lunge, hip; John Keating, side and foot; Charles Phillips, leg; Henry Sias, face; Moses W. White, arm; Calvin Wilson, hip; company F, Corporal Henry Steady, leg; Corporal John L. Newton, hip; Lewis Blair, leg amputated; John E. Jones, leg; company G, Allen J. Dearborn, leg; Hatch Chamberlain, thigh; company H, Octave Bushy, elbow; Oberon Payne, knee, severe; Jeremiah Bishop, leg; company I, William L. Marston, heel; company K, Sergeant Sylvester C. Burlingame, leg; Corporal Edwin R. Smith, head; William Waters, leg, slight; Denny E. Mason, back; Harrison K. Bacon, leg.

Of these John Riley, Joseph Lafayette, George W. Davis, John L. Newton, L. Blair and Edwin R. Smith, died of their wounds.

Those reported missing were: Company A, Corporal William P. Yarrington, William C. Hair, Monroe Ingles, Edgar Minckler, James A. North, Emory S. Parker, George Papaw and Edwin Spieer; company B, George W Mason; company E, Daniel Ash; company F, Eli Sweeny; company I, Benjamin F. Stone; company K, Orlin M. Whitney.

Of the missing Eli Sweeny was never accounted for.

to his division and General Weitzel was placed in command of the Eighteenth Corps.

Thursday, the 29th of September, had been an exciting day A scarcely less exciting one was to follow. There was active work that night on both sides. General Lee, who joined General Ewell on the north side of the James soon after the repulse of the Tenth Corps from Fort Gilmer, had decided that Fort Harrison must be retaken next day. He kept the Richmond and Petersburg railroad busy all night bringing troops; and, by morning, ten brigades of Pickett's, Hoke's, and Wilcox's divisions were concentrated at and near Fort Gilmer, to assault Fort Harrison. The latter work was open to the rear when taken; but during the afternoon Stannard's men were set at work with shovels to throw up a breastwork across the gorge of the work, and so change it into an enclosed fort. They were relieved in this work by some colored troops during the night; and by Friday morning a rifle-pit had been dug two-thirds of the way across the rear, which had now become the front. The work was still open, however, for a space on the right. This gap was somewhat lessened, and the breastworks strengthened, during the forenoon, in spite of an incessant fire of shells which was maintained from the guns in the enemy's second line of works, and of "pots and kettles" from his gunboats in the river, while his sharpshooters picked off all who exposed themselves outside the trenches. Meanwhile, behind the screen of woods, some 400 yards from Fort Harrison on its northwest quarter, General Lee was superintending in person the formation of his columns for the assault. These comprised the brigades of Law, Anderson, Bratton, Clingman, and Colquitt, under the immediate command of General Anderson, who now commanded Longstreet's Corps.

To meet this assault, Stannard had simply his infantry; for the siege guns taken in the fort were not available for its defence, and a light battery which had been taken into the

work was found to be without ammunition, and Stannard sent it back to the rear. By a piece of especial good fortune, a small supply of Spencer breech-loading rifles had been received just before the movement north of the James took place, and two regiments of Stannard's division—the Tenth New Hampshire and One Hundred and Eighteenth New York—exchanged their muskets for the improved arms, the night before the attack.[1]

To these breech-loaders, Stannard always attributed in large part the salvation of the day, on Friday. In disposing his troops to meet the expected attack he placed the troops armed with the Spencer rifles in the rifle-pits on his right, where he expected the main assault. The Second division occupied entrenchments thrown up during the night before on the left of the fort, Ripley's brigade being on the right of the division, next to the fort. Shortly after noon, two field batteries opened sharply on the fort and the works on its left; and soon after the word "They are coming!" passed along Stannard's lines, as the Confederate masses emerged from the woods and brush. Formed in three successive lines, between 6,000 and 7,000 strong, they moved steadily over half the open space and then charged. The men of the Ninth, lying on the slope to the left of the fort, could not see what went on on the right; but they heard the yell of the charge, followed by a burst of musketry from the fort, the breech-loaders adding a steady unbroken undertone to the familiar rattle of the volleys. They heard and joined in the cheers from the garrison as the charge was re-

[1] For these and the muzzle-loaders there was fortunately a supply of ammunition, owing to the energy of Captain P. K. Delaney, quartermaster of Stannard's division, who by great exertions got two wagon-loads of ammunition—one for the breech-loaders and one for the ordinary rifles—across the river and up to Fort Harrison during the night following its capture. Next day a wagon-load was brought up to the sally-port of the fort by Captain Bryden, ordnance officer of the division, and Lieutenant Burbank of the Seventeenth Vermont and Lieutenant Cook of Stannard's staff distributed the ammunition. General Stannard had a fourth member of his staff wounded this day.

pulsed. The enemy's assault was gallantly made, for they were fighting under the eye of General Lee; but the slaughter was too fearful to be endured. The masses halted and recoiled to the shelter of the woods, and the few who reached the ditch were killed or wounded or threw down their arms and came inside the fort as prisoners. Among these was an Alabama colonel, who with blood streaming down his face looked up to Stannard, who had taken his position on a traverse running through the fort, from which he could look down upon his lines on either side, and asked him if he was the commander of this fort? Upon Stannard's affirmative answer, he rejoined: "Well, you had better get out of this, general, for General Lee is over there" (pointing toward Fort Gilmer), "and he says he will retake these works, if it takes half his army." Stannard's dry reply was that he should be "happy to see General Lee whenever he chose to call." Twice more the Confederate lines advanced in successive charges, and twice more the sheet of fire burst from Stannard's front, and they fell back in shattered fragments to the woods. During the second assault, the barracks built of pine logs inside the fort were set on fire by shells and burned furiously for a time, almost scorching the backs of the men in front; but they kept their places while the stretcher-bearers pulled the barracks to pieces and threw earth upon the burning logs, for want of water.

During these exciting hours Stannard paced the parapet, sword in one hand and slouched hat in the other, watching every movement of each side, and cheering his men to their deadly work.[1] Just as the second assault ended, a bullet

[1] "I have often said that General Stannard held Fort Harrison against desperate odds, of men fighting under the inspiration of Lee's own presence, by the *sheer force of personal character*. And there was not another division or another general of the Army of the James that could have done it. He was an army in himself in such supreme moments."—General E. H. Ripley.

struck his right arm, shattering the bone and whirling him half around. He was assisted from the traverse to the ground and sank back fainting. A shiver passed along the lines, as close upon the cheers of victory came the whispered word: "Stannard is killed!" The news spread at once to the Ninth Vermont, just outside the fort, and was received with the deepest grief by all. But the general was not killed; and though the defence of Fort Harrison cost him his arm, he had the satisfaction of knowing that neither then nor at any subsequent time was that important work relinquished to the enemy. The three assaults upon the fort cost Lee one-third of the storming force, killed and wounded, besides a number captured.[1]

Concerning Fort Harrison and its capture an English field-officer, of rank and experience, who visited it a few days after, wrote as follows to the London *Star*: "I "rode to the nearest point to Richmond in possession of the "federal army. This is called Fort Harrison. It is about "six miles and a quarter from Richmond; a strong earthern "fort and so placed that the taking of it is quite unaccount- "able. It is on a hill with a natural glacis of six or seven "hundred yards, which good gunners should sweep against "all comers—taking into account an extensive abatis, con- "structed by felling the trees and pointing them outwards. "It should have been toilsome, dangerous work to have "traversed that long slope. However, there is the fort in "the hands of the Federals, be it attributable to pluck, luck, "surprise, treachery, scare, or whatever explanation."

The fort was not surprised—the enemy had several hours after daylight, and after the movement became de-

[1] The tabular statement in the "Medical and Surgical History of the War" puts the Confederate loss this day at 2,000, killed and wounded, and many were taken prisoners. Bratton's brigade had 377 killed and wounded. The Confederate losses in the two days probably exceeded 2,500. On the Union side they were 1,948 killed and wounded, and 324 missing.

veloped, in which to prepare for its defence. It was not surrendered by treachery, but was ably defended, to the sad cost of Stannard's division, which lost 600 men in killed and wounded in the assault. Its capture was due to simple pluck on the part of the troops, combined with cool, resolute and able handling on the part of their division commander.

For the next four weeks the Ninth remained in the trenches between Fort Harrison and the river, often under fire from the enemy's artillery This, however, subsided after a week or two, and the relations between the opposing lines and pickets became almost friendly.

FAIR OAKS.

On the 27th of October the regiment took part in a fresh demonstration against Richmond. The movement was to be simultaneous with a movement made by General Meade against the South Side Railroad. The two movements were alike unsuccessful and each cost the Union army over a thousand men in killed, wounded and missing. General Grant's orders to Butler were to feel out to the right beyond his front and if possible to turn the enemy's left, but not to attack any intrenched position—the main object being to prevent reinforcements from being sent from Richmond to Petersburg. General Butler committed the charge of the movement to General Weitzel, commanding the Eighteenth Corps. This corps was to be moved to the right, behind the lines of the Tenth Corps, and advance against Richmond by the Williamsburg road. Butler and Weitzel hoped to make a dash into Richmond, or at any rate to get behind the second line of works south of Richmond and to flank the enemy out of them. They were encouraged to believe this to be possible by a report that the enemy's lines north of the James were defended by but two divisions—those of Field and Pickett. This, however, was a mistake.

Hoke's division was at this time north of the James as well as those named, besides a force of local militia under General Ewell, and a cavalry brigade; the whole under the capable command of General Longstreet, who, having recovered from his wound received in the Wilderness, had just returned to his corps. Weitzel's advance was delayed, in part through the delays and inaction of the cavalry which was to precede and mask the movement. Longstreet at once divined its purpose and extended his lines to correspond with Weitzel's movement; and when the latter pushed in near Fair Oaks, against a line of breastworks which he supposed to be thinly defended by dismounted cavalry, he found them fully manned; was received by a heavy musketry fire, and was repulsed with serious loss. Upon his right Holman's brigade of colored troops carried some works along the New Bridge road, but was driven out of them. This ended the fighting for the day, and the Eighteenth Corps was withdrawn and returned next day to its former position near the river.

The part of this affair that fell to the Ninth was principally hard and uncomfortable marching, though it lay for a while under fire. The regiment, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Barney, drew out of its lines with Ripley's brigade, after dark on the 26th; moved a short distance to the rear; bivouacked for the rest of the night, and starting early next morning made a hard march of fifteen miles, to the Williamsburg road, near the old battle-ground of Seven Pines. In the formation of Heckman's division for the attack, in the afternoon, the brigade was placed in the second line on the left of the road, with Fairchild's brigade in front. During the assault made by the latter, the supporting lines were kept down; and though the regiments in front of it—the One Hundred and Eighteenth New York and Nineteenth Wisconsin - lost fearfully, the Ninth suffered the loss of but ten men killed and wounded, most of them by artillery fire. One man,

Alonzo P Grover of company K, was killed; and one, Stephen B. Wing of company E, a man of 47 years, died of exhaustion from the fatigue of the march. Lieutenant W A. Dodge of company B received a wound in the leg.[1]

The regiment bivouacked on the Darbytown road, within five miles of Richmond, at three o'clock in the morning of the 28th; slept three hours in the rain; was then formed in line at seven, and expected to charge the enemy's works; but no order to attack came, and during the day it was withdrawn. The march back to the Charles City road that night will not soon be forgotten by any one who took part in it. The night was dark; rain poured in torrents; infantry, cavalry and artillery crowded each other in the narrow and slippery road; and though the progress made was very slow, more than half the regiment straggled or got astray. Towards morning a halt was made; most of the stragglers came up, after daylight, and the march was continued back to camp. The men arrived weary, hungry, covered with mud and depressed by the failure of the movement. Dr. Fairman accompanied the regiment, established a hospital in an old house, about three o'clock P. M., and dressed the wounds of Vermonters and of other soldiers till dark.

On the 1st of November, in consequence of apprehensions of a renewal of the New York riots of 1863, upon the occasion of the Presidential election, General Butler was ordered to proceed at once to New York, and to take with him some trusty troops from the Army of the James to maintain order in the metropolis. He selected the Ninth as part of the force. On the 2d of November the regiment marched to Deep Bottom and took transports for Fortress Monroe,

[1] The rank and file wounded were: Corporal David M. Buffum of company B, head, slight; Lewis Bissonette of company F, head, slight; Peter Ladue of company H, hip, slight; Edward B. Bissett of company K, shoulder, severe; Joel Grout of company K, ankle, severe; George W. Smith, groin.

George W. Smith died of his wounds seven weeks later.

where, on being transferred to a steamer bound for New York, the men first learned their destination.

An incident of this departure is worth relating. Corporal Charles H. Sweeney was out on picket with fifteen men, when the regiment started for Deep Bottom, and was not recalled in time to embark with it. Hailing a tug which was going down the river, he was taken aboard with his men and carried to City Point. Here he reported to the provost marshal. Sweeney's story that his regiment had left him and gone off he knew not where, seemed suspicious to that officer; and he informed the corporal with some heat that he believed him and his men to be deserters, and that he should put them all in the guard-house. An emphatic denial of the charge, by Sweeney, and a refusal to go to the lock-up, evoked an order from the angry officer to his assistants to "hand-cuff this man, and take him to the bull-pen." But as it happened, the corporal was in greater force on the spot than the provost marshal, and he did not hesitate to use his advantage. Ordering his men to fix bayonets, Sweeney posted ten of them as a guard over the provost marshal's office, with strict orders to let no one pass in or out, while with the remainder he started for headquarters. He soon found himself in front of the quarters, as he supposed, of the general commanding the post; and, making known his story to the orderly at the door, was ushered into the presence of —General U S. Grant! The general bade the corporal be seated, inquired what regiment he belonged to, and listened, with a twinkle of the eye, as Sweeney related how he had put the provost marshal under guard, while he came to see what the general commanding would say about locking up in the bull-pen some good Vermont soldiers, who were trying to rejoin their regiment. "We'll see about that," said the general; and, sitting down, he wrote a note for the corporal to hand to the provost marshal. That officer's cheek blanched as Sweeney informed him that he had a line from General

Grant for him, and his hand trembled as he took the note. He at once despatched an aid with the Vermonters to the commissary, and after being rationed they were provided with transportation to New York, where they rejoined their regiment, the bold corporal not a little elated over the result of his interview with the general-in-chief of the armies of the United States.

One hundred and forty men who were out on picket, under command of Lieutenant T. S. Peck, were also left behind, and followed the regiment on another steamer.

At New York the regiment was quartered on steamers in the North and East rivers, company K being sent to Troy, N. Y., to protect the Watervliet arsenal. The weather was cold and rainy, and the men had little opportunity to see friends or the sights of the city. The election passed off quietly on the 8th, and the troops were ordered back to the front. While at New York, says Adjutant General Washburn, "the regiment proved themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them and were highly complimented for their behavior and their entire reliability. Not a man left his post." The regiment rendezvoused at Fort Richmond, Staten Island; embarked on the John E. Rice, November 15th; arrived at Deep Bottom on the 17th, and by the 18th was back in its old camp at Chapin's Farm.

During the ten weeks after the regiment moved to Chapin's Farm in September the detachment of a hundred men under Lieutenant Jewett which had been stationed at Fort Dutton, remained there on the Bermuda Hundred front, and had some exciting experiences. On the night of September 30th, they were called into the trenches to help repel a Confederate assault, which was repulsed by the artillery in Fort Dutton. During the next two months several attempts were made by the enemy to advance their lines at and near that point; and an attempt was made on the Union side to retake a portion of the line which the enemy had carried.

After these efforts ceased, picket firing became continual, and as the lines were very near each other, the service was dangerous. The ugly feeling between the pickets, however, subsided after a while, and hostilities in that vicinity were confined to artillery duels, which were frequent. November 21st, Lieutenant Jewett resigned, leaving Sergeant Charles F. Branch in charge of the detail. On the 28th the detachment was relieved, and joined the regiment at Chapin's Farm.

On the 4th of November Surgeon Carpenter resigned, and on the 15th the vacancy was filled by the promotion of Assistant Surgeon Vincent, who had been for a time in charge of four wards of the Chesapeake General Hospital, filled with wounded men from the armies of the Potomac and of the James and with wounded Confederate officers; and he now rejoined the regiment.

The men of the Ninth built log huts and settled down for the winter; and the quiet in that quarter was only varied by occasional collisions with the enemy's pickets; by the shotted salutes with which the Union batteries welcomed the news of Sheridan's victories in the valley, and by occasional spells of heavy shelling from the enemy's guns.

On the 4th of December the Tenth and Eighteenth Corps were broken up and the troops re-arranged into the Twenty-fourth Corps, of white regiments, and the Twenty-fifth, of colored troops. In this reorganization Colonel Ripley returned to the command of the Ninth Vermont, which now became a part of the Second (Potter's) brigade of the Third (Devens's) division of the Twenty-fourth Corps. A few recruits had been received in October and the regiment was one of the largest infantry regiments in the army, turning out over 600 muskets. The other regiments of the brigade were the Tenth and Twelfth New Hampshire, the Ninety-sixth New York and the Fifth Maryland. On the 10th and 11th of December, a demonstration in force by

Longstreet against the right of the Union lines called out all the troops north of the James. The Ninth at this time lay in line of battle for part of two days, in mud whitened with snow, and from this time on the regiment was required to fall in at 4 o'clock every morning, and stand to arms till daylight.

Various changes of officers in the line took place during the closing months of the year. Adjutant Livingston was promoted to the captaincy of company G, and was succeeded as adjutant by Sergeant Major Belden, Sergeant John Thomas of company F becoming sergeant major; Quartermaster Francis O. Sawyer was promoted to be Captain and A. Q. M. and Commissary Sergeant Franklin E. Rice was appointed quartermaster; Lieutenant Leavenworth of company K was promoted to be captain; Second Lieutenant Cleveland was appointed first lieutenant of company A, vice Lieutenant Jewett, resigned; Lieutenant Dodge, in whose case gangrene had supervened in his wound received at Fair Oaks, was honorably discharged on account of his injuries; Lieutenant James F Bolton, who had never recovered from his wound received at Newport Barracks, was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, and Lieutenant Herbert H. Moore was promoted in his place; Second Lieutenant Joel C. Baker was promoted first lieutenant of company K; Sergeant J. S. Halbert was appointed second lieutenant of company A; Sergeant A. W Hathaway, second lieutenant of company B; Sergeant George W Sneden, second lieutenant of company C; Sergeant R. F Parker, second lieutenant of company E; Sergeant C. F. Branch, second lieutenant of company H; and Sergeant S. C. Burlingame, second lieutenant of company K. Captain Leavenworth was detailed as assistant adjutant general of the brigade, Captain Kelley as assistant inspector general, Captain Viele as ordnance officer of the third division of the Twenty-fifth Corps, and Lieutenant Peck as aid on the staff of the brigade commander.

The morning report, on the coming in of the New Year, showed an aggregate for the Ninth of 1,136, with 743 men for duty and a sick list of 383.

The remainder of the winter passed for the most part in the usual routine in the trenches and in winter quarters. On the 24th of January the Confederate gunboats at Richmond came down the river, in an attempt to reach City Point and destroy the immense quantities of army stores there collected. They were driven back by the Union batteries, with the loss of the Confederate ram Drury, which was sunk. Some threatening demonstrations on the part of the enemy's infantry accompanied this effort, and the Ninth Vermont was called into line, with the other troops of the corps, in anticipation of an attack; but the affair ended with the retreat of the gunboats.

During these winter months battalion drills were systematically resumed. Colonel Ripley's ambition to have the Ninth second to no regiment in the army in drill, discipline and appearance, was shared by the officers and men, and they entered with enthusiasm into the preparations for the competitive inspections which had been instituted by the corps commander. On the 20th of February the regiment passed a rigid inspection, in competition with the other regiments of the brigade; was pronounced "the best in order" by General Potter; and by general order from division headquarters was excused from picket duty and outside details for a week. The 100-gun salute with which the news of Sherman's occupation of Charleston and Columbia, S. C., was greeted, on the day when this order was promulgated, was appropriated in part by the Vermonters as a celebration of their bloodless victory.

A similar inspection took place March 6th, with a similar result, and again the Ninth was excused from picket duty, as the best regiment in the brigade.

On the 10th of March the regiments which had been

pronounced the best in the respective brigade inspections, competed in an inspection by General Devens; and by a third general order it was declared that "after a careful inspection the Ninth Vermont Volunteers is found to be the best regiment in the division," and it was accordingly excused from picket duty and details for an additional week. In this inspection the regiment competed with other crack regiments which had drawn new clothing for the occasion, while they had only their old clothes; but the superiority of the Ninth in appearance and drill was undeniable. The regiment declined to accept this third release from picket duty, and on the 15th an order issued by General Devens, was read on dress parade, in front of each regiment in the division, reciting the facts and commending the soldierly spirit evinced by the Ninth Vermont.[1]

This action of the regiment was the voluntary proposal of the men, and not of their officers, and it was allowed on all hands that the Vermonters could not be outdone in courtesy any more than in efficiency and in appearance.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD DIVISION,
24th A. C., February 20th, 1865.

[1] Special Order No. 35.

EXTRACT.

III. The following named regiments having been inspected in accordance with General Order No. 11, Headquarters Twenty-fourth Army Corps, dated January 17th, 1865, and pronounced the best in order, by the brigade commanders of their respective brigades, are, under the provisions of the above mentioned order, excused from all picket and other outside details for one week.

* * * * *

Ninth Vermont Volunteers.

By order of COL. E. M. CULLEN,
(Signed) GEO. W. HOOKER,
Captain and A. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD DIVISION,
24th Army Corps, March 6th, 1865.

Special Order, No. 42.

EXTRACT.

II. The following named regiments having been inspected in accordance with General Order No. 11, Headquarters Twenty-fourth Army Corps, dated January 17th, 1865, and pronounced the best in order by the

As the Third division was at this time declared by the Inspector General of the corps to be in "an excellent state of discipline, thoroughly equipped in every respect and as completely fitted for the field as a command can well be," to be pronounced the best regiment in the division was no slight honor.[1]

March 17th, the regiment took part in a review and inspection of the Twenty-fourth Corps by General Grant and Secretary Stanton. On the 26th, President Lincoln reviewed the corps. On the 22d General Ripley was assigned to the command of the First brigade of the Third division of the Twenty-fourth Corps,—a fine brigade of six regiments—and took farewell of the Ninth as its immediate commander, though never losing sight of it or interest in its welfare. On the 11th of March, Lieutenant T. S. Peck was promoted to be Captain and A. Q. M of Volunteers, and assigned to duty on the staff of General Ripley.

brigade commanders of their respective brigades, are, under the provisions of the above mentioned Order, excused from all picket and other outside details for one week.

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Second Brigade, Ninth Reg't. Vt. Vols.

By order of BRIG. GENERAL DEVENS,
(Signed) GEO. W HOOKER,
Captain and A. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD DIVISION,
24th Army Corps, March 10th, 1865.

Special Order. No. 45.

I. In accordance with General Order, No. 11, dated Headquarters Twenty-fourth Army Corps, January 17th, 1865, the regiments selected by brigade commanders as the best in their respective commands, were inspected at these headquarters, and after a careful inspection the Ninth Vermont Volunteers was found to be the best regiment in this division. It is therefore by the provisions of the above mentioned order, excused from all picket and outside details for one additional week.

By order of BRIG. GENERAL DEVENS,
(Signed) GEO. W. HOOKER,
Captain and A. A. G.

[1] In a competitive examination of picked soldiers of the different regiments of the Second brigade, a Vermonter took the palm, and a special order from the brigade headquarters, dated March 15th, directed that Corporal Richard D. Wheeler, Co. H, 9th Vt. Vols., be excused from picket and outside duty for two weeks, "he having been pronounced the best soldier in the brigade."

The last week in March was a period of intense expectation of some decisive movement. Grant's operations against Lee's right, culminating in the battle of Five Forks, were in preparation and progress, and at this time Lee made the for him disastrous assault upon Fort Steadman. The swells and ripples from these commotions extended all along the lines, north as well as south of the James. The men were kept in constant readiness for action, with tents struck, rations ready, and arms stacked. Some minor movements of the brigade, one toward Deep Bottom and another to the right for a mile, took place on successive days, the regiment returning from each to its former position. General Ord, with two divisions of his corps, was moved to the Petersburg front to take part in the final assault, leaving Devens's division and two divisions of colored troops, all under command of General Weitzel, commanding the Twenty-fifth Corps. After this change, Devens s division had to guard the front previously held by the entire Twenty-fourth Corps, and the Ninth did the duty of a brigade.

During the long day of Sunday, April 2d, when Wright and Ord and Humphreys and Parke were forcing the lines of Petersburg, the men north of the James stood listening to the rapid artillery firing, sounding like incessant thunder, from the left, and seeing the clouds of white powder-smoke roll up from the south of Petersburg. It was plain to all that tremendous and probably decisive fighting was in progress; but how the fight was going, none knew. It was a day of deep suspense, and all stood in expectation of immediate orders to go into battle. The sounds drew nearer during the afternoon, and at nightfall the flashes of the guns in the bombardment in front of Petersburg, with which Grant celebrated the success of the day, were distinctly visible. Then came the news that Grant had broken through the defences of Petersburg, followed by the expected order to make

ready to assault the defences of Richmond at daylight next morning.

ENTRY INTO RICHMOND.

That night the picket line between the Varina and New Market roads, at the point of the Union lines nearest to Richmond, was held by a detail of 120 men of the Ninth Vermont and 50 of the Twelfth New Hampshire, under command of Captain A. E. Leavenworth, of company K, who had just returned to his company after a long absence on staff duty. With him were Lieutenants Joel C. Baker, company B, and Burnham Cowdry, company G. There was no sleeping on picket that night; every man was intent and watchful, though none expected that Richmond would be relinquished without a last desperate struggle.

But Jefferson Davis and his cabinet were already on their way to Danville, and the Confederate troops in front were noiselessly withdrawing from the works, to follow the sullen and silent column of the garrison of Richmond which was pouring out of its opposite portals. About two o'clock in the morning the unusual stillness of the enemy, which had begun to be noticed, was broken by the sound of heavy explosions, unlike those of cannon, from the direction of the river, where the blowing up of the rebel gunboats had commenced; and soon after the light of the burning tobacco ware-houses, with which the conflagration of the city began, shining dimly through the fog, lit the sky above the city. Before daylight, a deserter came in, and informed Captain Leavenworth that the Confederate troops were abandoning their works. He was at once sent to General Devens, who returned an order to move the whole line forward at daybreak. Sooner than that it was not deemed wise to advance, as the approaches to the Confederate works were known to be planted with torpedoes. The morning was foggy and daylight came slowly; but, as soon as the fog lifted, the picket

line started forward, along the New Market road, led by Major Brooks of the Ninth, inspector general on General Devens's staff, and Captain Bruce of the Thirteenth New Hampshire, provost marshal. The nearest line of works was soon reached and passed, with the loss of but one man killed by a torpedo—the spots beneath which the torpedoes lay having been indicated by the Confederates, for the protection of their own men, by small stakes bearing red rags—and the detachment advanced some two miles further, when it halted in consequence of information received from some women who were met upon the road, that the Confederate rear-guard was only a little way in front. Colonel Bamberger, of the Fifth Maryland, the division field-officer of the day, here joined Captain Leavenworth, and under his orders the latter deployed his men as skirmishers, extending to the left across the Osborn turnpike, and again advanced. Near the junction of the turnpike and the New Market road, the skirmishers halted for a few moments to rest, when General Draper, commanding a brigade of colored troops, which had been holding the line to the left of Devens's division, accompanied by his staff and about sixty of his men, came up, inquired if the road in front was clear, and pushed on by the turnpike. The Vermonters had just begun a hurried lunch, but they did not intend to be beaten in the race for Richmond by any other infantry, white or black; and they were not. At Leavenworth's order, they promptly rallied, and started forward on a run. They were weary with twenty-four hour's duty on picket; had had no breakfast, and were loaded with forty rounds of ammunition and three day's rations, while the darkies had only their muskets; but, led by Leavenworth, coatless and bare-headed, they overtook, lapped, and passed their colored comrades, in spite of the utmost efforts of the latter. At Battery Two of the inner line of Confederate redoubts, they overtook General Draper, who was waiting for his men to come up. He ordered the Ver-

monters to halt, and threatened to court-martial their officers if they did not obey; but they had started for Richmond, and declining to recognize his authority, they pushed on. Soon General Weitzel, with Majors Stevens and Graves and Captain Hooker of his staff and a squadron of cavalry, rode up at a gallop and passed on, amid the cheers of the men, who followed with fresh speed.

As the skirmishers entered the city, a small national flag, which had been kept concealed by loyal hands for years in waiting for this hour, was thrust out of a window and waved in welcome to the Army of the Union. It was snatched by Captain Leavenworth, and held aloft. The effect was electrical. Each breathless and limping veteran became a leaping and shouting hero; and so, with the stars and stripes borne in front of them in triumph, cheered by the loyal blacks, who thronged around the flag-bearer and kissed the National emblem, and cheering as became the first Union infantry to bear the national colors into the capital of the Confederacy, the Vermonters passed on to Church Hill. Here they halted to await the coming of General Devens.

General Devens has thus described the scene as he drew bridle on the hill: "Richmond lay before us. The heavy fog of the river, mingled with the dense clouds of smoke, hung over it like a pall, and relieved against the vapors came up the lurid flames from the burning arsenals and ware-houses which had been set on fire by some unaccountable madness of the rebel commander as he retreated from the three blazing bridges which had spanned the noble James, and from the gunboats, once a formidable fleet on the river. Every moment the earth seemed to vibrate with the explosions of the magazines of the gunboats and the arsenals with which the city had been filled. It was a sight of terrible magnificence, and might well fill the heart of every Union soldier with enthusiasm. We knew that our work was done, fully and completely done, and that it was the Confederacy

that was passing away in the fervent heats on which we gazed." The Vermonters drew up in line, and saluted General Devens as he arrived; were complimented by him upon being the first troops of the line to enter the city; and were directed by him to accompany their comrades, soon to be on the spot, and assist in the task of putting out the fires and restoring order. The column of the division was soon formed, and proceeded in the following order: General Devens and staff; Captain Leavenworth's detachment, leading the skirmish details of the Tenth and Twelfth New Hampshire, Tenth Connecticut, Fifth Maryland and Ninety-sixth and One Hundred and Eighteenth New York; the First brigade, General Ripley; the Second brigade, Colonel Donahue; the Third brigade, Colonel Roberts; and the light artillery.[1]

General Ripley has graphically described, for these pages, the entry into the city, as follows:

At last, at about 7:30 or 8 o'clock in the morning we approached Rocketts, the steamboat landing at the lower extremity of the city, where the rebel iron-clads had been lying. There I received orders to deploy a strong line of guards across from the river up the ravine of Shocko Creek, with orders to permit no one to pass it but to turn everyone back to join his command at once and get ready to make a formal entry of the city. I was also ordered to dress up my own command and put all my regimental bands at the head of my column. I happened to have three of these, an unusual number.

While this was going on an iron-clad which was yet lying in the stream abreast of us, the last of all the river fleet, blew up with a terrific concussion, nearly knocking us off our feet and overwhelming us with a tempest of black smoke, cinders and debris. I do not remember that any one was injured, though part of it went over our heads into the field beyond.

[1] Brevet Brigadier General E. H. Ripley has command of the forces in this city. His brigade was the first that entered the city. Lieutenant C. B. Gaffney, aid to General Ripley, was met at the City Hall by the Mayor, who, we are informed, turned over the building and contents in his usual affable manner.—Richmond *Whig*, April 5, 1865.

The roar of the exploding arsenals, magazines and warehouses filled with the explosives of the Ordnance Bureau was deafening and awe-inspiring. At this moment Colonel George W Hooker, assistant adjutant general of the third division, rode up to me and said: "You are in luck to-day, general. General Weitzel has given orders that you are to have the head of the column in the triumphal entry which we are about ready to make into the city" I was of course elated at this, for it might have been possible that General Weitzel would have chosen to give to the colored troops of his own corps the place of honor for the pageant, as Horace Greely in his "History of the Great Conflict," erroneously avers that he did. But that would have been a great injustice to General Devens and to me; for my brigade of that division was the first on the main line; the first over the second line, and the first at Rocketts; and Devens's was the only division which kept its formation perfect and could have attacked Ewell had he come to bay. My brigade was at that moment at the head of the column, because we had taken it and kept it. No one got ahead of us but the little group of cavalry from Weitzel's headquarters, which had overtaken and passed us, but which did not pass the enemy's lines until after my message had reached General Devens and been forwarded to Weitzel.[1] It had happened that my own regiment, the Ninth Vermont, furnished a very heavy detail for picket on Sunday night, under the command of Captain Abel E. Leavenworth of company K, one of its most alert, energetic and capable officers, and they went forward with my line of skirmishers. So that though the Ninth Vermont Volunteers was not in my own brigade, I had the extreme gratification of having them alone, of the regiments of Donahue's brigade, share in an equal degree the pride and glory of being first over the works and into Richmond.

At length every preparation was completed that could be hastily made to give the entry of the Union troops an imposing character. No time could be taken for this, as we seemed about to enter a sea of fire or rather the crater of an active volcano, and if any portion of the doomed capital was to be saved it had to be done quickly. I have never known what hour it was, that with my three bands at the head of my column and taking my place behind them, I turned in my saddle and cried "forward!" to the eager troops. The

[1] This was a message sent to General Devens at daybreak by General Ripley, that he (Ripley) was already pushing over the enemy's works, and asking him to hurry up supports.

bands had arranged a succession of Union airs which had not been heard for many days in the streets of the Confederate capital, and had arranged to relieve each other so that there should be no break in the exultant strain of patriotic music during any portion of the march. The route was up Broad street to the Exchange Hotel, then across to Main street and up Main to Capitol Square. The city was packed with a surging mob of Confederate stragglers and negroes, and mob rule had been supreme from the moment Ewell crossed the James and burned the long bridge behind him. The air was darkened by the thick tempest of black smoke and cinders which swept through the streets, and as we penetrated deeper into the city the bands were almost drowned by the crashing of buildings, the roar of the flames and the terrific explosions of shells in the burning warehouses. Densely packed on either side of the street were thousands upon thousands of blacks, till that moment slaves, down upon their knees, throwing their hands wildly in the air, while floods of tears poured down their wild faces, and shouting "Glory to God! Glory to God! the day of Jubilee hab come! Massa Linkum am here! Massa Linkum am here!" They threw themselves on their faces almost under our horses' feet to pray and give thanks in the wild delirium of their sudden deliverance. Although the stores had been gutted and were open, the houses were closed, and when we reached the better resident portion of the town the blinds were all tightly shut and none of the better classes of the whites were to be seen, though we saw occasionally an eye peering through the blinds. At the gate of the square, opposite to the east entrance of the Confederate capitol, an aid of General Weitzel was waiting with orders to me to halt the head of the column there, and then to report to General Weitzel at the eastern porch. After giving the order "to rest in place," I passed through the gate into the park, followed by my staff and cavalry escort, and made my way to the east front. I found the lawn and shrubbery crowded with the headquarters cavalry of the corps and division commanders. Upon the broad landing at the head of the steps, were General Weitzel and staff and General Devens and staff, and grouped around, making an imposing dramatic scene in this closing act of the rebellion, were the division commanders of the Twenty-fifth Corps of colored troops, together with the Hon. Joseph Mayo, the mayor of the city, and the other city officials. These gentlemen had driven out in a barouche to a point where they met the head of the column and ten-

dered with great effect the keys of the fallen city and begged the clemency of the Northern victors.

I dismounted at the bottom and ascended to General Weitzel, who stood the central figure of the brilliant group. I stopped two steps down and saluted him, when he said: "I have sent for you, General Ripley, to inform you that I have selected you to take command in this city, and your brigade as its garrison. I have no orders further to communicate except to say that I want this conflagration stopped and the city saved if it is in the bounds of human possibility, and you have carte blanche to do it in your own way." I do not remember exchanging any suggestions with him then, except to say that I wanted the other troops, especially the colored troops, withdrawn wholly from the city. He thereupon gave orders to the division commanders to march their troops through the city and go into camp along the interior line of works and give no passes into the city. This was done, yet I had more or less trouble from the depredations and disorder of the colored troops, many of whom went directly to their old masters and mistresses to enjoy a triumph over them. It was reported to me that one went into a residence not far from my headquarters down Main street, where his wife was still a servant. They made the lady and her daughters bring out their finest clothing and ornaments, play lady's maids to the black woman, and prepare dinner for their former servants. While it was going on, and the ladies were waiting on the table, word was got to a white safe-guard in the neighborhood, who appeared on the scene to arrest the man. He turned savagely on the guard, who in his turn was obliged in self-defense to use his bayonet on him and ran him through. I never knew how true this report was, in the hurry and confusion of that first week.

Leaving General Weitzel, I returned to my brigade; hurriedly selected the City Hall, opposite the Capitol buildings, for my headquarters; and dispatched regimental commanders, under the guidance of the city officials, to select in the various quarters of the city proper points at which to establish their regiments for effective work. I dispatched other officers with members of the city fire department to get out the engines and hose-carts, but found to our utter astonishment and dismay that, to make the destruction of their Capitol more certain and complete, the Confederate rear-guard had cut the hose in pieces and disabled the engines. The wanton destruction of Columbia by the troops of Sherman's army, even if true—and it is not true—cannot be compared with

the ruthless barbarity of the rebel troops. At Richmond they attempted the destruction of their capital, filled as it was to overflowing with thousands of defenceless women and children congregated from all over the South, and with thousands more of the sick and wounded of their own army, when its destruction could not have the effect to sustain the sinking Confederacy one instant. The burning of Moscow by the stern Rostoptchin, was terrible but effective warfare; yet he first drove the unfortunate inhabitants out. He destroyed a city, but in so doing snatched in an instant away the fruits of Napoleon's great campaign and inflicted on him the greatest defeat which he had ever sustained, which was the beginning of his downward plunge to Elba. There is nothing in the pages of history more wantonly brutal and barbarous than the desperate attempt of Ewell to burn the City of Richmond over the heads of its defenceless and starving women and children, its sick and wounded, without warning them of the fate which was hanging over them. The Confederacy, like a wounded wolf, died gnawing its own body in insensate passion and fury.

The troops quickly marched to their assigned places, and I opened my headquarters in the City Hall, and posted a placard throughout the city commanding all good citizens to assist the military authorities in restoring order by retiring to their houses, keeping closely within doors, and threatening with arrest any citizen who should be found on the streets after nightfall. I ordered the daily papers to be taken possession of, and directed the patrols to arrest the drunken mob of pillagers who were running riot, and to bring the pillaged property to the City Hall, where it was taken by an officer, receipted for, and piled away in the various back rooms of the building, until an immense mass of property was accumulated. My office was at once besieged and taken possession of by crowds of terror-stricken ladies, whose minds, filled with the wicked and outrageous calumnies heaped upon the Northern troops by the Richmond papers, expected that the rapine initiated by their own people was but the prelude to the reign of terror which the "Yankee monsters" would inaugurate when settled in possession of the city. Old ladies came and threw themselves on my neck in paroxysms of terror, and implored me to save them; others clung to my arms until I would promise them I would guarantee their safety. One lady, in great excitement, came up to me, and said: "I am the daughter of General ——, of Pennsylvania, and I appeal for protection as a Northern woman." I looked up

at her and said quietly: "You are then the aunt of Harry ——, of ——?" Her joy at finding that her nephew and I were old college friends was inexpressible. I gave her, at random, the first private soldier I could put my hands on, as a safeguard, and sent him home with her, to be responsible for the safety of the block in which she lived. Another lady, dressed in the deepest weeds, shivering like an aspen-leaf, her face concealed by a crape veil, came almost tottering with terror to my side, and whispered in my ear: "I am the widow of General ——," (a rebel general killed at Petersburg but a few days before), "and I appeal to you, as a soldier's widow to a brother soldier, to protect me and my fatherless children." She then told me she had a large family of small children, and that they had had nothing but bran soup for several weeks, and that to cook it they had burned up their bannister rail and other portions of their house. I sent a safe-guard with her, and promised to send a staff officer to her at the first practicable moment to see what we could do to relieve her pressing wants, and found it was as she had represented it—a case of great destitution—but only one of many cases among the delicately-nurtured ladies of Richmond. I sent her a store of provisions from our brigade headquarters mess, and maintained her until she got help from friends in the North, to whom she finally went. I could enumerate such touching and pathetic episodes by the score, were it necessary to further illustrate the exciting and dramatic experiences of that memorable day. I issued to these crowds of ladies written safe-guards, the violation of which every soldier knew was death, and organized a system for the domiciling of soldiers with the inhabitants, taking the guards almost indiscriminately from the various regimental rosters for duty. In every case the citizens were amazed at them; at their intelligence, their courteous manners, their high character as men, their rigid sense of discipline; and could hardly be made to believe that they were samples of the private soldiers of the Army of the Union—the so-called "scum of the North."

Officers were quickly sent to Libby prison to liberate the Union prisoners there, and the place was used to confine the Confederate stragglers, who were captured to the number of over 7,000. It was so crowded that when on the next morning I first had time to ride by, on an inspection of the city, they had boiled up through the roof and were sitting crowded all over it.

The various regiments at the places assigned to them

worked with desperate courage and energy all day long at battling with the flames. When night-fall came, the fires were checked and held under control and the city was saved. The horrible roar of the flames still went on, with the crashing of falling walls and the detonations of the ordnance stores; but the fire was stopped in its tracks and the troops rested. Had it been for their own homes the exertions of the men of the First brigade could not have been more heroic than they were to save the captured capital of their enemy.

It was after midnight when I got sufficient respite from the exertions of the day to get into my saddle and make an inspection of my command. Accompanied by my staff, I rode through the sleeping city from one end to the other. Not a human being was encountered of all the destroying mob who had filled it to overflowing in the morning. On every alternate corner stood the motionless form of a sentry. Not a ray of light from a house gave hint of life within. The only exception was at a corner grocery, where light was detected through a crack in the shutters. The sharp rap of an aid's sabre on the door brought out a panic-stricken German grocer, who had been too frightened to go to bed and who was sitting up with the few worldly goods he had left. For hours we passed up and down the streets which echoed to the clatter of our horses' hoofs and the jingle of our sabres, astonished at the discipline that had been established in so few hours. It was near morning when we gave ourselves up to rest, in the house we had selected for headquarters, and enjoyed the novel and delicious intoxication of rest in beds with mattresses and fresh linen. So ended the first day of the occupation of the Confederate capital.

To this vivid narrative nothing need be added. By formal proclamation, issued next day, General Ripley was designated to command the troops in the city, and so performed the duties of his responsible position as at once to maintain perfect order in the city and secure the respect of the citizens.[1]

[1] HEADQUARTERS U. S. FORCES,
RICHMOND, VA., April 5th, 1865.

By command of Major General Godfrey Weitzel, the following rules, regulations and orders are established for the government of the city of Richmond and the preservation of public peace and order:

* * * * * * * * *

IV Brevet Brigadier General Edward H. Ripley, U. S. Volunteers, is hereby placed in command of all the troops doing provost or guard duty

The Ninth was temporarily quartered in Battery C, on the Mechanicsville turnpike, in the eastern limits of the city, where it remained till the 14th. While there a company was sent out to Fair Oaks to bring in a straggling party of Confederate soldiers. On the 14th the troops were ordered into camps outside of the city and the Ninth moved across the river and went into camp at Manchester. Here it was occupied in guard duty on the Richmond and Danville railroad. A detail of 100 men under Lieutenants Haskell, Brownell and Branch, was stationed at the Midlothian coal mines, thirteen miles distant, where a large amount of property was to be protected and the negro miners kept in order. The detachment remained there till the 5th of June.

On the 13th of June the original members of the regiment and recruits whose term of service would expire previous to October 1st, were mustered out of the service, to the number of 633, and all who were well enough to travel started next day for Vermont.

The officers so mustered out were Colonel E. H. Ripley, Lieut. Colonel V G. Barney, Major J. C. Brooks, Adjutant G. W Gould, Quartermaster F E. Rice, Surgeon W S. Vincent, Assistant Surgeon E. P Fairman, Chaplain L. C. Dickinson,[1] Captains L. E. Sherman, S. H. Kelley, A. Clark, E. L. Kelley, J. O. Livingston, J. T. Gorham, E. Viele, A. E. Leavenworth; First Lieutenants E. F Cleveland, C. W. Haskell, W C. Holman, George N. Carpenter and R. F. Parker; Second Lieutenants J S. Halbert, L. Smith, J. W Roberts, J. W Stebbins and S. C. Burlingame; and Sergeant Major S. J. Church.

in the city of Richmond. All details of provost and other guards and orderlies will be made by him.

District provost marshals hereinafter designated will report to him.

VI. All officers of the fire department will report immediately to Brevet Brigadier General Ripley, who will give the necessary orders to perfect the organization, and render it efficient.

G. F. SHEPLEY,
Brigadier General U. S. Vols.
Military Governor of Richmond.

[1] Chaplain Dickinson was the only chaplain of a three years Vermont regiment who remained with his regiment throughout its term of service.

The regiment arrived at Burlington shortly after midnight in the morning of the 19th of June. It was greeted with a national salute was welcomed home in fitting terms by Hon. L. B. Englesby, and an ample collation was served in the City Hall by the ladies of Burlington. After doing justice to this and acknowledging their reception in the customary way, the men marched to their quarters on the Hospital grounds. On the 20th the regiment, Major Brooks commanding in the absence of Lieut. Colonel Barney who was ill, was reviewed by Governor Smith, who was accompanied by Brevet Major General Stannard, who had a warm greeting from his old command, and by Major William Austine, U. S. A., Adjutant General Washburn, Q. M. General Pitkin and Surgeon General Thayer. Next day the men were paid off and dispersed to their homes.

The portions of companies remaining at Richmond were consolidated into a battalion of four companies, numbering 408 officers and men, under command of Captain Seligson, who was soon promoted to be lieutenant colonel. The line officers were Captains P Hobon, E. L. Brownell, C. F. Branch and B. Cowdry, the latter being commissioned as captain several weeks later, and Lieutenants E. W Bird, John Gray, J. W Thomas, J E. McGinnis, E. B. Palmer, G. N. Briggs, H. K. Bacon and G. C. Chamberlin.

The battalion was engaged in provost duty at General Gibbons's headquarters in Richmond, until August 4th, when it was sent to Norfolk to guard government stores. Thence it was taken by steamer up Chesapeake bay to a point on its eastern shore, in Accomac county, where it landed and marched nine miles to Drummondtown. Here it occupied some barracks erected for Confederate troops in 1862, and had little to do except to guard a jail and telegraph office. During their stay here Captains Hobon and Branch arrested, in that vicinity, Robert Winder, who had been quartermaster under Wirz, the infamous commander

of Andersonville prison, whose trial was then in progress, and sent him to Fortress Monroe. In the last week in August the battalion was stationed at Portsmouth, Va., in a confiscated hotel. Lieut. Colonel Seligson at this time was on detached service, Captain Hobon had charge of the military prison in Norfolk, Captain Brownell was provost marshal at Suffolk, and Captain Branch had command of the battalion. The duty was light and the quarters comfortable, and the summer and autumn passed pleasantly. On the 10th of November Lieutenant J. E. McGinnis of company C, died of disease. November 25th brought an order from General Terry, commanding the district, for the final muster out. This took place at Portsmouth, on the 1st of December. Next day the battalion, comprising 265 officers and men, embarked for Baltimore, and proceeding thence arrived at Burlington at noon of December 6th. It was the last body of veterans to return to Vermont, with the exception of the Seventh regiment, which was still on duty in Texas. The officers so returning were Captains Hobon, Branch, Brownell and Cowdry; First Lieutenants Chamberlain, Thomas, Bird and Bacon, and Second Lieutenants Palmer, Briggs, J. H. Vancor and O. W Newell. The battalion was met and escorted to the City Hall by a committee of citizens, was received by Mayor Catlin, and welcomed in an address by G. G. Benedict, Esq. As usual a bountiful collation had been provided, and was served, by the ladies of Burlington. The men were paid off the same day by Paymaster Halsey, and dispersed to their homes.

THE BATTLES OF THE NINTH VERMONT.

Harper's Ferry,	Sept. 13 and 15, 1862.
Newport Barracks,	Feb. 2, 1864.
Chapin's Farm,	Sept. 29, 1864.
Fair Oaks,	Oct. 27, 1864.
Fall of Richmond,	April 3, 1865.

The final statement of the regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 34; enlisted men, 881; total..... 915

GAINS.

Recruits, 950; transfers from other regiments, 6; total..... 956

Aggregate..... 1871

LOSSES.

Killed in action—enlisted men..... 12
Died of wounds—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 10; total..... 12
Died of disease—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 229; total..... 232
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 36; from accident, 8; total 44

Total of deaths..... 300
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 32; for wounds and disability, 2; —enlisted men, for wounds, 11; for disability, 221 total..... 266
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 10 total.... 11

Total discharged..... 277
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—officers, 3; enlisted men, 8; total..... 11
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, signal service, regular army, etc..... 178
Deserted, 126; unaccounted for, 1; total..... 127
Mustered out—com. officers, 43; enlisted men, 935; total..... 978

Aggregate..... 1871
Total wounded..... 60

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TENTH REGIMENT.

Organization—Departure for the Field—In the Defences of Washington—Join the Third Corps—Campaign of 1863—Mine River Campaign and Battle of Orange Grove—Winter Quarters at Brandy Station—Joins Sixth Corps—Overland Campaign of 1864—Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor—Petersburg—Weldon Railroad—Early's Raid and Battle of the Monocacy—In the Shenandoah Valley—Battles of Opequon, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek—Petersburg, March 25, 1865—Fall of Petersburg—Pursuit of Lee—Sailor's Creek—March to Danville, Va.—Back to Washington—Return Home—Muster Out and Final Statement.

Calls for more troops were urgent from Washington in June, 1862. Governor Holbrook notified the Secretary of War that the Ninth Vermont regiment was almost ready to march; and that he could probably send on another in fifty days if imperatively needed, though it would be "considerably above Vermont's quota of any call yet made." Secretary Stanton replied: 'Organize your Tenth regiment. It is needed by the Government." Before the work of recruiting it had begun, President Lincoln's call of July 1st, 1862, for 300,000 more volunteers, had been issued. The resources of the State had already been severely taxed; but the emergency caused by the seven days' retreat from Richmond appealed strongly to the patriotism of a people who rallied more resolutely in the dark days of the great contest than in the bright ones. Governor Holbrook issued a stirring proclamation. "Let no young man capable of bearing arms in defence of his country," he said, "linger at this important period. Let the President feel the strengthening influence of our prompt and hearty response to his call. Let Vermont be one of the first States to respond with her quota."

Recruiting began at once and in earnest for both the Tenth and Eleventh regiments, which were raised simultaneously. War meetings were held all over the State; personal influence was brought to bear; large bounties were offered by individuals;[1] and the recruiting officers were stimulated by a special premium of two dollars, paid by the Government to the recruiting officer, for every accepted recruit.

Recruiting officers for the Tenth regiment were appointed as follows: George P Baldwin, Bradford; Reed Bascom, Burlington; Edwin Dillingham, Waterbury; John A. Sheldon, Rutland; Hiram Platt, Swanton; Charles G. Chandler, St. Albans: Hiram R. Steele, Derby Line; Gardner I. Howe, Ludlow. Recruiting progressed with unexampled rapidity; on the 15th of August the Tenth regiment was in camp at Brattleboro, and on the 1st of September it was mustered into the service of the United States, with 1,016 officers and men.

The following companies composed the regiment: Company A, St. Johnsbury, Captain Edwin B. Frost, organized July 11th; company B, Waterbury, Captain Edwin Dillingham, organized August 4th; company C, Rutland, Captain John A. Sheldon, organized August 5th; company D, Burlington, Captain Giles F Appleton, organized August 5th; company E, Bennington, Captain Madison E. Winslow, organized August 7th; company F, Swanton, Captain Hiram Platt, organized August 6th; company G, Bradford, Captain George B. Damon, organized August 12th; company H, Ludlow, Captain Lucius T. Hunt, organized August 8th; company I, St. Albans, Captain Charles G. Chandler, organized August 11th; company K, Derby Line, Captain Hiram R. Steele, organized August 12th.

[1] At a war meeting held in Montpelier, James R. Langdon, Esq., offered a bounty of ten dollars to each of twenty-five men; and Hon. C. W. Willard, J. A. Page, R. Richardson, S. M. Walton and J. G. French offered to make up the bounty to fifty dollars for each recruit. Other similar offers were made in other towns.

The field and staff officers were selected in August, and were as follows:

Colonel—A. B. Jewett, Swanton.
Lieut. Colonel—John H. Edson, Montpelier.
Major—William W. Henry, Waterbury.
Adjutant—Wyllys Lyman, Jr., Burlington.
Quartermaster—A. B. Valentine, Bennington.
Surgeon—Willard A. Child, Pittsford.
Assistant Surgeons—J. C. Rutherford, Derby Line; Almon Clark, Barre.
Chaplain—E. M. Haynes, Wallingford.

The colonelcy of the regiment was offered to Lieut. Colonel W Y. W Ripley, of Rutland, late of the First regiment of Sharpshooters, but he was unable to accept it, in consequence of a severe wound received at Malvern Hill, and Lieutenant Colonel Jewett was appointed colonel.

Almost all of the field and staff had seen service. Colonel Alfred B. Jewett was a native of Swanton, of which town his ancestors were among the pioneers. When the war began he was a merchant, in a modest and prosperous business, in partnership with E. L. Barney, afterwards colonel of the Sixth Vermont. He dropped his business at the first call for volunteers, and went out as first lieutenant of company A of the First regiment; and was a prompt, vigorous and capable line officer. He was the first selection for lieutenant colonel of the Tenth. His commission as colonel bore date of August 26th, 1862. He was in the prime of life, being 33 years old. He showed decided executive ability, proved himself a good disciplinarian, soon had his regiment in soldierly shape was careful of his men and popular as a colonel.

Lieut. Colonel Edson was appointed on the strength of his having been for a time a member of the U. S. military academy. He, however, was with the regiment only four or five weeks.

Major W W Henry, soon to be lieutenant colonel, had had several months' service in the field, as lieutenant of com-

pany D of the Second regiment, and since leaving that regiment on account of ill health, had been engaged in drilling recruits and assisting recruiting in the State.

Adjutant Lyman was the only son of the late Wyllys Lyman, a prominent citizen of Burlington, and had military tastes and capacity which amply justified his appointment.

Quartermaster A. B. Valentine was without previous experience, but possessed genuine business capacity as well as high patriotism, and proved to be an energetic and capable officer.

Surgeon Child was the assistant surgeon of the First regiment during its term of service; and then assistant surgeon of the Fourth, which position he left to accept the surgeoncy of the Tenth. He added to native capacity, high professional skill and experience.

First Assistant Surgeon Rutherford was a man of 44 years, a physician of established reputation and extensive practice in Newport.

Second Assistant Surgeon Almon Clark was barely of age, and had just entered his profession, in which he showed skill, industry and fidelity.

Chaplain Haynes was a young Baptist clergyman of earnest spirit and high Christian character, who after long and faithful service as chaplain rendered additional service to the Tenth as its regimental historian. The line contained many experienced soldiers, and in all respects the material of the regiment was of superior quality.

The camp at Brattleboro, named "Camp Washburn" in honor of the adjutant general of the State, was upon the plateau, a mile and a half south of the village, on which, from first to last, so many Vermont regiments camped. The camp was provided with comfortable barracks. The food and cooking were good, the Eleventh regiment was in camp close by, and the three weeks' sojourn there was on the whole a pleasant one. The men were at first armed with

old Belgian muskets which served well enough for the purposes of guard duty and drill. These were exchanged for better arms after the regiment arrived in the field. With the exception of the muskets, the outfit of the regiment was complete in all respects.

On the 6th of September the regiment left Brattleboro for Washington, in a train of eighteen passenger cars; and nearly as many freight cars were filled with the baggage, which included fifteen or twenty company and officers' chests, and a regimental library of 200 volumes presented by Captain Frost. At New Haven the regiment took steamer for New York, where the officers were taken to the Astor House and the men to the barracks at City Hall Park. The journey was continued the same forenoon, and as the men marched through the city, wearing the green sprig, the badge of their Green Mountain State, their fine appearance attracted much attention. The regiment went by boat to Perth Amboy, and there took train on the Camden and Amboy railroad for Philadelphia, where they had supper, served by the generous citizens, whose hospitality was unstinted, though the Tenth Vermont was the twenty-eighth regiment which had enjoyed it within a week. At Baltimore the regiment was welcomed next morning by the Union citizens, and the evening of September 8th saw it in Washington.

The next morning the regiment moved across Long Bridge, and had a hot and dusty march to Camp Chase, on Arlington Heights, where it remained for a week, in a widening circle of camps of new regiments constantly arriving. It was an anxious and a stirring time. The Army of the Potomac was then on the march to resist Lee's first invasion of Maryland, and the boom of cannon came distinctly from Harper's Ferry, where the Ninth Vermont was besieged.

The regiment broke camp on the evening of the 14th, and started it knew not whither. Marching was new busi-

ness for the troops, and it was a foot-sore and weary column that halted on the third day at Seneca Lock, on the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, where it was to guard the Maryland bank of the Potomac. The left wing remained there under Major Henry, while the right wing, under Lieut. Colonel Edson, established itself at Edwards Ferry. The line of pickets extended ten miles from Edwards Ferry to Muddy Branch. Regimental headquarters were established half way between the two wings, at Pleasant's Meadows, with company C as headquarters guard. On the 11th of October the regiment was concentrated at Seneca Creek, near the spot previously occupied by the left wing. Here it was brigaded with the Thirty-ninth Massachusetts, Twenty-third Maine and Fourteenth New Hampshire regiments,[1] and Tenth Massachusetts battery, under command of Brigadier General Cuvier Grover. General Grover was soon assigned to more important duty elsewhere, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel Davis of the Thirty-ninth Massachusetts. The regiments were placed at different points along the river, with detachments thrown back into the country to guard the cross roads. The camp of the Tenth was near the river, on a strip of sloping ground bordered by a swamp. Owing to the unhealthful location and the inevitable process of acclimation, the health of the regiment began at once to suffer. The first death in the regiment occurred here on the 26th of September,[2] and the mortality soon became serious. Five men died in a single night. The surgeons were capable and attentive; but the hospital accommodations were insufficient and many sick men remained in quarters, for want of room in the regimental hospital.

[1] To this brigade the New York cavalry regiment called "Scott's Nine Hundred," was subsequently attached.

[2] Charles C. Dayton of company C, who died after an illness of five days.

On the morning of the 5th of October, the regiment was roused by the long roll, which was sounded in consequence of a report that the enemy was crossing the river in force; but it proved to be a false alarm.

On the 13th of November, Colonel Davis assembled the regiments of his brigade at Offut's Cross Roads, fifteen miles from Washington, on the road between Great Falls and Rockville, Md. Here the Tenth camped on high ground in the open field. The weather was cold and wet; snow fell on the 7th of November and again on the 15th; and the sick-list continued large. Twenty-five men died of typhoid fever in five weeks, and nearly half of the officers were sick. The men, having plenty of time to think of their trials, became despondent, and it was a gloomy time. Yet Thanksgiving Day was celebrated with good cheer and open-air games, and December brought a change for the better, and the health of the regiment steadily improved.

Lieut. Colonel Edson resigned in October, and was succeeded by Major Henry; and Captain C. G. Chandler of company A was appointed major.

On the 21st of December, the Tenth Vermont and Twenty-third Maine were moved to Poolesville. The Maine regiment was stationed below the town, and the Tenth Vermont was posted in three detachments along the river. Companies C, E, H and I, with Colonel Jewett, were stationed at White's Ford; companies A, F, and D, under Lieut. Colonel Henry, at the mouth of the Monocacy river, to guard the canal aqueduct; and companies B, G, and K, under Major Chandler, at Conrad's Ferry. Here the regiment held during the winter the right of the outer line of the defences of Washington, which swept around the Capital, the extreme left being held by the Thirteenth Vermont regiment at the mouth of the Occoquan river. The winter passed with little to vary the monotony of camp life. Guerrillas were prowling about, but made no attempt to cross the Potomac after the

first night after the arrival of the regiment, when about fifty of them undertook to surprise some of the new-comers, but were discovered when half across the river, and driven back. A number of the officers and men went home on furlough. A regimental church was organized, with which nearly a hundred men united, and religious meetings were well attended.

On the 6th of January, 1863, Colonel Davis, having discovered that Colonel Jewett outranked him, relinquished the command of the brigade to Colonel Jewett, much to the satisfaction of the Vermonters and others,[1] and the command of the Tenth Vermont devolved on Lieut. Colonel Henry.

Several changes of line officers took place in January. Captain Appleton of company D resigned and was succeeded by First Lieutenant Samuel Darrah; Second Lieutenant George E. Davis was promoted to be first lieutenant, and Sergeant L. A. Abbott was appointed second lieutenant; Lieutenant W H. H. Sabin of company C resigned; Second Lieutenant C. D. Bogue was promoted to his place, and Sergeant George W Burnell was appointed second lieutenant; Second Lieutenant S. E. Perham was promoted first lieutenant of company H, vice Lieutenant J. C. Dow, resigned, and Commissary Sergeant Daniel G. Hill was appointed second lieutenant; Sergeant Justin Carter was appointed second lieutenant of company I, vice Lieutenant E. C. Colby resigned; Second Lieutenant S. D. Soule of company E resigned.

Drills, details, parades and the incidents of camp life, filled up the time; the rations were abundant, and fresh provisions easily obtained from the farmers; and the health of the regiment gradually improved.

On the 19th of April the brigade was again for the most part concentrated at Poolesville, two companies of the Tenth being still left at White's Ford, under Captain Sheldon;

[1] "Colonel Jewett was a genial, popular officer, and the change was welcomed."—History of the Fourteenth New Hampshire.

two at the mouth of the Monocacy, under Captain Platt, and one at Conrad's Ferry, under Captain Salisbury. The Massachusetts and New Hampshire regiments were soon ordered elsewhere. The rest of the brigade remained for four months near Poolesville. The camp was a little outside of the village and was named "Camp Heintzleman," in honor of the general commanding the Twenty-second Corps.

In the night of the 11th of June the regiment turned out to meet a party of Stuart's cavalry which crossed the river and drove in a cavalry picket, but did not care to meet infantry. Stuart's presence was explained when a day or two later the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac made their appearance in force, on their way to Pennsylvania, bringing the exciting news that Lee was again north of the Potomac.

General Halleck was anxious for the safety of Harper's Ferry, and the Tenth was sent thither, with other troops, to reinforce the garrison. The regiment broke camp at Poolesville in the evening of June 24th and reached Harper's Ferry on the morning of the 26th. Here it camped for four days of continuous rain, on Maryland Heights, where the ground was so steep that the men had to cling to the bushes to keep from rolling down the mountain.

Had General Hooker's request for the 10,000 men at Harper's Ferry been granted, the Tenth would have now joined the Army of the Potomac, and Hooker, instead of Meade, would have fought the battle of Gettysburg. But that was not to be. General Meade, on assuming command, took the permission to withdraw the garrison of Harper's Ferry which had been denied to Hooker, and on the 30th of June Harper's Ferry was evacuated, and the Tenth was ordered, with 6,000 or 7,000 other troops, under General French, to Frederick, Md. As the regiment stood waiting for the order to march, the magazine of one of the forts on Maryland Heights, which was being dismantled, exploded, showering pieces of

timber, stone and iron in the ranks, and enveloping the regiment in a cloud of smoke and cinders. No man of the Tenth, however, was seriously injured, though a score of men of a Maryland regiment, not far away, were hurled from the cliffs and a number fatally injured.

At Frederick the regiment was brigaded with the Sixth New York Heavy Artillery, One Hundred and Fifty-first New York, and Fourteenth New Jersey, under command of Brigadier General William H. Morris. On the 2d of July, it was temporarily detached, and with the Tenth Massachusetts Battery and a battalion of the Fourteenth Massachusetts Infantry, all under command of Colonel Jewett, went to Monocacy Junction to guard the railroad bridge. The remainder of the brigade went to Boonesboro Gap, and was joined by the regiment at Crampton's Gap on the 4th, the day after the battle of Gettysburg. Here four companies of the regiment were detailed to guard Confederate prisoners on their way to Baltimore.

On the 8th of July, Morris's brigade was assigned to the Third division (General Elliott's) of the Third Army Corps, under Major General French, who succeeded General Sickles in command of the corps. On the 9th, the regiment marched with the brigade to join the Army of the Potomac, which was now moving to cut off Lee's retreat. Marching from Turner's Gap on the 10th, it joined the Third Corps at Antietam Creek, near Jones's Cross Roads, where half of Meade's army lay within striking distance of Lee's right wing, now preparing to re-cross the Potomac. On the 12th the Third and other corps were pressed close upon the enemy, and the Tenth Vermont stood in line for hours, expecting momentarily orders to advance and attack the enemy, but Lee's position presented no vulnerable points, and Meade did not attack that day or the next. On the night of the 13th, Lee crossed into Virginia, and next day the Third Corps advanced to within four miles of Williamsport. On the 15th it

marched thence to Sharpsburg. The division marched fifteen miles in four hours. The heat was terrible. Many men were sun-struck and stragglers were numerous. At two o'clock the brigade came to a halt beyond Sharpsburg with but a battalion accompanying the headquarters' colors. The Tenth crossed the Potomac and the Shenandoah, with the army, in the night of the 17th; passed into the Loudon Valley, and marched by way of Snickersville, Lovettsville, Upperville and Salem to the beautiful old town of Warrenton. At Piedmont Station the regiment was detailed to guard an ammunition train, on the 23d, and had a plain view of the fight between Spinola's brigade, leading the advance of the Third Corps, and the head of Ewell's division, which met in Chester Gap. During a portion of this march the rations were short, and the men suffered from hunger. Marching through Warrenton on the 26th, with the bands playing the "Star-Spangled Banner," the brigade halted two miles beyond the town and pitched camp in a pine wood. The army here rested around Warrenton, and the hard-marched and foot-sore troops enjoyed the rest, after nearly a month of continual marching.

Here the Gettysburg campaign ended. When, on the 1st of August, the army moved to the Rappahannock, the Tenth was stationed at Rout's Hill, two miles from Sulphur Springs, and about the same distance from Bealton Station on the Orange and Alexandria railroad. Here it remained for five weeks, while the army was preparing for the fall campaign. Convalescents, crowded out from the hospitals in Washington by the wounded from Gettysburg, took thei places in the ranks in large numbers. Recruiting was now active throughout the North, and Colonel Jewett, Captains Hunt and Sheldon, Adjutant Lyman, and a number of enlisted men left the regiment the last of July, and spent two months gathering recruits in Vermont, and forwarding them to the field. Many officers of other regiments were

also absent during this time, and for some days the brigade was under command of Lieut. Colonel Henry. The regiment was paid off here, and the men drew a new supply of clothing and blankets.

On the 6th of August the troops observed as best they could the special day of Thanksgiving ordered by President Lincoln for the victories of Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Port Hudson. On the 14th Sergeant Martin of company G, while on picket, shot a guerrilla who was aiming his gun at one of the Union pickets. This was the first shot fired at the enemy by a member of the regiment, but not the last. On the 7th of September the regiment participated in the review of the Third Corps by General Meade. In this the full ranks and new uniforms of the regiments of Elliott's division attracted much notice and the older troops of the corps gave the division the nick-name of "French's Pets."

Lee having withdrawn across the Rapidan, on the 15th of September Meade moved across the Rappahannock. Morris's brigade, after losing direction and wandering about for several hours that night, crossed the river at Freeman's Ford, and the next day advanced to within two miles of Culpeper, on the Springville and Culpeper turnpike. Here it remained, with the army, for twenty-three days; and the men built shanties of boards, with fire-places of stone and sod, thinking they might remain here for the winter.

But on the 8th of October General Lee assumed the offensive, and on the 11th the race for the possession of Centreville Heights began. The Third Corps formed the rear guard of the infantry, and Elliott's division brought up the rear of the corps and had several skirmishes with the enemy. Once the whole corps was formed in line of battle, while Pleasanton's cavalry was engaging Stuart's in front. Marching with the brigade and division, the regiment marched near Warrenton, through Greenwich, past Bristoe Station and so on across the plains of Manassas to Centreville,

making one day a forced march of thirty miles between 4 o'clock in the morning and midnight. Near Warrenton a troop of Confederate cavalry dashed up close to where General French, with his staff, was riding at the head of the column, and fired upon them, killing some of the orderlies. The Tenth Vermont, with some other troops, was ordered up at once, but were not needed, as a few rounds from Sleeper's battery soon dispersed the Confederate troopers. On the 14th, after marching from Greenwich to beyond Broad Run, which the men forded waist-deep, the regiment was going into camp for the night, when the heavy firing between the Second Corps and that of A. P Hill, which came in contact at Bristoe Station, called the Third Corps back. Morris's brigade faced about and moved at double-quick toward the scene of action; but before it reached the ground, Warren had repulsed Hill's greatly superior force and taken 450 prisoners. Next day a brigade of Stuart's cavalry appeared in front of Morris's brigade near Union Mills, and a battery burst a few shells over Morris's lines. This was the last seen of the enemy at this time. As he retired Lee destroyed the Orange and Alexandria railroad from Bristoe to the Rappahannock, and the Tenth had to furnish heavy details for fatigue duty in reconstructing it. The weather was cold; the army moved frequently, and no quarters could be made comfortable before orders came to leave them. In nineteen days thirty miles of railroad had been rebuilt, and on the 7th of November Meade was ready to cross the Rappahannock.

During the battle of Rappahannock Station, on that date, the Tenth was part of the column under General French which crossed at Kelly's Ford, Colonel Homer R. Stoughton's sharpshooters leading the way The brigade supported the Union batteries on the left bank, the regiment lying behind the Second Connecticut battery, which shelled the enemy on the opposite bank, over the head of the advancing

column. After dark it crossed the river on the ponton bridge with the Third Corps, and bivouacked on the south side, the men stumbling over the bodies of the Confederate dead, as they sought places to rest. Next day it moved up to Rappahannock Station, where the Sixth Corps had taken 1,400 prisoners the evening before, and joined the army in the pursuit of Lee to the Rapidan.

Morris's brigade camped on John Minor Botts's farm, near Brandy Station, till the 14th, when it was sent out four miles toward Culpeper. The regiment started on a dark and rainy night, marched twelve miles to advance four, and after stumbling over half-corduroyed roads and through deep mud for four hours, the men dropped to rest on the wet leaves, supperless and drenched to the skin. The regiment remained a week in that vicinity without discovering any reason for the movement, changing its camp three times meantime, and then returned to Brandy Station.

ORANGE GROVE.

On Thanksgiving Day, the 26th of November, the whole army advanced once more, on the Mine Run campaign. The Tenth Vermont started with Morris's brigade at seven o'clock A. M., crossed the Rapidan at sun-down, near Jacob's Ford, and bivouacked on the bank of the river. In the fighting of Carr's division, the next afternoon, with Johnson's division of Ewell's Corps, near the Widow Morris's, at Orange Grove, the Tenth made its first charge in battle. General French, after allowing his corps to be held back by a third of its number for five hours, had at last undertaken to force his way through to Robertson's Tavern, where Warren had been expecting and needing him all day. Carr's division took the brunt of this fight. The division was formed with Morris's brigade on the right, Keifer's next, and Smith's on the left. Morris formed his brigade in the woods at the foot of a hill, with the One

Hundred and Fifty-first New York on the right, the Tenth Vermont, Colonel Jewett, in the centre, and the Fourteenth New Jersey on the left. Colonel Jewett threw company D, Captain Darrah, forward as skirmishers. These were sharply pressed by the enemy's skirmishers for an hour, but held their ground. At three o'clock in the afternoon Morris was ordered to charge the enemy, strongly posted in his front behind some fences at the crest of the hill. In this charge, the Tenth pushed rapidly up the hill; received a heavy volley from the enemy's line, and dashing squarely at them, drove them from behind the fence and advanced some distance beyond; when, finding that it was alone, the other two regiments having halted at the fence, it fell back through a cross-fire, by which it suffered a large part of its loss in this engagement. It was under fire from the enemy's artillery and infantry, posted behind breastworks, till after sundown, when Carr's division, having almost exhausted its ammunition, was relieved by Birney's division. The Third Corps lost nearly a thousand men in this affair, and the enemy about half the number. General French's irresolution and delay cost the success of the Mine Run campaign; but his troops did their duty, and the Tenth Vermont was especially complimented. In his report of the action, its brigade commander, General Morris, said:

The enemy was holding a fence on the crest of the hill in our front, and I ordered the Tenth Vermont to charge and take it. While making preparations to execute this daring duty, I received the same orders from General Carr. The regiment advanced in gallant style and took the crest. The left wing in its enthusiasm having advanced too far beyond the fence, it was necessary to recall it. The colonel's order not being distinctly understood on account of the noise, the regiment fell back to its first position. It formed rapidly and again advanced to the fence, which it held until the Third was relieved by the First division about sundown. I cannot speak of the conduct of the officers and men with too much praise. It was necessary to form the line of battle in a thick wood at the base of a hill, whose summit the enemy

held, protected by a breastwork. Though the regiment had never before been under sharp fire, they behaved with the determined bravery and steadiness of veterans.

General Morris commends for courage and efficiency Colonel Jewett, Major Chandler, Captain Darrah, and Lieutenants Gale, Hicks, and Hill, of his staff, who having been detailed as aids by Colonel Jewett when he commanded the brigade, had been retained by General Morris.

The Tenth took about 600 bayonets into this action, and lost 12 killed, 58 wounded (five of whom died of their wounds), and one missing—a total of 71.[1] Captain Dillingham, acting on General Morris's staff, while carrying an order, ran upon a line of the enemy, had his horse shot under him, was captured, and spent four months in Libby Prison. Lieutenant Henry W Kingsley was severely wounded in the thigh; and as the stretcher-bearers were removing him from the field one of them was wounded by a shell.

After nightfall Lee withdrew to the west side of Mine Run, and at two o'clock next morning the Tenth started with

[1] The killed were as follows: Company A, George Batten; company B, Gilman D. Storrs; company C, Marcus Atwood and John S. Ford; company F, S. J. Peacock; company G, Corp. Levi N. Fullam and Charles V. Haynes; company H, R. E. Whitney; company I, Gardner Fay, Romeo Smith and Freeman E. Norris; company K, David F. Marston.

The wounded were: Company A, G. M. D. Douse and A. T. Martin; company B, Sergeant H. M. Pierce, Corporal Q. A. Greene, John Blanchard, Peter Bovar, E. W Conant, H. W. Crossett, J. M. Mather, W H. Nelson, L. G. Ripley and W M. Thayer; company C, A. Falk, J. L. Shannon, George R. Streeter, I. E. Sawyer and Edward Yarton; company D, Sergeant M. Kehoe, George Burnett and W Z. Burdick; company E, Sergeant Thomas Reed, S. H. Coburn, Alfred Sears, A. V Turner, H. C. Youngs and J. L. Waters; company F, M. B. Aseltyne, A. M. Aseltyne, M. Greene, A. R. Doyon and F. W Howard; company G, J. A. Bullard, J. Densmore, Julius Freeman, D. B. Freeman, J. A. Griswold, J. N. Hosford, L. G. Kidder, J. J. Phelps, A. H. Porter and Corporal S. A. Paige; company H, O. Gassett and W. N. Cobb; company I, Wm. Bates, John Cross, A. Davis, E. B. Larabee, Sergeant Thomas Hogle and Corporal A. Wheelock; company K, A. O. Dane, C. Drown, M. Foss, I. S. Goodwin, J. B. Hart, J. B. McCoy and George H. Lawrence.

Henry W. Crossett, Sergeant Michael Kehoe, Isaac E. Sawyer, Merritt B. Aseltyne and George H. Lawrence died of their wounds.

the Third Corps and moved with it to the southwest to Verdiersville, where the corps was to support an attack on Lee's centre. It remained here on the 29th, during which day the regiment supported the Fourth Maine battery; but the assault was delayed till the enemy had made his works in front too strong to be assaulted with success and was then abandoned. At two o'clock in the bitterly cold morning of the 30th the regiment moved to the left with Carr's division, which was to support General Warren's corps in the general assault which Meade had ordered for eight o'clock that morning. It was well for the Tenth and for Morris's brigade that this did not come off; for the brigade was the front line and would have had to move up a hill-side obstructed with felled timber, and bristling at the summit with hostile artillery. At noon the division was brought back to its former position, to attack works which were every hour growing stronger. But this assault, like the others, was indefinitely postponed. Next day, December 1st, the Tenth Vermont picketed the division front, near Verdiersville, within musket shot of the enemy's breastworks, and almost in contact with his pickets. Lee had now decided to assume the offensive, and attack Meade next morning; but when morning came Meade was not there. At nightfall he began to withdraw his troops. The orders to the pickets were to hold their line till three o'clock in the morning and then to fall back noiselessly. At the hour Jewett called in his pickets, and the regiment noiselessly crept away. Orders were whispered or given in pantomime; the very horses trod softly along the wooded roads. The spot where two days before the regiment had supported the Maine battery, now replaced by some quaker guns, was quietly passed, and the regiment moved on in the morning twilight to Germanna Ford, being the last detachment of the army to cross the river. Following the retiring column of the army it reached Brandy Station at three o'clock P. M., after a march of

twenty-three miles, with but one man missing, save those who were left sleeping their long sleep in shallow graves at Orange Grove.

At Brandy Station the army went into winter quarters, the Tenth occupying a camp near the house of John Minor Botts, where the rebels had constructed winter quarters for themselves a few weeks before, on a smooth stretch of ground sloping southward, sheltered on the north by a fine grove of oaks, which was left undisturbed, in part for protection and in part from regard for its loyal owner, Mr. Botts. A brook near the camp supplied an abundance of not over sweet or very clear water. The sick list was large, at times, numbering 153 on the 15th of January. The quarters of the men were comfortable; many articles of food and clothing not furnished by the Government were easily obtainable; the camp was graced by the presence of a number of ladies, wives and friends of the officers; Christmas and New Years were celebrated with games and festivities, and on the 25th of January many of the officers and ladies in camp attended a grand ball given by the officers of the Third Corps at General Carr's headquarters. A log chapel, with canvas roof, was built, and consecrated in February with appropriate exercises, and was not only used for Sunday services, but for numerous evening meetings for singing classes, debating clubs and literary entertainments, sustained by the clergymen, lawyers, doctors and others, who carried muskets in the ranks.

On the 6th of February, the regiment took part in a demonstration which was to occupy the attention of Lee's army, while an expedition organized by General Butler should push into Richmond from the Peninsula. For the purposes of this demonstration the First and Second Corps marched to Raccoon and Morton's Fords on the Rapidan. Morris's brigade was to support the First Corps, and followed it nearly to Raccoon Ford. In this movement, the Tenth, which had just returned to camp after three days on picket, did not start

till four P. M., when it marched seven miles to the south in a drizzling rain, and at ten o'clock bivouacked in a piece of woods. Next morning it moved to within two or three miles of the Ford, where the First Corps did some skirmishing with the Confederate outposts. The regiment stood almost all of the day in line of battle. At night, the demonstration having ended, the brigade was ordered to return, and the regiments pushed back to camp. In the rivalry to see which should get back first, the Tenth marched twelve miles in the deep mud and darkness without stopping, passed the One Hundred and Fifty-first New York, which was in advance, before it got to Culpeper; and about half the regiment led the brigade into camp that night, the rest coming in in the morning.

On the 27th of February, the regiment received a visit from Governor John Gregory Smith, who was looking after the Vermont troops and spent a day in camp.

In March, 1864, the preparations for General Grant's great campaign began. In the reorganization of the army, the Third Corps was broken up, and Morris's brigade, enlarged by the addition of the One Hundred and Sixth New York and Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, became the First brigade of the Third division of the Sixth Corps, commanded by General James B. Ricketts. While there were some heart-burnings at the breaking up of the Third Corps, the Tenth was glad to join the Sixth Corps, and it never had occasion to be ashamed of its membership of Ricketts's fighting division. The division at this time exchanged camps with Birney's division, which had been farther to the left. The men did not relish the exchange of their comfortable camp for the dirty cabins into which they moved; but they only occupied them till they could lay out a better camp 300 yards away. This they occupied for only a month, before the army moved into the Wilderness.

A change took place in the command of the regiment

about this time. Colonel Jewett's health had become impaired, and he resigned on the 25th of April, and was succeeded as colonel by Lieut. Colonel Henry.[1] Major Charles G. Chandler was promoted to be lieutenant colonel, and Captain Edwin Dillingham of company B, on his return to the regiment after his release from Libby Prison, was appointed major.

THE WILDERNESS.

On the night of May 3d the sick men, visitors and surplus baggage having been previously sent to the rear, the regiment broke camp and started next morning, with the brigade and division, which were the rear guard of the long column of the Fifth and Sixth Corps; marched fifteen miles to the Rapidan at Germanna Ford, crossed the river, and camped near it, to hold the crossing till the Ninth Corps should arrive. When the head of the column of that corps appeared on the other side of the river, in the morning of the 5th, Ricketts's division moved off by the Plank road toward the Old Wilderness tavern. Just before reaching Wilderness Run, it filed off to the right and took position north of the Orange turnpike. In the afternoon Morris's brigade was moved to the south of the pike, where it could support either the left of Sedgwick's line, or the right of the Fifth Corps. As it crossed the pike it came under sharp artillery fire, by which some twenty men fell; but the brigade was not called into action. The men stood in line during the afternoon and evening, while the sounds of the tre-

[1] Colonel Henry was the oldest son of the late James Henry of Waterbury. He had seen over two years of active service; was 33 years old, of tall and commanding figure and genial spirit; and was a popular and capable commander. He was subsequently brevetted as brigadier general for gallant and meritorious service, and after the close of the war became prominent in civil life, representing in turn the counties of Washington and Chittenden in the State Senate, and holding for six years the office of United States Marshal of Vermont.

mendous fighting of Getty's division, in which the First Vermont brigade had such a bloody share, and of the fight of Seymour's brigade on the right, in which Colonel Keifer was severely wounded, at times came to their ears through the thickets of the Wilderness; but they could see little of the enemy or of the progress of the battle. They lay on their arms that night. In the morning the brigade was moved back to the north of the pike, and was held in reserve during most of the day. The shells from the enemy's artillery, during the fighting in front, whistled over their heads and sometimes burst around them. The tide of battle once swept so near to them that several men of the brigade were killed, and twenty-one, including Captain Judson of the One Hundred and Sixth New York, acting on General Morris's staff, were captured; but the Tenth Vermont and the rest of the brigade had nothing to do but to stand still and await events—often as severe a test of courage as fighting. Just before sunset the assault of Early's division on Shaler's and Seymour's brigades, the rout of Shaler and the capture of Seymour, took place. The brigade of the latter was flanked and fell back in disorder; and the enemy was pushing through the gap to the rear of the line of the Sixth Corps, when Morris's brigade was ordered forward. Only two of Morris's regiments, the Tenth Vermont and One Hundred and Sixth New York, got the order. These, moving by the flank on the double-quick, across the ground over which Seymour's brigade had retreated, halted and formed line of battle between the latter and Gordon's Georgia brigade. As his regiment faced to the front, Colonel Henry ordered the men to cheer. Gordon's men halted beyond a ravine in front, and Seymour's brigade rallied in the rear. General Wright was thus enabled to restore the line of his division, and the fighting ceased in that quarter. During the night the corps took up and intrenched a new line, facing northwardly; but Lee had withdrawn behind his entrench-

ments, and the grapple of the armies in the Wilderness was not renewed. The loss of the Tenth in this battle was surprisingly small considering how much it was under fire. It had two men killed and nine wounded, one of whom died of his wounds.[1]

Starting about midnight of the 7th the regiment moved with the Sixth Corps towards Spottsylvania. It crossed on its way the field of Chancellorsville, still covered by the debris of the battle of a year before, and the men kicked human skulls from their path, as they marched on to new scenes of carnage.

SPOTTSYLVANIA.

At Aldrich's house, next day, the brigade left the Chancellorsville pike, and moving southwardly went into position a mile east of Alsop's farm, where Ricketts s division occupied the crest of a hill on the right of the Sixth Corps, its line extending into a valley. In front Hancock and Warren were meeting strong resistance. The latter was ordered to attack, supported by the Sixth Corps; but the day was almost spent, the men were tired, and the assault was not pressed. That night Ricketts s division was drawn back to the left, and intrenched its line. The breastwork was strengthened next day under heavy artillery fire, by which many men were wounded. This day General Sedgwick was killed, and General Morris wounded by a fragment of a shell. On the 11th the Tenth Vermont was on the skirmish line; and next day it moved to the left with the corps, to support the famous assault upon the salient. Ricketts's division was held as a support to the others and was but slightly engaged, losing 150 men killed and wounded. The Tenth Vermont suffered no loss

[1] Killed—Jay Washburn of company D, and Thomas Alfred of company K. Hiram W Hicks died on the 7th of his wounds.

On the 13th of May the division went back to the right and on the 14th moved with the corps six miles, around the Second, Fifth and Ninth Corps, to the extreme left of the army. Ricketts's division, just at dusk, forded the Ny River, the water up to the men's arm-pits, and relieved Upton's brigade of the first division, which had been trying to gain a hill held by the enemy. The hill was carried, and the division threw up entrenchments in which it remained till the 21st, when the army moved to the North Anna. After moving out of its works about dusk that evening, the division was attacked in the rear by Wilcox's Confederate brigade, which was beaten off, with the loss of a number of its men, taken prisoners.

At eight o'clock A. M. on the 24th of May, the regiment, having marched from Mount Carmel Church the day before, crossed the North Anna at Jericho Mills, with the Sixth Corps, following in the path which the Fifth Corps had opened. It lay there all day till six o'clock P. M., when it started and marched in a terrific rain storm to Quarle's Mills, where the enemy's picket lines were struck and there was some skirmishing. Next morning the march was continued to Nolan's Station, on the Virginia Central railroad, which was burned and the track was destroyed for eight miles. That night the Tenth went on picket south of the station, in a place so wet that the men had to pile up fence rails in order to sleep above water.

On the 26th, the Sixth Corps led another flank movement toward Richmond, re-crossing the river at Jericho Mills, and arriving at Chesterfield Station at midnight. The Tenth Vermont held the picket line till three next morning; then followed and joined the division at seven A. M., and camped that evening in sight of the Pamunkey river. At noon the following day the river was crossed on pontons at Widow Nolan's, and the whole corps took a position on the farther bank, and threw up entrenchments to cover the crossing of

the rest of the army. Morris's brigade occupied a position near Dr. Pollard's house, in an orchard and an adjoining field on his magnificent estate. By next morning the whole army was over the river. The brigade then followed the First division on a reconnoissance toward Hanover Court House. When approaching Atlee's Station, about midday on the 30th, the brigade was ordered back to support the Second Corps, which was fighting near Tolopotomoy Creek. Hastening back across fields and swamps and through a dense forest of oaks, the brigade arrived on the field about three o'clock in the afternoon, and went into line of battle on the left of Birney's division. No advance, however, was made that night, and at one o'clock in the morning the Sixth Corps was withdrawn and marched fifteen miles to Cold Harbor. A detail from the Tenth Vermont was left on picket till daybreak. They then drew out, in such a way as to lead the enemy to suppose that they were being relieved by another detail, and started after the division, overtaking it at Cold Harbor.

COLD HARBOR.

Custer's brigade band was playing "Hail Columbia" out on the skirmish line in front of Cold Harbor when the column of Rickett's division came upon the ground, which Custer had been holding against Kershaw's infantry. The division marched in over fields on which there had been heavy skirmishing and on which lay blackened corpses, burned to a crisp by the fires which had run over them that hot afternoon, and took position in an open field behind a belt of woods, west of the old tavern at Cold Harbor. Here before sundown it assumed the offensive with heavy fighting.

In this assault and that of the 3d of June, which was part of the prolonged battle of Cold Harbor, the Tenth lost more men killed and wounded than on any other field. The brigade, now commanded by Colonel Truex of the Fourteenth

New Jersey, was the left of Ricketts's division, which was the right division of the Sixth Corps. Shortly before sundown the order to advance came and the corps started forward with the Eighteenth Corps on its right. The brigade advanced with the division through a belt of woods, then across a ploughed field in which the enemy had piled some breastworks of rails; then over a shallow ravine, and through a swamp to the woods in the edge of which were the main Confederate intrenchments, defended by Hoke's and Kershaw's divisions. The works here were carried and 500 prisoners captured, a number of whom were taken by the Tenth Vermont. Private E. W Skeels of company I, who was among the first to mount the works, saw a Confederate major and two lieutenants leaving an underground shelter, almost at his feet, as he sprang inside the breastworks, and ordered them to surrender. They gave him their arms, and were sent to the rear, while he remained and emptied the major's revolvers at the retreating enemy.[1] These, it is supposed, were officers of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina, whose commander delivered his sword to Captain Frost, acting major of the regiment. A considerable portion of this regiment was taken by the Tenth, which greeted the surrender with cheers. The prisoners were passed to the rear, and the credit of their capture was given to other troops. The enemy, who had fallen back to their second line, returned about an hour later, and made several earnest attempts to regain the lost works, each attack being repulsed with loss. The fighting lasted into the night.

In this battle of June 1st Lieutenant Stetson of company B was instantly killed by a minie ball which entered below his left eye. He was the first commissioned officer of the Tenth killed in action. A little later Lieutenant New-

[1] Statement of O. E. Wait of company I.

ton of company G was killed by a ball in the throat.[1] Colonel Henry was wounded, losing a finger of his right hand, and Captain P D. Blodgett of company E, received a severe wound which occasioned his discharge four months later. The Tenth lost more heavily in officers and men than any other regiment of the brigade, its flank being exposed by the failure of the troops on its left to keep up.

The command of the Tenth, after Colonel Henry was wounded, devolved on Lieut. Colonel Chandler. There was heavy skirmishing and artillery fire next day. In the grand assault of the morning of the 3d, by the Second, Sixth and Eighteenth Corps, Ricketts's division was in the centre of the Sixth corps line, and was repulsed with heavy loss, though it gained and held positions within forty yards of the enemy's works. In the charge Captain Frost fell with two ghastly wounds, and died five hours later,[2] and Captain Hunt was

[1] Lieutenant Ezra Stetson was born in Boston, but removed to Troy, Vt., in childhood, with his parents. He had been a millwright in Burlington and a miner in California; and was in mercantile business in Montpelier when the war broke out. He assisted in recruiting Captain Dillingham's company, was elected its first lieutenant, and commanded it most of the time for two years in the absence of Captain Dillingham on staff duty. He was 39 years old and a brave and worthy officer.

Lieutenant Newton was a native of Rochester, Vt., and was a student in Middlebury College, when, in July, '62, he enlisted. He assisted in recruiting company G, and was elected its second lieutenant. He was a worthy Christian gentleman, and a good soldier, often entrusted with duties of especial responsibility. He was buried on the field near where he fell, under a mulberry and sassafras tree which had grown together in a single trunk. His remains were subsequently disinterred and taken to Vermont for burial.

[2] Captain Edwin B. Frost, of Thetford, was one of the best officers in the line. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and when the war broke out was studying medicine in the office of his brother, Dr. C. P. Frost of St. Johnsbury. He enlisted a company for the Ninth regiment, but it was a little too late to be received for that regiment and became company A of the Tenth. He was a brave and capable officer, and a man of high patriotism and principle. He met his death with fortitude and cheerfulness, declaring with almost his last breath that he was "happy to die for his country and his God."

wounded. Lieutenant J. S. Thompson of company I was taken prisoner and carried to Columbia, S. C., whence he escaped, four months after, by bribing the guard.

During the twelve days of continuous contact with the enemy at Cold Harbor, the regiment was almost constantly under fire. On the 6th Captain Samuel Darrah of company D, as he was standing with his company in front of the regimental headquarters, was shot through the head by a Confederate sharp-shooter, and fell dead on the spot.[1]

On the 7th Lieut. Colonel Chandler, commanding, issued a complimentary order, in which he thanked the officers and soldiers of the regiment for their brave and soldierly conduct in the bloody battles of the past six days, and added: "One hundred and eighty-six of our number have been made to fill an unmarked soldier's grave, or lie, wounded, upon the scanty cot of an army field hospital. Yet nobly have those died who have gone. Heroically do our wounded suffer who live. As a regiment, you have earned an honorable name, that will proudly live in the future history of our country."

On the 11th, in the movements preparatory to the general movement of the army to the James, the division moved to the left, relieving troops of the Second Corps in the trenches, close up to the enemy's lines. About dark of the 12th, the Tenth was withdrawn with the brigade. It helped to hold a second line, a short distance back, till the roads were clear, and then started, with the division, for the James river.

[1] Captain Darrah was a native of Poultney. He enlisted in July, 1862, at Burlington, was chosen first lieutenant of company D and promoted captain in January, 1863. He was a bright and efficient young officer, cool in battle, and competent in every position. His generous nature, genial spirit and his ready adaptation to the exigencies of military life, made him a general favorite, and many warm friends mourned his death. A letter written by him on the 20th of May, 1864, is full of loyalty and devotion to the great cause for which he gave his life, and of pride in the heroism of his comrades. His remains were taken to Vermont for final interment.

The casualties of the regiment at Cold Harbor, most of them incurred on the 1st and 3d of June, were 30 killed, 147 wounded, and four missing—total, 181. Of the wounded, 17 died of their wounds. Of the missing, two were known to be captured and two were never heard of after.

The regiment left Cold Harbor with 12 officers and 352 effective men. It crossed the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge on the 13th, and marched to Wilcox's Landing; and there taking transports on the 16th, arrived at Bermuda Hundred at midnight, and moved with the brigade and division up behind General Butler's fortified line midway between the James and the Appomattox. The Tenth moved out with other troops, towards evening of the 17th, to assault the enemy's line in front; but the order for the attack was countermanded, and the troops returned to their positions, the Tenth having several men wounded by shells. On the 19th, the regiment started with the corps for the lines of Petersburg, crossed the Appomattox on pontons at Point of Rocks, and moved to the left of the Union lines to the south of Petersburg.

The Tenth participated in the movement against the Weldon railroad, which proved so disastrous to a portion of

The rank and file killed at Cold Harbor were as follows: Company A, Edwin C. Clement, T. J. Drew, Daniel Morse and Oliver Morse; company B, Tuffield Cayne, Alva Rowell and Abner Smith; company C, Jos. Ayers and J. N. Buell; company D, Jos. Joslin; company E, Corporal Myron Lillie, E. W Niles, F. Reynolds and Thomas Rafter; company F, F. W. Howard, Alanson Watson, Matthew Quinn and John Cosgrove; company G, A. H. Luce and J. F. Pearson; company H, Nelson O. Cook, Corporal J. W. Fletcher and J. H. Webster; company I, Andrew Stevens, L. L. Fisher, Corporal P. C. O'Neal, Jos. Theburge and John Shaw; company K. Corporal Lucian C. Piper and C. F. Martin.

Those who died of wounds received at Cold Harbor were: Company A, Sergeant Jonathan Hoyt; company B, Corporal Allen Greeley, Hamilton Glines and J. M. Mather; company C, John Salger; company E, L. D. Axtell; company F, George C. Himes; company G, Corporal D. L. Hopkins, Leander Decamp, C. L. Reed and J. K. Williams; company I, Sergeant J. W. Carpenter and A. W. Hale; company K, J. A. Braynard, P. A. Smith and Lewis Wood.

the First Vermont brigade. Starting with the rest of the division on the 22d, it moved to the west and halted in a field. There was firing on the picket line in front. The men piled rails and threw up earth with their tin cups, and soon made a protection from the bullets which were coming back with unpleasant frequency. Toward night it advanced a short distance and bivouacked. Next day, the regiment lay to the right of the Second division, and heard plainly, at nightfall, the yell with which the enemy greeted the surrender of the men of the Fourth and Eleventh Vermont. The Tenth was not engaged, though two regiments of the brigade, the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania and Fourteenth New Jersey, lost 123 men killed, wounded and captured on the skirmish line.

The regiment went with the Sixth Corps on the 29th to Ream's Station. On this expedition Ricketts's division led the column, marching all night with a halt of only two hours. Next day it was posted across the railroad track at Ream's; threw up rifle-pits on each side of the road, facing Petersburg, and took part in destroying the railroad track. Returning to its former position on the 2d of July, the division remained on the left of Grant's line till the 6th, when under an order from Grant to Meade to send "one good division" to Maryland, it was detached from the army to oppose Early's raid against Washington. The men at this time were exhausted by incessant marching, intrenching and fighting. For sixty-two days and nights they had not been for an hour out of hearing of artillery or musketry and scarcely ever out of range of hostile shot; and they welcomed any change.

Starting at dawn on the 6th of July, the regiment marched with the brigade to City Point, reaching there at ten A. M. At five P. M. it took transport and steamed down the James. It passed Fortress Monroe at midnight and arrived at Baltimore at 5 P. M. of the 7th, being the first regi-

ment of the division to arrive. About midnight it was loaded, with the Fourteenth New Jersey, into cattle-cars, crowded to their utmost, and was taken to Frederick City, where it arrived at nine o'clock next morning, after a wearisome ride, and reported to General Lew Wallace, who was glad enough to have his militia reinforced by some veteran troops.

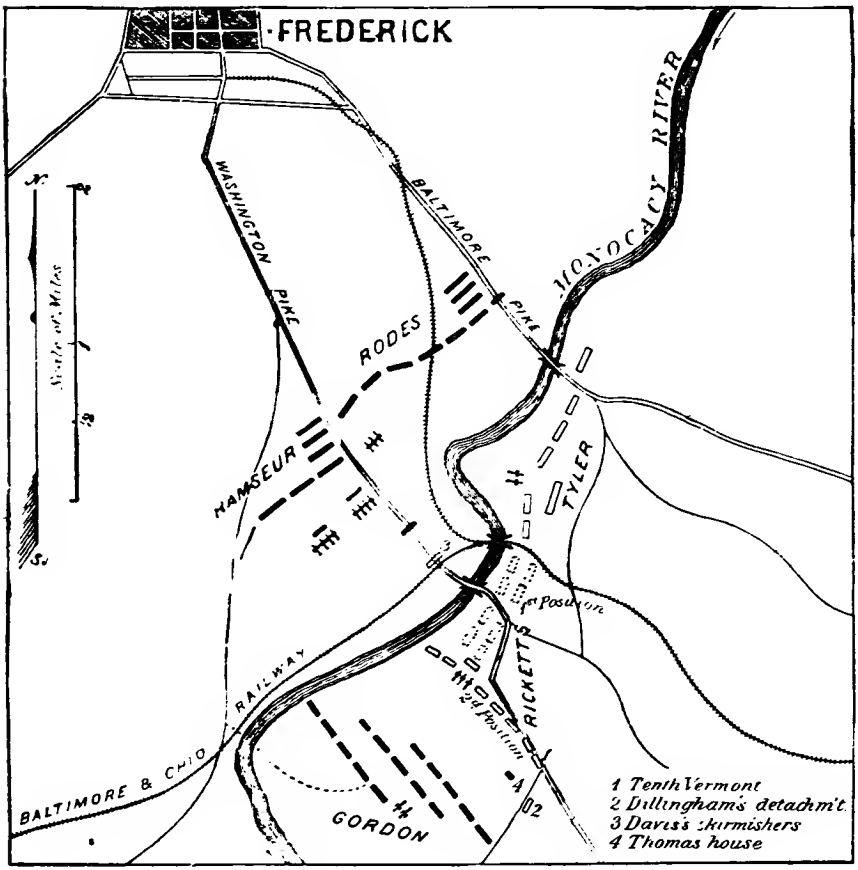
The situation was as follows: General Early, with a force of something over 15,000 men,[1] comprising Stonewall Jackson's old corps, of 12,000 men, with other infantry and cavalry and forty guns, had pushed through the gateway of the valley, left open by the retirement of Hunter and Sigel, into Maryland; had burned part of Williamsport and put Hagerstown under contribution. His main force on the 7th of July was at Middletown, Md., a few miles west of Frederick City and separated from it by the Catoctin Mountains. General Wallace, commanding the middle department, had pushed out to Frederick City from Baltimore with a force of 3,000 home guards, militia and hundred-day troops who had never been under fire, and had taken a position where he could intercept Early whether he was aiming at Washington or Baltimore, hoping at most to delay his advance till veteran troops could be brought for the defence of the capital. Early was preparing to brush Wallace out of his path, and there was sharp skirmishing between his advance and Wallace's out-posts, a little west of the city, in the afternoon of the 7th. The next morning, the Tenth Vermont,

[1] The exact strength of Early's column is not easily determined. General Early states that he moved down the valley with 12,000 muskets, which is evidence that he had more, as he always under-states his force. General Badeau, collating the statements of Early's subordinate generals, estimates that Early's army exceeded 20,000 men, after he had detached a force to operate in West Virginia. Colonel Cutts, of General Halleck's staff, made a careful computation of Early's force, which footed up 22,420 and 60 guns. Among the wounded men left by Early at Monocacy were members of 57 different regiments of infantry, eight of cavalry and three batteries.

the advance of the First brigade of Ricketts's division, arrived. General Wallace disclosed the situation to Colonel Henry on his arrival, and the regiment was occupied during the day in marching and countermarching over various knolls east of the city and throwing up mock breastworks to make a show of strength and deceive the eyes which were watching the Union movements from the slopes of the Catoctin mountain. The whole region was now in great alarm and citizens were streaming through Frederick City from the west, with horses, cattle and other property, which they were removing beyond the reach of the enemy. Scouts and despatches from General Sigel estimated Early's force at 20,000 and upward. On the 8th Early's cavalry appeared on various roads leading into the city and word was brought in to General Wallace of the movement of a heavy column of rebel infantry to the south, towards Buckeystown, indicating a purpose to seize the Monocacy bridges and to gain the Washington pike.

As this evidently meant a movement against Washington, General Wallace decided to withdraw to the east side of the Monocacy at Monocacy Junction, where he could guard for a time the crossing: secure a better position for a fight; and have a choice of two lines of retreat—either to Baltimore or Washington—when driven from the ground. Had he remained at Frederick City that night, he would have been surrounded and captured next day. As it was, he withdrew after night-fall by the Baltimore pike, the only road left open to him. It was four miles in a straight line to Monocacy Junction, but Early's cavalry occupied the direct road, and most of Wallace's command could reach the Junction only by a detour of ten or twelve miles—part of the way by the Baltimore pike, and the rest across the fields and through tangled woods, which made the march a hard scramble for the men. Arriving at Monocacy Junction about midnight, Wallace was joined there by General Rick-

etts with half of the Second brigade of his division—the rest of the brigade, under Colonel McClennan, being reported as on the way by rail from Baltimore.



Battle of the Monocacy, July 9th, 1864.

The march of the Tenth Vermont that night from Frederick City, ended at the Monocacy Bridge about one o'clock in the morning, when a picket line under Lieut. Colonel Chandler was posted on the west bank of the river, and the rest dropped to sleep for an hour or two. Before daylight they were aroused, and the lines were formed for battle. Wallace's line extended for three miles and a half along the eastern bank of the river, from the stone bridge by which

the Baltimore pike crosses the Monocacy, south across the railroad and the Washington pike to a point about a mile below the railroad bridge. The river in front of this line was crossed by three bridges, the stone bridge on the extreme right, the iron railroad bridge two miles and a half below, and a wooden bridge on the Washington pike, a short distance to the left of the railroad bridge. A rude earthwork, armed with a howitzer, guarded the railroad bridge, and at the west end of the wooden bridge stood a block-house, built a year or two before for the protection of a bridge guard. The right wing of Wallace's command, consisting of the Maryland "Home brigade" and Ohio militia, under Brigadier General E. B. Tyler, held the line from the stone bridge to the railroad. The left wing, composed of Ricketts's veterans, extended a mile to the south across the Washington pike and along the river, with the half of the Second brigade that was on the ground posted on the right of the division line, its right resting on Gamble's mill race, about a quarter of a mile to the left of the railroad, and the First (Truex's) brigade on the left, stretching down parallel with the river through the corn-fields and meadows. Of this brigade the Tenth Vermont was the left regiment, and thus held the extreme left of the line. A squadron of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, under Lieut. Colonel Clendennin, was posted at a ford farther down the river.[1]

Wallace did not have men enough to form a continuous line on his right, and on his left he had but a single line. His right wing was but scantily supported and his left wing

[1] Of the Union generals, General Wallace, of Indiana, had commanded a division which took an important part at Shiloh; General Tyler, of Ohio, had fought and rendered eminent service at Port Republic, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville; General Ricketts had distinguished himself in the Mexican war, at the first Bull Run, and in the Army of the Potomac. Early's division commanders were Breckenridge, Gordon, Ramseur and Rodes. "Robber McCausland" and General Johnson commanded his cavalry.

had no reserves. He had a single battery, Alexander's Baltimore Light Artillery, of six guns, never before in action. This he divided, giving Tyler and Ricketts each three guns. On the west side of the river a skirmish line of 200 men of the First regiment Maryland Home Brigade was deployed, which was strengthened later by a detail of 75 men of the Tenth Vermont, under First Lieutenant George E. Davis of company D. At the request of Captain Brown, commanding the Maryland detachment, Lieutenant Davis took command of the skirmish line.

Indications of the approach of the enemy began to appear about seven o'clock in the morning. Soon after that hour, Surgeon Barr, the medical director of the division, Surgeon Rutherford of the Tenth, and Chaplain Haynes were leisurely riding toward Frederick, where they had engaged breakfast, when they were met and fired on by a party of Early's cavalry. They wheeled and beat a hasty retreat, fortunately unharmed. A few minutes later the cavalry outpost was driven in, and about 8 o'clock Early's column appeared. He halted on the pike, half a mile back from the river, threw forward a line of skirmishers, advanced three batteries and opened a brisk artillery fire. The Tenth Vermont had stacked arms in a meadow, and some of the men at the time were washing themselves at the river's brink. At the sound of the guns the men fell in promptly; and the regiment was drawn back a short distance to the edge of a corn-field, on higher ground, where it awaited developments.

Early's plan of attack was a good one. Learning that the Monocacy was fordable at a point a mile and a half below the bridges, he made no effort to force a crossing by these; but, keeping up his artillery fire and the skirmishing near the bridge-heads to occupy his enemy, he ordered Gordon to take his division across the river by the ford, and to attack Wallace's left from below, and drive it back from the bridges, when Ramseur's division, held back behind the batteries,

was to cross by the bridges and aid in accomplishing the total discomfiture of his opponent.

Skirmishing began on the west side of the river about nine o'clock. Many of Early's skirmishers were dressed in the blue clothing which Sigel had left for them at Martinsburg, and the Maryland hundred-day men could not be persuaded to fire at them and begged the Vermonters to stop firing, till the humming of minie balls about their ears and the wounding of some of their men satisfied them that they were facing foes. Early gave his immediate opponents just enough to attend to to keep them where they were, while Gordon moved to the ford. Here McCausland's cavalry had driven away the company of Illinois cavalry posted to guard the ford. Then, crossing the stream, McCausland dismounted two of his regiments, and without waiting for the infantry, moved up against the left of Ricketts's line. He was, however, easily repulsed, with the aid of a section of the Baltimore battery. In this repulse, a portion of the Tenth took part. Meantime Gordon crossed at the ford, and moving up on the east side deployed his column under cover of the woods. The character and object of his movement had become plain to General Ricketts and he changed his front to meet it, swinging back his left and advancing the right of his line, t'll it stood nearly at right angles with the river. His right rested on the river. His left extended to the junction of the Buckeystown road with the Washington pike, and his left regiment was the Tenth Vermont. Here, a short distance back from the pike, stood the brick house of Mr. Thomas, the owner of the farm on which the opposing lines were formed, and from behind the fences to the right and left of this house the Tenth resisted for a time the first advance of the enemy.[1] South of the Thomas house stretched

[1] At the sudden opening of the artillery firing in the morning Mr. Thomas and his family fled to the cellar of his house, where they remained all day. Some wounded men of the Tenth Vermont were taken into the

a piece of open and nearly level ground, some 700 yards wide, ending at the skirt of timber, in and behind which Gordon formed his lines. General Gordon formed his division in three lines, partly *en echelon*. Evans's brigade of Georgia troops[2] formed his first line and advanced on his right. His second line comprised Hays's and Stafford's brigades of Louisiana troops, under General York; his third line was the "Stonewall brigade" and Jones's brigade, of Virginia troops, under General William Terry. Several guns, of King's Virginia artillery, were also brought across by the ford and were disposed in Gordon's line.

To oppose this formidable array General Wallace relied on his left wing. He dared not bring troops from his right to support his left, for he was momentarily expecting an attempt to force a crossing by the stone bridge, upon successful resistance to which depended his own possession of the Baltimore pike, to relinquish which would be to allow himself to be pinched between two bodies, each stronger than his own. He, however, sent to Ricketts two more guns of Alexander's battery; called in the skirmishers from across the river, though only a portion of them got the order to come in; and burned the wooden bridge, to prevent the throwing of a force across the river by that means upon Ricketts's right flank.

To resist Gordon's five brigades, Ricketts had a brigade and a half, and was at a like heavy disadvantage as regarded artillery, the Confederate batteries across the river continuing active, and enfilading his line after his change of front, without any reply from his guns.

The movements and dispositions of forces occupied the

cellar. During the fighting in the afternoon the walls of the house were pierced with solid shot and shell; and later in the day the house was filled with Confederate wounded.

The Thirteenth, Twenty-sixth, Thirty-first, Thirty-eighth, Sixtieth and Sixty-first Georgia.

forenoon and two hours after noon. In General Ricketts's final re-arrangement of his line, the Tenth was drawn back from the Thomas house to the Washington pike. This at that point ran through a cut, which afforded protection from the front fire, though shells still dropped into it from across the river. To guard his left flank, which was the extreme left of Ricketts's line, Colonel Henry detached Major Dillingham with three companies, and sent him a short distance down the Buckeystown road, where he took position behind a fence and fringe of bushes. About three o'clock Gordon's skirmishers emerged from the woods and advanced, followed by the battle line of Evans's brigade, which faced the line of the One Hundred and Sixth New York and Tenth Vermont, extending beyond the latter to its left. Alexander's guns opened on the advancing line, and it halted and lay down till the second line had closed up in its rear, when the men of Evans's brigade sprang up and advanced in excellent order, with colors flying. Awaiting them was a line of bare-headed men along the sunken road, tearing cartridges and putting them in little convenient piles, or dropping buckshot into guns already loaded with ball. "Aim low and wait for the order to fire," was the word passed along the line, and the butternut ranks were permitted to approach till the "C. S. A." on their equipments was almost visible, when Colonel Henry gave the order, and a sheet of fire burst from the road-side and a shower of lead beat against their front. They halted and opened fire, but with comparatively little effect, so far at least as the Tenth Vermont was concerned; and they soon fell back in disorder. General Gordon, in his report, kindly suggests that Evans's alignment was broken by the wheat-stacks in the field through which he charged; but the official statements of the loss of his brigade show that it encountered some shocks that were not of wheat. General Evans was wounded, and Colonel Lamar and the lieutenant colonel of the Sixty-first Georgia were killed.

"Several other regimental commanders of this brigade," says Gordon, "were wounded, some it is feared, mortally," and the brigade lost heavily both in officers and men.

Gordon now advanced his second and third lines, and a continuous fight of an hour or more followed. A portion of Evans's line passed the Thomas house, only to be raked and driven back by the fire of Dillingham's detachment. A Confederate officer appears, flag in hand, to lead a charge against the Union line; but as he shouts to his men to follow, he goes down with the colors, and the line he was to lead melts and scatters back to shelter. The contest here becomes one of sharpshooting between the lines, about twenty rods apart. But Gordon is steadily extending his lines beyond Ricketts's flank, while the latter desperately held his position, in hopes that the arrival of the other half of his Second brigade, which was momentarily expected, would turn the scale in his favor. But Colonel McClennan, for some unexplained reason, never came. He stopped at Monrovia Station, eight miles to the rear; and, though thus within hearing of the battle, he there remained, with his command. Despairing at last of help from this or any other quarter, General Wallace was brought face to face with the question of retreat; but inspired, as he says, "by the splendid behavior of Ricketts and his men," he held on till the gathering strength of the enemy on both flanks of the latter, showed that to longer hold his ground was certain capture. General Wallace accordingly ordered Ricketts to fall back to the Baltimore pike, along which the hundred-day men were already retreating, and to make his way by that route to New Market, Md.

The sudden starting of Alexander's guns to the rear and the yells of the enemy from the direction of the river, as they followed up the departure of the right of Rickett's line, told the officers of the Tenth that something was happening in that quarter; but having no orders to leave, Colonel Henry held on with his regiment and the One Hundred and Sixth

New York till after all the rest of the division had retreated. At last an order reached him to "for God's sake" get his command out as soon as possible. This was easier said than done. The enemy already blocked the way to the cross-road along which the rest of the division had retired, and had occupied the pike on the left. Behind the regimental line was a high fence and corn-field. This was on rising ground, which would expose the men to the enemy's fire; but it was the only way out. Sending word to Dillingham to follow, Henry ordered his men to start for the rear, and stay not on the order of their going. They rushed for the fence; threaded the corn-field, their flight hastened by the zip of bullets among the corn and the yells of the pursuing enemy; took a circuit around a hill and through an orchard; reached the railroad track beyond; and made their way along this to the east to a country road leading across to the Baltimore pike. They went a short distance on this road, till Colonel Henry, from the top of a hill, perceived that their retreat by that way was likely to be cut off. He accordingly turned back; rallied a short line of fugitives and drove back a party of the enemy who were approaching through a railroad cut; and then took his regiment, now reduced to about 150 muskets, together with a few men of the One Hundred and Sixth New York who had fought and retreated with the Tenth Vermont, by way of the railroad track to Monrovia Station.

So much for the main body of the regiment. The experiences of Lieutenant Davis and the skirmishers under his command, across the river, can best be told in his own words. He says:

About 10:30 A. M., during the first charge, the long wooden bridge at my left, over the river, was burned by order of General Wallace, to guard against a flank attack upon General Ricketts's line from the enemy. Previous to firing the bridge, the picket line from the hill to the bridge had been withdrawn without notice to us. This was a queer predicament; nothing upon my left; raw recruits upon my

right; the enemy advancing upon our front; the Monocacy river behind us. My orders in the morning were "to hold the bridge over the railroad at all hazards." I sent a soldier to wade or swim the river, and ask for instructions from Lieut. Colonel C. G. Chandler, in charge of the division skirmish detail. My soldier brought back no instructions, but the comforting intelligence that Lieut. Colonel Chandler supposed that we had retreated over the bridge before it was burned. The enemy pressed us so hard at one time that for a few moments we sought refuge in a railroad cut a few rods to the rear, but quickly regained our position and held it. It was now noon. No orders had been received from any source since the first charge in the morning. We knew not the plan or situation, only as apparent to the eye. Not many of the 100-day men were injured, unless by the weight of their heavy knapsacks, for most of them left us in season to have reached a place of safety. When the last attack was made by the enemy at 3:30 P. M., and during the severe fighting in the hour or more that followed, our skirmish line was actively engaged. A sharp watch of the enemy before us and of our two exposed flanks—posts vacated by the withdrawal of the picket at our left when the bridge was burned, and by the the retreat of the recruits at our right—rendered our situation very exciting. Apprehending an advance of the enemy at my left, I sent a man to examine and report. He was shot at once. Immediately the enemy was seen passing around our left to cut us off from retreat by the iron bridge. While this was going on we saw our division falling back, and the division headquarters flag was crossing the railroad in our rear. It was now time for us to leave or be taken prisoners. We crossed the iron bridge, stepping upon the ties, there being no floor. The enemy came in upon us, upon both flanks, firing at our backs at a range of ten to 20 rods, and calling upon us to surrender. Some of our men were killed; others were wounded and fell through the bridge to the Monocacy river, 40 feet below. Five of my own company marching near me were taken prisoners upon or near the bridge, one of whom died in Andersonville prison. One-third of my picket detail were killed, wounded or captured. It has always been a mystery how any of us escaped the bullet or capture. We soon came up with our division, and in due time turned from the cross road into the pike, pursued by the Confederate cavalry, who harassed our rear.

At Monrovia Station Colonel Henry found that the portion of the Second brigade which had waited there during

the battle, had moved back to New Market. He was fortunate enough also to find on the track an engine and train of empty cars, upon which he at once placed his men and took them back to the intersection of the railroad and Baltimore pike, near New Market. Here he stopped, posted outposts on the cross roads and awaited the arrival of General Wallace, who was marching thither by the pike. Wallace arrived about dark, and was glad to find there the Tenth, which he supposed had been captured.

The battle of the Monocacy, it will be perceived, was fought by Ricketts's division, or rather by a portion thereof. Of the behavior of the division General Wallace says: "It would be a difficult t: :k to say enough in praise of the veterans who made this fight. For the truth's sake, I wish it distinctly understood that though the appearance of the enemy's fourth line of battle made their ultimate defeat certain, they were not whipped; on the contrary, they were fighting steadily with unbroken front when I ordered their retirement." The division suffered heavily, losing 84 killed, 511 wounded and 1,054 reported missing, about half of whom were cut off and captured—the rest scattering into the woods, and soon rejoining their commands. This was the loss of about every other man of those engaged. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded largely exceeded the Union loss in killed and wounded. Early, in his "Memoir," says his loss was "about 700" killed and wounded. This is a heavy under-statement. General Gordon, in his report, admits a loss of 698 in his division alone;[1] but though this

[1] I desire to state a fact of which I was an eye witness, and which for its rare occurrence and the evidence it affords of the sanguinary character of this struggle, I consider worthy of official mention. One portion of the enemy's line extended along a branch, from which he was driven, leaving many dead and wounded in the water and upon its banks. The position was in turn occupied by a portion of Evans's brigade. * * * So profuse was the flow of blood from the killed and wounded of both these forces that it reddened the stream for more than a hundred yards below. I regret to state that my loss was heavy in both officers and men."—Report of Major General John B. Gordon.

did most of the fighting on the Confederate side, Early's loss was by no means confined to this division. His cavalry must have lost a number of men, and the skirmishing on the west side of the river was not without loss to the enemy. Early left in Frederick City over 400 men too severely wounded to be moved; and this number was evidently but a fraction of his total loss, which probably exceeded 1,000.

The casualties in the Tenth Vermont were astonishingly small. They were three killed and 26 wounded—of whom four died of their wounds—and 32 missing.[1] Of the latter, nine died in Confederate prisons. Among the men at first reported missing, who came in later, was Oscar E. Wait of company I, who after being captured near Monrovia by the Confederate cavalry, made his escape by knocking down a guard. He was recaptured three days later near Clarksburg, and while on the way to Richmond with 300 other prisoners, he picked up a discarded gray jacket, slipped it over his blouse, and taking a musket which one of the guard had left leaning against a tree for a moment, during a halt at night, took his place among the guard, instead of with the prisoners. Watching his opportunity he then made his escape, accompanied by a comrade, and the two reached the Union lines in safety, bringing with them a Confederate officer with his horse and arms, whom they met and captured on the road at some distance from his command.

The battle of the Monocacy was overshadowed by other less important events attending Early's raid against Washington; and so made less stir at the time and occupies much less space in the histories than it deserves. It was a stout

[1] The killed were Sergeant Lyman B. Pike and Corporal J. G. Wright of company E, and Wm. H. Dutton of company I. Sergeant W. Peabody and Dennis Loehlin of company C. Albert Bellows of company F and Albert M. Smith died of wounds.

Martin Cane of company B, L. B. Vineent of company F, L. G. Woodbury of company G, Rufus Noyes of company H, H. D. Batehley and E. W Skeels of company I, and Leander Davis of company K, died in prison at Danville, Va., and Robert Rankin of company D, died at Savannah, Ga.

and most creditable fight on the part of the veteran troops engaged; and, though a defeat in name and fact, it accomplished as much as many a victory; for it delayed Early's advance on Washington for two days. The time thus gained enabled the rest of the Sixth Corps to reach Washington about as soon as he did, as has been elsewhere narrated, and in all human probability saved the national capital from capture. To have had a gallant share in this achievement, is a distinction of which the Tenth Vermont had a right to be proud.

Wallace bivouacked that night, with his shattered command, near New Market, about twelve miles from the field, and next day continued his retreat to Ellicot's Mills, fifteen miles west of Baltimore. There the exhausted men were supplied with food by the loyal citizens: but the Tenth Vermont had but short time for rest, being ordered on six miles, farther, to the Relay House. It arrived there that night, with 12 officers and 69 men fit for duty.[1] This number however, was trebled when the stragglers came in. The regiment had been continually under arms for seventy hours. It was marching about Frederick City all day Friday: marched most of Friday night; stood in line all day and fought for eight hours on Saturday; and marched over forty miles, in retreat, with scant rations, during the next twenty-four hours —all this in the hot July weather! Under such circumstances, straggling was no crime.

On the 11th the regiment went by train to Baltimore. The loyal population of that city had been in great alarm, occasioned by the defeat of Wallace and by Harry Gilmor's cavalry raid on the Baltimore and Philadelphia road, in which he captured Major General Franklin and some civilians, among the latter being D. W. C. Clarke, of Burlington.[2]

[1] Statement of Chaplain Haynes.

[2] General Franklin soon made his escape, and the civilians were released by Gilmor.

This and other incidents of Gilmor's raid, such as the burning of Governor Bradford's suburban residence near the city created much excitement in Baltimore, which, however, was in a measure relieved by the arrival of Ricketts's veterans.

On the 14th, the division took cars for Washington, and next day marched through Georgetown to Tenallytown, and on towards Edwards Ferry following the other divisions of the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps, which had gone in pursuit of Early. On the 16th the division forded the Potomac two miles below Edwards Ferry, and at Leesburg next day overtook the Nineteenth Corps and found Colonel Thomas of the Eighth Vermont in command of the troops doing guard duty in the town, and that nest of guerrillas perfectly quiet under his firm rule. Near Leesburg, on the evening of the 17th, the division joined the rest of the Sixth Corps. The Tenth, with the division, shared the hard marching of the next two weeks, back and forth in Maryland. On the 28th it was again at Monocacy Junction, where some of the Vermonters found some of the bodies of both the Union and Confederate dead still unburied on the field, and buried them.

IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

The campaign in the Shenandoah Valley under Sheridan, began on the 8th of August. In the march to Winchester on the 10th, the Tenth Vermont guarded the wagon train. About this time Colonel Henry was taken sick and obliged to leave his command. During the engagement at Charlestown, Va., on the 21st, the regiment stood to arms with the Third division; but no serious fighting took place at that end of the line.

On the 6th of September the regiment voted for Vermont State officers. The marching and experiences of the last few weeks had told heavily on the health of the officers

and men. Colonel Henry, Lieut. Colonel Chandler, Captain Salsbury and others went home on sick-leave, and the sick list of the regiment exceeded 300.

In the battle of the Opequon on the 19th of September, the regiment was commanded by Major Dillingham, who took about 350 men into the fight. In the first deployment of the Sixth Corps on that field Ricketts's division was formed in two lines on the right of the Berryville pike, facing Ramseur's division, the Nineteenth Corps being on its right. About noon, in the advance of the brigade and division to the assault, under the severe fire of Braxton's artillery, Major Dillingham was struck in the left thigh by a solid shot which almost tore off the leg. He was borne bleeding to the rear and died in three hours. About the same time Lieutenant Hill of company H had his thigh-bone splintered by a grape shot, inflicting a wound from which he died. After the fall of Major Dillingham, the command of the Tenth devolved upon Captain Lucius T. Hunt of company H, who handled the regiment efficiently, assisted by Adjutant Lyman. The regiment advanced through a piece of woods and across an open field, when it came under musketry fire from the enemy's line, a short distance beyond. The first line halted and began firing; the second line closed upon it, and lines and commands became considerably mixed for a time. Under the charge of Battles's brigade, of Rodes's division, which beat back the left of the Nineteenth Corps and the right of Ricketts's division, the Tenth fell back with the brigade; was re-formed advanced again and lay down till ordered forward in the last grand charge and rout of the enemy, in which the regiment participated with spirit.

The rejoicing among the men of the Tenth over the punishment inflicted in this battle on Gordon's and Ramseur's divisions, which had so roughly handled Ricketts's division in the battle of the Monocacy, was sadly tempered by sorrow

over the loss of their gallant young major,[1] and of other good officers and men.

The Tenth lost in this battle 11 killed and 52 wounded. Four men were reported missing, all of whom soon after rejoined the regiment. Among the wounded were First Lieutenant L. A. Abbott of company E, who was shot in the

[1] Edwin Dillingham was born in Waterbury, on the 13th of May, 1839, being the second son of Hon. Paul Dillingham and his wife, Julia C. Carpenter. His boyhood and youth were spent in his native town. In 1858 he began the study of law in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the office of his brother-in-law, the Hon. Matthew H. Carpenter, and afterwards pursued his studies in the law school at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where he graduated with honor in the autumn of 1859. In 1860 he was admitted to the Washington County bar, and was his father's law partner when, in the summer of 1862, he decided to enlist. He recruited a company, of which he was elected captain, which became company B of the Tenth regiment. Soon after the regiment took the field, Captain Dillingham was detailed for duty on the staff of General Morris, the brigade commander, and acted as aid to this officer at the battle of Orange Grove, November 27th, 1863. While carrying an order to his own regiment, during this battle, his horse was shot under him and he was taken prisoner. He was confined in Libby Prison for four months; was paroled in March following, and soon afterwards exchanged. During the Wilderness campaign he took a battalion of exchanged prisoners to the front and rejoined his regiment at Cold Harbor, on the 3d of June. Colonel Henry had been wounded on the 1st, and Captain Frost, the ranking line officer, mortally wounded. Lieut. Colonel Chandler was soon taken sick, and the command of the Tenth devolved for a time upon Captain Dillingham. He was commissioned major on the 17th of June, and from this time until his death he was constantly with the regiment. He was second in command and distinguished himself at the battle of the Monocacy. He commanded the regiment at Charlestown on the 21st of August, and from this time on until he fell. Among his last words were these: "I am willing to give my life for my country, and I am not afraid to die." A comrade described him as "young, handsome, brilliant, brave amid trials, cheerful under discouragements, upright, and with the kindness of heart which characterizes the true gentleman, combined with firmness and energy as a commander; respected by all of his command, and loved by all his companions." His remains were taken for interment to his home in Waterbury.

Daniel Gilbert Hill was born in Hubbardton in 1844. His parents moved to Wallingford, where he was reared upon his father's farm. At the opening of the war he was a druggist's clerk, at Rutland. He enlisted in the summer of 1862 in Captain Sheldon's company, and on the organization of the regiment he was appointed commissary sergeant. He was

face, First Lieutenant George E. Davis of company D, who was stunned by the explosion of a shell (which took off the head of a man at his side) and was slightly wounded in the ear by a fragment, and Lieutenant Hill.[1]

At Fisher's Hill on the 21st, the Tenth was with the First brigade of the third division of the Sixth Corps, which formed the right of Sheridan's line, on the west slope of Flint's Hill. It took part in the rush upon the enemy's works on the afternoon of the 22d, the men crazy with excitement as they dashed over abatis and breastwork and seized gun after gun, from which Gordon's men had fled. In this battle, Lieutenant John A. Hicks of the Tenth, aid on

commissioned second lieutenant of company H, in January, 1863, when he was less than 19 years old, and five months later was promoted to be first lieutenant of company G. He served as aid to General Morris, during the year 1863, and in the battles of Kelley's Ford and Orange Grove. In March, 1864, he returned to his company. He fought in all the battles in which his regiment was engaged until he fell at the Opequon. He sank under two successive amputations of the thigh, in the hospital at Winchester, and died there a few weeks after. His body was taken to his home in Wallingford for burial.

[1]The rank and file killed were: Company F, Sergeant Orcemer R. McGowan and Corporal John Louiselle; company G, Ira J. Bager, Edwin S. Battles, Peter Bingham and Josiah Clark; company H, Owen Bartley, Duncan Carron, Aaron P. Knight and Simon Lesage.

The wounded were: Company A, Corporal J. B. Berthiaume, Corporal C. A. Conelly and Joseph Tyler; company B, Sergeant Jerome Ayers, I. I. Johnson, W. H. Crossett and John Rublee; company C, Henry Minor, Edward P Kimberly, John Lewis, H. D. Bates, Joseph White, F. H. Hoadley, Allen Rogers, M. Hubbard and N. King; company D, Sergeant H. C. Irish, Sergeant G. P. Shedd, Emerson Fay, Alfred Boucher, George Burnett and Charles Cushman; company E, George W Bennett and B. C. Gilder; company F. Sergeant L. H. Robinson, Corporal Thomas Phelps, W. S. Dingman, L. Shepard, John Larose and George A. Parker; company G, Corporal D. B. Freeman, N. F. Doton, D. B. Fuller and D. M. Gilson; company H, Sergeant E. J. Herrick, S. H. Parker, Corporal I. M. Dunbar, D. J. Keating, John Daily, W A. Sloan and F. J. Hale; company I, David Gochey; company K, Sergeant B. B. Clark, Sergeant Haschil Hunt, Corporal Zopher M. Mansur, Ambrose Allard, Dawson Burt, Frederick Root and William Law.

Of the wounded Emerson C. Fay of company C, and Dan B. Fuller of company G, died of their wounds.

the staff of the brigade commander, was severely wounded in the thigh, and Lieutenant Foster, of company B, received a slight wound in the shoulder. The casualties in the rank and file were one man killed, Plummer B. Hall, who was shot while detailed as a sharpshooter on the skirmish line, and six men wounded.[1]

At Cedar Creek, on the 19th of October, Colonel Henry was in command, having rejoined his regiment at Harrisonburg, but was hardly convalescent from his fever. The Third division of the Sixth Corps was nearer to the point of attack of the enemy than the other divisions of the corps, and at the sound of the first volley, at its left, the Tenth fell promptly into line in the early morning. Soon the division headquarters flag flew along the line, and Colonel Keifer, commanding, (General Ricketts being in command of the corps), took the division to the left and rear, to the crest where the First and Third divisions formed a line a little west of the pike and parallel with it, facing east. Gordon and Kershaw had overborne the resistance offered by Thomas's brigade and other troops of the Nineteenth Corps, and were pressing forward. The fog and smoke hid all movements at any distance; but the crowd of fugitives streaming by to the rear betokened serious trouble in front. The Third division was soon engaged, taking the brunt of the assault of Pegram's division, which had joined Gordon and Kershaw. Under a heavy fire from the front and an enfilading fire from a hill on the right, the line of the division fell back to a low ridge 400 yards farther west. Three pieces of McKnight's battery (M, Fifth U. S.) had been left behind in this retrograde movement, and the enemy had advanced to seize them, when General Ricketts rode up to the First brigade. "My God, boys," he

[1] The men wounded were Leroy Dodge and George Tatro of company B; Thomas Maguire of company D; Sergeant A. N. Nye of company F; Corporal A. Litchfield and Colby Rogers of company K. Norton Danforth of company K, received a severe sabre cut on the head, August 24th.

shouted, "you are not going to leave McKnight's guns there? About face, and draw them off!" The brigade faced about, and sprang toward the guns, the Tenth Vermont a little in advance. The enemy were gathering thickly around the guns; but were dispersed by several volleys, and the battery was saved, though before the regiment retired from the crest with the pieces, the enemy were in force on three sides, and a number of brave men of its number had fallen. Captain Thompson was here killed, Lieutenant Davis received a scalp wound, and Adjutant Lyman was shot through both legs. Of the action of the regiment in this and the subsequent portions of the battle, Colonel Henry says in his report:

When our line fell back, three pieces of Captain McKnight's battery (M, 5th U S.) had been left, and the rebels advanced to these guns. Seeing this, a charge was ordered, and the regiment, with the colors in advance, charged up to the guns and recovered them. Sergeant William Mahoney, of company E, color-bearer of the regiment, was the first to reach the guns, planting the colors upon one of them. The rebels gave way in confusion, and fled across the valley and over the ridge beyond. The re-captured guns were drawn off, it being necessary to draw two of them some distance by hand.

The rebels, having rallied, poured in a heavy fire from the front and right, a heavy column advancing up the valley from that direction. The troops on the left falling back beyond our line, we were soon exposed to a fire from that flank also. The loss at this point was very severe, and the line fell back to the second ridge. Here a stand was made, and the rebels were again driven from the crest in front, which they attempted to carry. But pursuing their advantage on the left, they soon flanked us in such force as to compel a retreat of the whole line. Although broken and somewhat scattered in places, the line fell back slowly, the men constantly turning and firing. In this way we retired about a mile, the enemy having all the time a cross-fire of musketry upon us, as well as a sharp fire from several guns commanding the whole plain. Captain L. D. Thompson, commanding company D, was killed while thus retreating, and the loss was very heavy. Reaching a cross road, the line was halted, and re-formed about nine A. M. The enemy forebore to press

us further on this point, but as they advanced on our left, our line was withdrawn some distance further.

At this time General Sheridan arrived on the field. The line was immediately re-formed. Breastworks of rails and logs were thrown up, in which we lay until about half-past three P. M., when a general advance was ordered. The regiment, with the general line of the division, moved forward through woods into an open field, where the advance was checked for a few minutes, until the remainder of the line coming up, we again pushed on and drove the rebels from a strong position behind a stone wall, forcing them back about half a mile. Here they took up a very strong position on a continuous ridge, along the crest of which ran a stone wall, and made a determined stand. The fire was incessant and very heavy for about half an hour, but the enemy finally gave way before our fire. A general charge was ordered, and the troops advancing on the run, the rebels gave way in complete disorder. The cavalry took up the pursuit, and little resistance was attempted after this time. In this last charge Sergeant Mahoney, color-bearer, was shot dead while gallantly advancing with the colors at the front of the regiment. We advanced over the battle-ground of the morning, and soon after dark took possession of our old camp.

It is impossible to particularize any officers or men, where all so fully performed their duty and behaved so nobly. Adjutant Lyman was wounded while falling back from the first position, while encouraging the men by voice and example, and most gallantly performing the duties of his position. Captain Dewey, company A, commanded the regiment during the last charge, and led it through that severe engagement in a manner calling for high commendation.

Colonel Henry led the regiment in the charge which rescued McKnight's battery; but his strength gave out as the regiment fell back through the meadow, before the second stand was made, north of Middletown, and he would have been left in the hands of the enemy if Sergeant Green and Corporal Crown of company D had not assisted him, each taking him by an arm, and leading him out of the line of fire. He was able to resume command again, for a time, but again yielded to fatigue and exhaustion, and Captain Dewey, as above related, took command, and led the regiment in the final charge. Captain Salsbury, who had been tem-

porarily in command of the Tenth, was detailed in the afternoon to command the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, which had lost all of its officers above the rank of first lieutenant.[1]

The Tenth Vermont lost nearly one-third of the 297 officers and men who stood in its line this day. Of the seventeen officers who went into the battle only seven came out unharmed. The loss of the regiment was 15 killed, 66 wounded, nine of whom died of their wounds, and four missing.[2] Captain Lucian D. Thompson, whose death has been mentioned, was slain by a musket ball which passed through

[1] Captain Salsbury commanded the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania for the six weeks following. He was complimented by the brigade commander in a formal order and was brevetted major for his gallantry at Cedar Creek.

[2] The rank and file killed were: Company B, Sergeant Leonard J. Foster, Jr.; company E, Color-Sergeant William Mahoney and Luther Moffitt; company F, Corporal John M. Aseltyne and William Proctor; company G, Sergeant Henry F. Freeman, Henry P. Burnham, Charles H. Crocker and George G. Edsou; company H, Sergeant Sylvester H. Parker, Corporal James Hale, Norman B. Read and Franklin B. Whitcomb; company K, Chauncey C. Meacham.

The rank and file wounded were: Company A, Corporal G. C. Walter, G. H. Conly and R. C. Cole; company B, Sergeant A. H. Hoyt, George Brown, Isaac Godfrey, Robert Patterson and E. C. Crossett; company C, Sergeant William Schollar, Sergeant E. R. Buxton, Sergeant Samuel Green, Corporal C. C. Churchill, C. R Dyon, Peter Avery, James Burns, John Carroll, J. D. Hall, Francis Bedell, Michael Naylor, Thomas Hennessy and Christopher George; company D, Sergeant O. G. Brown, Corporal Alexander Scott, Martin L. Currier, James H. Cain, Stephen Lajoie, John Mayo and Patrick Gilhooly; company E, Sergeant Lucian A. Foot and A. J. Mattison; company F, Sergeant R. H. Rice, Corporal W A. Jewett, Corporal J. B. Roubillard, L. M. Rice, Lyman Kenney, Peter Shova and Michael Green; company G, John Clough, Moses C. Bacon, B. G. Chatfield, Alfred Clark, C. A. Kelley, C. E. Porter and H. T. Smith; company H, C. L. Corbin, C. E. Ware, J. F. Baldwin, Patrick Finegan, H. M. Holmes and E. A. Pease; company I, Corporal Charles Paine, A. S. Ormsby and Philander Allen; company K, Corporal Ezra L. Litchfield, B. F. Bowen, John Heath and B. A. Hunt.

Of the above, Sergeant Lucian A. Foot of company E, James H. Cain and John Mayo of company D, Lyman Henry and Loren M. Rice of company F, James F. Baldwin of company H, Benjamin F. Brown and Bradbury A. Hunt of company K, died of their wounds.

his head from ear to ear—being the second captain of his company thus shot through the head, and the last of the three original commissioned officers of this company to die in battle.[1]

Among the wounded were Adjutant Wyllys Lyman, severely wounded in the thigh; Captain Chester F. Nye of company F, who received a wound in the arm, which occasioned his discharge two months after; Second Lieutenant B. Brooks Clark, of company E, who received wounds in the abdomen and leg, from which he died two weeks later[2]; Lieutenant George E. Davis of company E, wounded in the head and shoulder; Lieutenant James M. Read, severe contusion; Lieutenant William Clark of company I, contusion; Second Lieutenant Charles W Wheeler of company I, leg; First Lieutenant George P Welch of company K, severe wound in the head; and Second Lieutenant Austin W Fuller, severely wounded in the arm and side; the two last named receiving injuries which occasioned their discharge in the following December. The behavior of the regiment won very high praise from its superior officers.

The regiment remained with the Sixth Corps in the valley a little more than two months, but had no more fighting to do. On the 8th of November it voted for president, casting 195 votes for Lincoln and 12 for McClellan. On the 9th it moved back to Kernstown with the army; and on the 10th a picket detail drove back a party of Rosser's cavalry.

[1]Captain Thompson was a native of Waterbury. He assisted in the recruiting of Captain Dillingham's company and was elected its second lieutenant. In December, 1862, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy in company G. His modesty made him hesitate to accept promotion, but the tests of a dozen battles showed him deserving of further advancement, and in June, 1864, upon the death of Captain Darrah, he was promoted to the captaincy of company D. He participated in all the engagements in which the regiment subsequently took part. His body lay on the field for several hours, and was partially stripped by the enemy; but was recovered after the battle and was sent to Waterbury for burial.

[2] Lieutenant Clark had been commissioned but not mustered.

On the 21st it took part in the review of the Sixth Corps by General Sheridan, and on the 24th it celebrated Thanksgiving Day, dining on turkey sent to the army by the citizens of New York city The men built winter quarters, but did not occupy them long. In the last week in November the movement of the Sixth Corps to rejoin the Army of the Potomac began. Following the First division, which started November 29th, the Third division, on the 3d of December, marched to Stevenson's Station and was packed into freight cars, and bade a final adieu to the valley. Arriving at Washington in the morning of the 4th, the troops took steamer to City Point, where the regiment arrived at ten A. M. of the 5th. There taking the military railroad the regiment was landed at Parke Station, and the next day moved into the intrenchments near Warren Station recently occupied by Ayres's division of the Fifth Corps, on the left of the Weldon railroad. Here the men found good quarters already built, and all was quiet in front.

On the 9th the regiment moved out with the division in a storm of snow and rain, to man the lines near Hatcher's Run, in place of troops which had gone to destroy the Weldon railroad, thirty miles below. Next day the men stood in line for six hours, in half frozen mud, and then the division moved back to its camp. A day or two later the regiment was moved to Fort Dushane, the southernmost fort on the Union lines, near the Weldon road. Here it remained till the 23d. During their two weeks' stay at this point, the men managed, in spite of the scanty supply of lumber, to build some rough cabins, which served as a partial protection against the severity of the wintry weather. About this time General Truman Seymour, the former commander of the Second brigade, assumed command of the division and it was moved forward on December 23d to the front line of defences. The camp of the regiment was close to the military railroad, near Fort Keene, half a mile west of the Wel-

don railroad, and about a mile east of the position of the First Vermont brigade. It was within a few rods of the Union front line, and a little more than a mile from the rebel lines. The weather was stormy, wood was scarce and the men suffered much from cold and exposure, until they built huts on the slippery clay soil, after which the remainder of the winter was passed in comparative comfort, for soldiers facing the enemy Picket duty was especially severe and the men did their share of work on the entrenchments. Thanks to the watchfulness and care of the officers and surgeons and the excellent discipline of the men, the health of the regiment was excellent throughout the winter, and the men of the Tenth were complimented in special orders by Colonel Scriver, medical inspector of the army, for cleanliness of person and of quarters and for the orderly arrangements of their camp.

During the month of December, several important changes occurred among the field and line officers. Captain Nye, of company F, and Lieutenants Welch and Fuller[1] of company K, were honorably discharged on account of wounds received at Cedar Creek. Major Hunt was compelled to resign by the outbreak of his wound received at Cold Harbor. His departure took from the command an officer of mature years, of large experience, in part in the U S. Army, in which he had served several years in the cavalry before the civil war, and of unfailing courage. Lieut. Colonel Chandler had been court-martialled and dismissed—the only field officer of a Vermont regiment ever so disciplined.[2] Colonel

[1] Lieutenant Fuller received an appointment in the Ninth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps.

[2] Lieut. Colonel Chandler was tried November 1st, 1864, upon a charge of cowardice in the battle of Cedar Creek; was found guilty by the court, and on the 24th of December was discharged in accordance with the sentence. In 1868, the Regimental Association of the Tenth Vermont adopted a resolution requesting that the record against him be changed to an honorable discharge. In 1875, after Lieut. Colonel Chandler's death, a resolution appealing to Congress to remove the record of disgrace, "which," says the

Henry, who had long suffered from a tendency to pulmonary disease, was obliged by the condition of his health to resign. His departure was greatly regretted by the officers and men, and their personal regard and regret found expression in a highly complimentary parting testimonial, signed by all but two of the officers of the regiment. In this paper they also requested Colonel Henry to carry home with him and present to the Legislature of Vermont the tattered colors of the regiment, under which no less than twenty of the color-guard had been killed or wounded. A new and beautiful State flag was thereupon purchased and presented to the regiment by citizens of Rutland, Burlington and Montpelier. In recognition of Colonel Henry's services, he was also recommended by his superior officers for the brevet rank of brigadier general, which he received in the following March.

The regiment, after the departure of its field officers, was commanded by Captain George B. Damon, of company G, who was at once promoted to be major, and a month later was further promoted to be lieutenant colonel. Adjutant Wyllys Lyman was thereupon appointed major, and Lieutenant James M. Reed succeeded him as adjutant of the regiment.

At the opening of the year 1865, the Tenth had an aggregate of 789 officers and men, with 418 for duty—325 being on the sick list, and 27 prisoners of war.

resolution, "we believe to have been brought about by the too precipitate action of the court-martial," was presented to the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, and was at a subsequent meeting unanimously adopted, on the strength of a report presented by General W. W Henry, which stated that previous to the battle of Cedar Creek, Lieut. Colonel Chandler had borne an excellent reputation for courage; that he had shown himself on previous occasions a brave and efficient officer; that in the earlier hours of the battle of Cedar Creek he assisted in the recapture of the guns of McKnight's battery; that when tried, he had but a day's notice of the charges and insufficient time to prepare for the trial that the action of the court was precipitate, and that in the opinion of the committee the finding of the court would have been disapproved by the Judge Advocate General if all the facts, and especially Lieut. Colonel Chandler's previous good character for courage and fidelity, had been brought out. No action upon the subject was taken by Congress.

In the assault upon and capture of the enemy's entrenched picket line in front of Petersburg on the 25th of March, the Tenth took an important part. As has been shown in previous pages, this affair had almost the proportions of a pitched battle, half of the Sixth Corps and a large portion of the Second Corps being engaged, and losing over 800 men in killed and wounded, while Hill's corps on the other side lost as many or more killed and wounded, besides nearly a thousand men captured.

The Tenth stood to arms that morning with the rest of the corps, during the capture and re-capture of Fort Steadman; and half of the regiment was among the first troops of the Sixth Corps sent to feel of the enemy's lines in the counter assault of the afternoon. The picket line of General Seymour's division that day consisted of 230 men of the Tenth Vermont and 160 of the Fourteenth New Jersey. Directions having been received from General Wright to push out the skirmish lines, in order to see if the enemy had depleted his force at that point to reinforce his left, General Seymour sent Lieut. Colonel Damon to temporarily relieve the division field-officer of the day, and take command of the pickets. The One Hundred and Tenth and One Hundred and Twenty-second Ohio regiments, of Keifer's brigade, were sent to him to support his line. At three o'clock Damon ordered forward his men, in the general advance of the skirmishers. They were received with a brisk fire of musketry from the rifle-pits in front, and of artillery from the enemy's batteries farther back, to which the Union batteries replied with effect. The men of the Tenth had advanced about half way across the open ground in their front, when they perceived that the skirmishers on their right had halted and some of them were retreating, followed by the enemy's skirmishers. They accordingly halted and lay down. Elsewhere the pickets and their supports fell back to the original line. A stronger assault was now organized.

General Keifer brought forward the other four regiments of his brigade to support those before employed, which were now put into the skirmish line, and himself took charge of the movement. The detachment of the Tenth Vermont, as before, was the left of the division skirmish line. It had held its advanced position, and as soon as the rest of the skirmishers came up with it, the men started forward on the double-quick, with loud cheering, and without firing a shot till the breastwork was reached and surmounted. They then began firing. A few of the Confederates behind the works ran for their main line; but a larger portion threw down their arms. One hundred and sixty Confederates, including several officers, were captured by the Tenth in the trenches. Having no men to spare, Damon sent the prisoners to the rear without guards, and as the fire from the main line of the Confederate works was still hot, they needed no second bidding, but started at a lively pace for the Union main line, where they were soon joined by 700 of their comrades who had been taken on right and left. The Tenth Vermont held the portion of the entrenched line which it had carried, till the next morning, when it was relieved. The Tenth lost two men killed[1] and four wounded in this charge.

STORMING THE LINES OF PETERSBURG.

In the final assault upon the lines of Petersburg, on the 2d of April, 1865, the Tenth Vermont took a truly brilliant part. The Sixth Corps, it will be remembered, was formed for this assault with the Second division in the centre and the First and Third divisions on right and left. The Third division took position in front of Fort Welch, Truex's brigade being the left of the division. The brigade was formed in three lines of battle—the front line consisting of the Tenth Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Damon, (on the right) and the One

[1] Killed, John Smith and Joseph A. Smith of company H.

Hundred and Sixth New York; the second of the Fourteenth New Jersey and One Hundred and Fifty-first New York; and the third of the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania. Coffee was served to the troops at midnight, and as the moon went down, the regiments, in light marching order, filed outside the breastworks, and moved silently into position without attracting the attention of the enemy's pickets, 200 yards in front. The position of the Tenth was a short distance in rear of the entrenched picket line, and about half a mile to the left of that of the First Vermont brigade. The men lay shivering in the darkness for three hours. In the musketry firing which commenced before light on the part of the enemy, five or six men of the Tenth were wounded; but all lay still as before. As the earliest streak of approaching daylight crept along the horizon, the parapets of a Confederate earthwork became dimly visible a few hundred yards in front of them. At half-past four o'clock, upon the firing of the signal-gun from Fort Fisher, the men sprang up and started forward, took the fire of the rebel pickets, and, without replying, followed closely upon their heels through the openings in the abatis, and without waiting to re-form, rushed in a mass to the Confederate works. The Tenth, leading all the other troops in the division, struck squarely the front of a strong earthwork mounting six guns, with a deep ditch in front. The men leaped into the ditch, and while some climbed the parapet, others sprang over the breastworks on right and left. On the left of this work little opposition was met; but on the right the Confederates stood their ground, met the intruders with a volley, and then fought with clubbed muskets, as with shouts of "Pile in, boys!" "don't give them time to load!" the Vermonters swarmed into the redoubt,[1] capturing there a number of pris-

[1] "A scar over the writer's eye from a clubbed musket in the hands of a stalwart rebel, certifies that the part we struck was not evacuated."—Statement of Sergeant O. E. Wait.

oners, who were sent to the rear. The rest of the garrison fled toward a two-gun battery on the left of the work, followed by some shots from a field-piece which some men of the Tenth had turned upon them. Soon the guns in the two-gun battery were trained upon the captured fort, and were making things warm in that vicinity, when a line of battle was formed by Colonel Damon, of men of the Tenth and other troops of the brigade, which, advancing inside the works, drove the artillerymen from the battery. After a short halt to reorganize and strengthen his battalion, Damon pushed on across a ravine and piece of swampy ground, against a stronger work still held in force by the enemy. The brigade captured this, taking 100 prisoners, the rest of its defenders taking shelter in some woods to the left of the fort, and outside of the line of works. From the edge of the woods they kept up a rattling musketry fire, by which, among other casualties, Adjutant Read received his fatal wound. Soon the enemy took the offensive in this quarter. Two strong bodies, of Wilcox's division, moving on both sides of their line of works, enveloped and re-took the fort; and Truex's brigade, after suffering serious loss, fell back to the two-gun battery. Then one of the Sixth Corps batteries was brought forward and the Confederates were shelled out of the fort. Meantime, the brigade was reorganized, and together with some regiments of General Keifer's brigade which had come up, advanced again down the line to the left, taking a four-gun battery, and proceeding till they met Harris's brigade of the Twenty-fourth Corps coming up from the left, inside the now wholly abandoned line of works.

After a halt of half an hour to rest the men, the brigade countermarched with Keifer's brigade, and joined the rest of the Sixth Corps in the march towards Petersburg. Passing outside of the Confederate line of works, at a point a little north of where it entered in the early morning, the division moved back slowly with the advancing lines, till

they halted within about two miles of the city. At four P. M. Truex's brigade was sent forward to occupy a line which had been held by the enemy's pickets in the morning, in front of their line between Fort Lee and the lead-works. Here, on the left of the Vaughn road, the men threw up a line of breastworks, and bivouacked for the night. Lieut. Colonel Damon says in his report:

I am happy to be able to state that the Tenth Vermont was the first regiment in the division to plant a stand of colors within the enemy's works,—that it bravely performed its entire duty throughout the day, and kept up so perfect an organization as to elicit the highest commendation of the brigade and division commanders.

While I cannot speak in too high praise of the conduct of both officers and men, I desire to mention as deserving of especial consideration, Major Wyllys Lyman, who was among the first to enter the rebel works with the color-bearer, and performed the most efficient service during the day, using every exertion to keep the regiment together, and leading the men forward to their duty; Adjutant James M. Read, who not only performed his own special duties with the utmost skill, but contributed materially to the success of the day, by fighting with great gallantry and courage, until he fell, wounded, at the extreme front; and Corporal Ira F. Varney of company K, color-bearer, who was first to plant his colors within the enemy's works, on our front, and throughout the day combined dash with coolness and steadiness, to a remarkable degree.

The claim that the Tenth Vermont was the first regiment inside the works taken by the third division in the morning, is sustained by its brigade commander, Colonel Truex, who says in his report: "The first colors inside the works were those of the Tenth Vermont Volunteers, followed immediately by those of the One Hundred and Sixth New York and Fourteenth New Jersey. * * * I have every reason to be proud of the regiments composing my brigade, the Tenth Vermont, One Hundred and Sixth New York, Fourteenth New Jersey, Fifteenth New York and Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, and of the coolness, judgment and

gallantry of their commanding officers, Lieut. Colonel George B. Damon, Lieut. Colonel A. W Briggs, Lieut. Colonel J. J. Janeway, Lieut. Colonel Charles Bogardus and Captain James Tearney." The one named first of these, we may be sure was not last in order of merit.

Among the wounded on the 2d of April were Adjutant James M. Read, who received a ball through the right instep, and never rallied from the amputation which followed,[1]

[1] James Marsh Read was the son of Hon. David Read, of Burlington, and nephew of Professor and President James Marsh of the University of Vermont. He graduated from that University, in the class of 1853, with high rank as a scholar and as an able writer. After leaving college he taught in Canton, Miss., and then was engaged for a time in the office of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*. When, in 1855, the second Government expedition across Texas and New Mexico, under General Pope, was organized, he was appointed chief of the barometrical and astronomical department of the expedition, and on its return assisted in preparing the report of the survey. Upon the first call for troops, Mr. Read enlisted in the First Vermont Regiment, and served in its ranks through its term of service. He re-enlisted in the Tenth, was appointed sergeant of company D; and was detailed for duty in the office of the adjutant general of the Third division of the Sixth Corps. In June, 1864, he was commissioned as second lieutenant of company D, and returned to his regiment. On the wounding of Adjutant Lyman at Cedar Creek, Lieutenant Read was appointed acting adjutant, and having meantime been promoted to a first lieutenancy, he was, in February, 1865, on Adjutant Lyman's promotion, appointed adjutant. He was in nearly all the engagements in which the regiment took part; at the battle of the Opequon he had charge of a skirmish line; at Cedar Creek he commanded the color company, and was the last man to withdraw when the regiment fell back in the morning, remaining, compass in hand, in order to note the direction of the movements of the enemy, till after all the rest had gone. He was struck in the leg by a spent ball, but remained with his company till the close of the battle. He distinguished himself in the final attack on the lines of Petersburg, though suffering at the time from a serious bowel trouble. After he was wounded he was taken into an army cabin in the third fort captured by the brigade, and when the fort was retaken, fell into the hands of the enemy, and during the short time that he was their prisoner, was robbed by them of his arms and money. His foot was amputated in the division field hospital. In the last letter he ever wrote, to his parents, he said: "I can give my foot in such a cause with good will." He was removed to the general hospital at City Point, and died there at midnight of the 5 h of April. His body was embalmed and sent to Burlington for burial. He was deeply mourned by his brother officers and by the entire regiment.

and Lieutenant James H. Thompson of company H. The regiment lost this day 42 men—one killed, 39 wounded, nine of whom died of wounds, and two missing.[1]

Next morning at daylight the division marched through the evacuated works, and after a short halt started with the army in pursuit of Lee, and bivouacked that night near Sutherland Station. On the 6th, at Sailor's Creek, Ewell's and Anderson's corps, headed off by the cavalry, turned to fight the pursuing infantry. Seymour's division was leading the advance of the Sixth Corps, and as soon as it could be formed, charged the enemy, who was posted on a crest a short distance north of the creek. In this assault Truex's brigade forded the creek under sharp fire; drove the force in front of them from the crest and was pressing Ewell's left flank, when a flag of truce was displayed by the enemy, and Ewell's corps, with half of Anderson's, in all 6,000 men, laid down their arms. The personal surrender of General Ewell and his staff was made to Colonel Truex. In this brilliant battle the Tenth Vermont did its last fighting. After the surrender of Lee on the 9th, the division moved to Burkesville, where it remained in camp until the 23d, when it marched with the Sixth Corps to Danville, Va.

On the 16th of May, after the surrender of Johnston's army, the regiment returned by rail to Richmond with the Sixth Corps, camped for a week at Manchester, and on the 24th started for Washington, and arrived at Ball's Cross Roads June 2d. Here the regiment participated in the review of the Vermont troops by Governor Smith, and in the review of the Sixth Corps by the President. On the 22d of June the original members of the regiment and the recruits

[1] Killed, David Dwire of company K.

The rank and file who died of their wounds were; Sergeant Martin Honan and Ezekiel S. Waldron of company B, Peter Avery of company C, Joseph Riley of company D, Samuel D. Parker of company G, George A. Bucklin and Timothy B. Messer of company H, and Alanson J. Tinker of company K.

whose term of service would expire before October 1st—being 23 officers and 451 men—were mustered out of the service of the United States. The remainder, comprising 13 officers and 136 men, were transferred to the Fifth regiment, and were mustered out with that regiment on the 29th of June. The regiment, with the exception of 110 men on the sick list, started for home on the 23d, under command of Major Salsbury. Marching through Washington that day, the Tenth, with the One Hundred and Sixth New York, halted in front of the residence of General James B. Ricketts, their old commander, and gave him nine rousing cheers. Arriving in New York the next evening, they were quartered at the Battery, and leaving there on the 25th, arrived at Burlington at two A. M. on the 27th. They found the people waiting in the rain and darkness to receive them. They were greeted with an artillery salute, and escorted to the City Hall, where George H. Bigelow, Esq., bade them welcome. Major Salsbury briefly responded, and a supper was served by the ladies and citizens, whose courtesy was acknowledged by the customary cheering. Next morning they marched to the quarters at the hospital, where they were furloughed for six days. Then assembling for their final rendezvous, they were paid off by Major Wadleigh, and dispersed to their homes.

The officers mustered out in the last ten days in June, were: Colonel George B. Damon, Lieut. Colonel Wyllys Lyman, Brevet Major John A. Salsbury, Surgeon Willard A. Child, Adjutant George P Welch, Quartermaster Charles W Wheeler; Captains H. H. Dewey, George E. Davis, L. A. Abbott, S. E. Perham, A. W Chilton, William White, Daniel Foster, R. K. Tabor, H. G. Stiles, and James S. Thompson; and Lieutenants S. H. Lewis, Jr., I. L. Powers, Almon Ingram, Samuel Greer, W. R. Hoyt, E. J. Stickney, Charles D. Bogue, A. H. Wheeler, E. Vinclette, Thomas H. White, Ezekiel T. Johnson, Darwin K. Gilson, Jerome Ayers,

George P Shedd, Walter Graham, Albert N. Nye, Andrew J. Clogston, Henry H. Adams, George Church, and C. P. Hadlock. Chaplain John B. Perry, who joined the regiment in March, 1865, remained for a few days with the sick men, and was mustered out on the 7th of July.

The promotions to higher rank in the army, or to positions in the regular army, from the Tenth, were numerous. Lieut. Colonel Lyman and Major Merritt Barber received commissions in the regular army, the former as captain in the Fourth Infantry, and the latter as first lieutenant of the Thirty-fourth Infantry; Quartermasters Valentine and Reynolds were promoted, the former to be captain and commissary of subsistence, and the latter to be captain and A. Q. M. of volunteers; Assistant Surgeon Rutherford was promoted to be surgeon of the Seventeenth Vermont, and Assistant Surgeon Clark to be surgeon of the First Vermont Cavalry; Captains Sheldon, Kingsley, and Steele were appointed captains and commissaries of subsistence, U. S. Volunteers; and Lieutenant Farr was promoted to be captain and A. Q. M. of Volunteers. One officer and 16 of the rank and file received commissions in the U. S. colored regiments—a larger number than from any other Vermont regiment except the Eighth.

These were as follows:

Name.	*Company.*	*Appointed.*
Sergeant Moses W Sawyer,	A,	First lieut. 43d U. S. C. T.
Sergeant B. Franklin Quimby *	"	Captain 30th U. S. C. T.
Corporal Ira H. Evans,	B,	Capt. and bvt. maj. 116th U.S.C.T.
Lieut. George W Burnell,	C,	Captain 19th U. S. C. T.
Sergeant Charles M. Edgerton,†	"	Second lieut. 25th U. S. C. T.
Corporal Ogden B. Read,	D,	Capt. and bvt. maj 39th U. S. C. T.
Sergeant Edward H. Powell,	F,	Lieut-colonel 10th U. S. C. T.
Sergeant Levi H. Robinson,	"	Second lieut. 119th U. S. C. T.
Corporal Albert Janes,	"	Lieut-colonel 31st U. S. C. T.
Charles A. Powell,	"	First lieut. 10th U. S. C. T.
Sergeant Alpheus H. Cheney,	G,	Major 41st U. S. T.
Alonzo B. Whitney,‡	"	Captain 26th U. S. T.

*Died in prison at Danville, Va. †Died of disease. ‡Died of wounds received at Gregory's Farm, S. C.

Name.	*Company.*	*Appointed.*
Robert D. Winter,§	G,	First lieut. 32d U. S. T.
Sergeant Frank B. Davis,	H,	First lieut. 25th U. S. T.
Ezra S. Dean,	"	Adjutant 43d U. S. T.
Leander C. Leavens,	I,	First lieut. 32d U. S. T.
Joseph N. Daggett,	K,	R. Q. M. 43d U. S. C. T.

Of these, Sergeant E. H. Powell was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 10th U. S. C. T., from the ranks, as the result of a competitive examination, and commanded his regiment with credit during a considerable portion of its term of service. Corporal Albert Janes reached the same rank by promotion.

The battles in which the regiment took part were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE TENTH VERMONT.

Orange Grove,	Nov. 27, 1863.
Wilderness,	May 5 to 8, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 18, 1864.
Tolopotomoy,	May 31, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	June 22 and 23, 1864.
Monocacy,	July 9, 1864.
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864,
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Petersburg,	March 25, 1865.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.
Sailor's Creek,	April 6, 1865.

The final statement of the regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 38; enlisted men, 977; total.....1015

GAINS.

Recruits, 286; transfers from other regiments, 3; total..... 289

Aggregate.....1304

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers, 7; enlisted men, 76; total.....	83
Died of wounds—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 56; total.....	58
Died of disease—enlisted men.....	153
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 36; from accident, 2; total	38
Total of deaths.....	332

§Died of wounds in action at Honey Hill, S. C.

Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 13; for wounds and disability, 10; —enlisted men, for wounds, 70; for disability, 131; total	224
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 2; total	4
Total discharged	228
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—officers, 10, enlisted men, 20; total	30
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, signal service, regular army, etc	99
Deserted, 66; unaccounted for, 3; total	69
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 509; total	546
Aggregate	1304
Total wounded	356

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Organization—Rendezvous at Brattleboro—Departure for the War—Duty in Defences of Washington—Changed to a Heavy Artillery Regiment—Easy Service in the Forts—Joins the Sixth Corps—Spottsylvania—Cold Harbor—Petersburg—Weldon Railroad—Prison Experiences and Escapes—Tragic Death of Lieutenant Parker—Early's Raid—The Shenandoah Campaign—Charlestown, Va.—The Case of Lieutenant Bedell—Opequon and Fisher's Hill—Cedar Creek—Return to Petersburg—Final Assault on the Lines of Petersburg—Muster Out and Return Home—List of Men who died in Prison—Final Statement.

The Eleventh regiment was the largest regiment sent to the war by Vermont, both in its original membership and final aggregate, and no better regiment entered the service. It was recruited simultaneously with the Tenth, in response to the call of July 1st, 1862, for 300,000 volunteers. On the 9th of July, 1862, two days after the order to recruit the Tenth regiment, Governor Holbrook issued his orders for the Eleventh, and recruiting officers were appointed as follows: At St. Johnsbury, George E. Chamberlin; Shoreham, Charles Hunsdon; Fair Haven, James T. Hyde; Hyde Park, Charles Dutton; Brattleboro, John Hunt; Irasburgh, James Rice; Bellows Falls, Charles Buxton; Royalton, B. R. Chamberlin; Worcester, Robinson Templeton; Alburgh, William W Rockwell.

Recruiting was pressed vigorously, under urgent requests for troops from the Secretary of War, and between the 12th and 15th of August ten companies organized for the Eleventh, and repaired to the rendezvous at Brattleboro, where the companies for the Tenth assembled the same day.

The regimental line was as follows: Company A, St. Johnsbury, Captain E. J. Morrill; company B, Shoreham, Captain Charles Hunsdon; company C, Fair Haven, Captain

James T. Hyde; company D, Hyde Park, Captain Urban A. Woodbury; company E, Brattleboro, Captain John Hunt; company F, Irasburgh, Captain James Rice; company G, Bellows Falls, Captain Charles Buxton; company H, Royalton, Captain James D. Rich; company I, Worcester, Captain Robinson Templeton; company K, Alburgh, Captain George D. Sowles.

The regiment was fortunate in its field-officers. For the colonelcy Governor Holbrook selected a young Vermonter in the regular army, Lieutenant James M. Warner. He was a son of Hon. Joseph Warner of Middlebury, and a grandson of the late Judge Ezra Meech of Shelburn. He graduated at West Point in the class of 1860, and was brevetted second lieutenant in the Tenth U. S. infantry. At the outbreak of the civil war he was post quartermaster at Fort Wise, Colorado, under Colonel (afterwards General) John Sedgwick, who held a high opinion of him. He soon after participated in the capture of a detachment of southerners, who were making their way from the mining regions to Arkansas, to join the Confederate army. He had been subsequently in command of the post at Fort Wise; had attracted attention as an officer of high promise; had been promoted to a first lieutenantcy in the Eighth U. S. infantry, and was reluctantly relieved from the regular army by Major General Halleck, in order to accept the command of a Vermont regiment. He was 26 years old, brave, modest, soldierly and equal to every position in which he was placed. The lieutenant colonel was Reuben C. Benton of Hyde Park. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont, and a rising lawyer of the Lamoille county bar when he enlisted. He had seen a year's active service as captain of company D of the Fifth regiment, and fought with it at Savage's Station. He was a man of strong will, marked ability and recognized bravery. The major, George E. Chamberlin, was a man of liberal education, of fine ability and high spirit, and

a lawyer by profession. He was without military experience, but rapidly mastered the duties of his position.

The staff was composed of competent men, as follows:

Adjutant—Hunt W. Burrows, Vernon.

Quartermaster—Alfred L. Carlton, Montpelier.

Surgeon—Charles W B. Kidder, Vergennes.

Assistant Surgeons—Dr. John J. Meigs, Hyde Park· Dr. Edward O. Porter, Cornwall.

Chaplain—Rev. William E. Bogart, a Wesleyan Methodist clergyman, of Weybridge.

The camp at Brattleboro was named "Camp Bradley," after the Hon. William C. Bradley, and that distinguished and venerable Vermonter, then in his 81st year, acknowledged the honor so done him in the following characteristic letter;

BRATTLEBORO, Aug. 16, 1862.

Major R. C. Benton, Commanding Eleventh Vermont Volunteers:

DEAR SIR: I have received at your hands the certificate of baptism of the camp of the Eleventh Regiment,—a favorite number—and beg, through you, to express my sense of the honor done me. Although always incapacitated from taking any part in the military service of my country by my infirmity, and although this is not the time to cherish mere State pride, yet I cannot forget that in my childhood the fame which the Green Mountain boys had established in the Revolutionary war, then barely closed, was ringing in my ears; as were afterwards the praises of their vigilance, coolness and courage, under Boyd in the battle of Tippecanoe, which saved General Harrison certainly from surprise, and probably from defeat. And then, in the last war with Great Britain, their exploits on the Niagara frontier I have often heard readily acknowledged by Lieut. General Scott; not forgetting the battle of Chepultepec, where they were the first to enter the breach, and would have had their full credit but for the fall of the gallant Ransom. With such antecedents, let me hope, nay, feel assured, that when the troops pass out of your camp into the scenes of conflict, the old glory will go with them and cheer them on to victory.

I have the honor to be your very humble servant,

WILLIAM C. BRADLEY.

The regiment was armed with Austrian muskets, and after a stay at Camp Bradley of three weeks, spent in acquiring some familiarity with military duties, in which the larger portion of both officers and men were novices, the regiment departed for the field. It left Brattleboro on Sunday morning, September 7th, and had the usual experiences on the journey down the Connecticut valley. At New Haven it took the steamer Continental to Jersey City. At Philadelphia, it had water, clean towels, a generous meal and all the

peaches the men could eat. Then came a tedious ride in freight cars, breakfast at Baltimore, and final arrival at Washington in the evening of the 9th. The regiment spent that night in barracks near the Capitol, and next morning marched out to Capitol Hill, to the Camp of Instruction under command of Gen. Silas Casey.

Lee's army was then in Maryland; Gen. Banks had been assigned to the command of the fortifications around Washington, and McClellan with the Army of the Potomac was marching to Antietam.

The men were staking out a camp, when the regiment was ordered out to Fort Lincoln, at the eastern extremity of the chain of forts which constituted the northern defenses of Washington, where the Eleventh was brigaded with the One Hundred and Twelfth Pennsylvania, a well drilled and well officered heavy artillery regiment, under command of Colonel Gibson, of the latter regiment. Here the men were set at work on the rifle pits and fortifications, and received some rations as soon as the quartermaster could induce the untrained mules, furnished for his teams, to haul the wagons.

On the evening of Sunday, the 14th, the firing at Crampton's Gap was distinctly heard at Fort Lincoln, and when three or four days later the news came of the result at Antietam, orders to join in the pursuit of the retreating enemy were momentarily expected; but this hope was disappointed.

On the 27th of September the regiment was divided into detachments and distributed among the forts in the northern line of defences, as follows: Companies A and G at Fort Lincoln, where Colonel Warner established his regimental headquarters for a time; company I at Fort Thayer, the next fort to the west; companies C and D at Fort Saratoga; company F at Fort Bunker Hill; companies E and K at Fort Totten; company H at Fort Slocum, and company B, after three or four days spent in guarding Benning's

Bridge across the eastern branch of the Potomac, was stationed at Fort Massachusetts, six miles west of Fort Lincoln. Detachments of the One Hundred and Twelfth Pennsylvania were also stationed in these forts. In addition to the usual infantry drill the regiment soon began heavy artillery drill, and had more or less of fatigue duty, helping to reconstruct the forts, to dig the rifle-pits which connected them, and to build a road from Fort Massachusetts to Chain Bridge. A picket guard was kept out, for practice chiefly; and the men rapidly acquired proficiency in military duty.

The regiment was soon partially consolidated, and on the 17th of November was stationed for the winter in the three forts due north of Washington, companies E, F, G and H being stationed in Fort Slocum, where the regimental headquarters were established; companies B, C, D and I at Fort Massachusetts, under Lieut. Colonel Benton, and companies A and K at Fort Totten, under Major Chamberlin. These were large and strong forts, mounting from 10 to 25 guns apiece. Fort Massachusetts, afterwards called Fort Stevens, was at the village of Brightwood, four miles from Washington on the Seventh Street Road—one of the most important thoroughfares leading to the city. Fort Totten was a mile or two north of the Soldiers' Home, near Rock Creek church. Fort Slocum lay between the other two. The Pennsylvania regiment was at this time moved to the forts on the right, leaving the Vermonters sole occupants of the three forts named. The men built log barracks (one for each company) and made themselves very comfortable.

The Government at this time was in especial need of heavy artillery to garrison the forts; and a willingness on the part of the regiment to be changed from infantry to heavy artillery having been signified to the War Department, by order of the Secretary of War, December 10th, 1862, the regiment was made a heavy artillery regiment, its official designation being "First Artillery, Eleventh Vermont Vol-

unteers," with authority to increase its numbers to twelve companies of 150 men each, with three majors and four lieutenants to a company It was, however, a number of months before the regiment reached its standard limit. On the 1st of January, 1863, it had an aggregate of 964 men, with 798 for duty and 157 on the sick list. Jaundice and fevers prevailed during the latter part of the winter, but the health of the regiment improved as the spring opened, and by the 1st of May the sick list had been reduced to 128, out of an aggregate of 906.

On the 11th of April orders came to be ready to march on the 13th with three days' cooked rations, which the men took to mean a change to more active service. Marching orders, however, did not come till the 20th, when the detachments were collected and the regiment marched about four miles to Cliffburne Barracks, in the outskirts of Washington, whither it was sent to do patrol duty in the city. The order was countermanded in a day or two, and after two nights in the filthy barracks assigned to them the men gladly returned to their former posts.

During the critical summer of 1863, while the First and Second brigades and cavalry were marching and fighting in the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns, the Eleventh remained in the forts, strengthening the works, building batteries and covered ways, and laying abatis. Fort Slocum —an immensely strong fort—was principally built by the regiment. All the forts were kept in perfect order. Colonel Warner, though detached at times to command a brigade of the troops in the forts and for court-martial duty, made himself felt everywhere in the promotion of thorough discipline. He was efficiently seconded by the other officers, who showed their appreciation of his efforts by the presentation to him, on the 14th of April, of a handsome sword, and all became justly proud of their conceded standing as the best disciplined regiment in the defences of Washington.

The presence of Lee's army in Maryland, in June, gave a special impulse to artillery drill and target practice with the rifled parrots and heavier guns, and a map of the ground around the forts, with distances determined by careful triangulations, was made by the officers, which enabled the artillerists to command every point with remarkable accuracy. Had the battle of Gettysburg resulted differently, an opportunity would probably have been afforded to put these precautions to practical use; and at one time during that campaign, there seemed to be imminent probability that the efficiency of the defenses of Washington would be tested. The sound of the field artillery in the skirmish at Upperville between Pleasonton's and Stuart's cavalry, on the 21st, was plainly heard in the forts. On the 24th of June some of the enemy made their appearance as near as Rockville, Md., and an infantry brigade was hurried out to the forts, and the garrisons were on duty all night. The smoke of a wagon train, burned by the enemy's cavalry at this time, was plainly visible from Fort Stevens, and that Stuart intended, if he could, to run the line of defenses, under the spur, and sack Washington, was fully believed by many; but if so, he abandoned his purpose when he found how strongly Washington was defended and hurried on to the north to join Lee in Pennsylvania.

The regiment remained in excellent condition through the summer. On the 11th of July, the eleventh company, company L, Captain D. J. Safford, was mustered in at Brattleboro, and joined the regiment five or six weeks later.

In September the regiment received in exchange for its Austrian muskets new Springfield rifles, obtained by special order of President Lincoln, upon the request of Governor Holbrook, backed by Senator Foot. The men were glad to get arms which corresponded with their otherwise superior equipment.

On the 7th of October, the twelfth company, company

M, Captain Charles K. Fleming, was organized and mustered in at Brattleboro, and joined the regiment soon after. The other companies were filled by additions of recruits; and the regiment began the year 1864 with almost its full complement, having 1,728 officers and men, which was further increased in February to an aggregate of 1,835—the largest number in the history of the Eleventh. The regiment being now entitled to three majors, Captains Hunsdon of company B and Fleming of company M were promoted to that rank, and the number of line officers was increased by the addition of two lieutenants to each company. Surgeon Kidder resigned in September and was succeeded by Dr. Castanus B. Park of Grafton, who was commissioned October 3d. He had been the surgeon of the Sixteenth Vermont, and was one of the best surgeons in the service. Chaplain Bogart, who resigned in November, was succeeded about this time by Rev. Arthur Little, a Congregational minister of Ludlow, afterwards an eminent clergyman in Chicago. Quartermaster Carlton was promoted Captain and A. Q. M. in March, '63, and Lieutenant Charles W Clark, of Montpelier, took his place as Quartermaster. Adjutant Burroughs was promoted to be Captain of company M, and Lieutenant Anson, company E, was detailed from the line as Adjutant.

The red stripe and chevrons of the Artillery branch of the service were now adopted. The companies were designated as batteries—"Battery A," "Battery C," etc., and an artillery flag, bearing crossed cannons on a yellow field, was added to the other colors borne by the regiment.

The barracks built the year before being now inadequate for the accommodation of the enlarged companies, new wooden barracks, each 100 feet long, were built, some of them inside the forts, and a new hospital building was erected, which in size and convenience compared well with some of the general hospitals in the vicinity of Washington. The officers' quarters were improved, and the regiment settled

down for the winter in as wholesome and comfortable quarters as were ever possessed by any regiment in the army. The completion of the new barracks was celebrated by a series of balls and parties given by the officers at the different forts, to the success of which a newly organized regimental band added not a little. Occasional horse-trots at a race-course about half a mile from Fort Stevens, furnished amusement to the troops and attracted many spectators from the city. The command was in an excellent condition of health; rations were abundant, and many luxuries obtainable; the wives of a number of the officers graced the camp with their presence; and altogether the regiment was at the summit of military comfort during the winter of 1863-4. Strict discipline was, however, maintained; infantry and artillery drill was constantly kept up, often under the personal supervision of Lieut. Colonel Jos. A. Haskin, Third U. S. Artillery, who had charge of the northern defenses of Washington; and in the reviews and inspections of the different regiments in the vicinity, which took place every week, the First Vermont Heavy Artillery took no second place in any respect.

The opening spring brought indications that this period of comfort and comparative ease might not last forever. In March, 1864, upon General Grant's assumption of the command of the Army, and under his preparations for the overland campaign, some of the other regiments of heavy artillery in the forts about Washington were ordered to the front, and the remaining regiments were extended to fill their places in the fortifications. In the new distribution of the troops, Batteries A and L, under Major Chamberlin, were stationed at Fort Lincoln; F, Captain Rice, at Fort Thayer; D, Captain Walker, at Fort Saratoga; M and H at Fort Bunker Hill, under Major Fleming; A and K at Fort Totten, under Major Hunsdon; G and E at Fort Slocum, and C and I at Fort Stevens—the four last named being under command of Lieut. Colonel Benton. Colonel Warner had general com-

mand of the defences for seven miles along the north of Washington, with his headquarters at Fort Bunker Hill. The various detachments occupied the ample quarters provided for the other regiments, until the need of troops to supply the terrible losses in the battles of the Wilderness called the Eleventh to the front.

On the 10th of May, Colonel Warner was relieved of his larger command and ordered to take his regiment to the front. The Eleventh, upon the personal application of General John Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Corps, had been assigned to that corps, and Colonel Warner's orders were to proceed by the way of Belle Plain and report to General Sedgwick. The order was speedily made known and its full purport was at once understood. All knew that it meant an exchange of a life of comparative ease and safety for hard marching and bloody fighting. It meant weariness, exposure and peril for all, and wounds, imprisonment and death for not a few. It meant, moreover, as they soon learned, that they were to join the "old Vermont brigade," where their conduct would be compared with that of those veteran fighters. Had it been a mere parade by the side of any other Vermont regiment, old or new, to which they were invited, they would have welcomed the test, for they knew that they needed not to ask odds of any other organization in the army as regarded appointments, drill, discipline and appearance. But to do their first fighting under the eyes of the men who had won for the First Vermont brigade the high fame of being the best fighting brigade of the Sixth Corps, was a much severer ordeal. The spirit in which it was welcomed was a splendid proof of the genuine high quality of the regiment. Its year and a half of soft life in the forts had not weakened the morale of the command. They knew that they were needed at the front; they had perfect confidence in their colonel; and they obeyed the summons with absolute cheerfulness.

The detachments received their marching orders in the evening of the 11th of May, and spent the night in preparations to march. The personal property which had accumulated during a stay of so many months in one place, was hastily packed for transportation to the North. The ordnance stores and other government property were inventoried and turned over to the proper officers. The officers' wives and the wives of privates employed as laundresses about the forts were sent home. The knapsacks were reduced to marching dimensions; shelter tents and six days' rations were drawn, and at half-past five o'clock in the morning of the 12th, the regiment assembled at Fort Bunker Hill, 1,550 strong, and marched to Washington, forming a column which was taken for that of a brigade. The transports were waiting, and by ten o'clock the regiment was on its way down the Potomac. It disembarked at Belle Plain about five o'clock P. M., and camped on a side hill in a pouring rain, which penetrated the scanty shelter tents and soaked the ground beneath them; while the constant arrivals during the night of trains filled with wounded from the Wilderness, gave to the dullest mind a keen realization of the stern realities of war.

The next day the regiment marched seventeen miles to Fredericksburg, meeting on the way a column of 3,000 Confederate prisoners captured by Hancock in the salient at Spottsylvania the day before. Bivouacking that night on the north bank of the Rappahannock. the regiment moved next day in rain and mud for fifteen miles through the forests of the Wilderness, meeting all along the road the long trains of wagons and ambulances filled with wounded, and getting the full effect of that most disheartening of sights—the rear of an army after heavy fighting in front. That night the regiment reported at the headquarters of the Sixth Army Corps, then commanded by General Wright, General Sedgwick having been killed, and was assigned to the Vermont brigade

—the Second brigade of the Second division—and in the morning of the 15th moved up to the left of the brigade, which then held the extreme left of the Army of the Potomac, in front of Spottsylvania Court House. The march from Belle Plain, though a hard one for troops unused to marching, had been made with surprising spirit. There was almost no straggling on the march, and when the regiment reached the brigade, it had very nearly 1,500 men in line. Its arrival more than doubled the strength of the brigade, the five older regiments of which could muster scarce 1,200 bayonets after the fights on the Orange Plank and Brock roads and at the "bloody angle." The regiment was now divided into three battalions, each of which was manœuvred as a regiment, and each of which largely exceeded in number any of the older regiments of the brigade.

The First battalion was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Benton, and comprised batteries F, Captain Rice; L, Captain Safford; K, Captain Sowles; and H, Captain Eldredge.

The Second battalion was commanded by Major Chamberlin, and consisted of batteries E, Captain Sears; C, Captain Goodrich; D, Captain Walker; and M, Captain Burroughs.

The Third battalion was commanded by Major Hunsdon, and comprised batteries A, Captain Morrill; B, Captain Lee; I, Captain Templeton; and G, Captain Buxton.

The main facts of the record of the regiment from this time on have already been given in the history of the First Brigade. Some details remain to be added. On the 16th, Major Hunsdon's battalion was detached for a while to support a battery; but was not engaged. On the 17th, a painful accident cost the regiment several men. Private John L. Patterson, of Company G, had picked up an unexploded shell, and was handling it by the side of a camp-fire with a degree of carelessness which drew a warning from one of his comrades. A slighting reply had hardly left Patterson's lips,

when the shell exploded, fatally wounding him and James W Darling of the same company, and injuring several others.

The first experience of the regiment under serious fire was at Spottsylvania on the 18th of May. After a tedious night march, with the brigade, it was deployed in the breast-works of the famous salient, about five o'clock in the morning, to support the assault upon Lee's line across the base of the salient. The regiment was thence sent forward half a mile to the base of a low crest, where it came under a sharp fire of shell and canister and suffered its first loss in action, by the wounding of Nathaniel S. Rogers of company M, who was struck by a piece of a shell, which took off part of the calf of his leg. Near here, soon after, Colonel Warner was wounded, being the sixth regimental commander in the First Vermont brigade to be wounded or killed since the army crossed the Rapidan. He was standing at the time on the top of a rifle-pit, directing a movement of the Third battalion of the Eleventh, when a bullet from the rifle of a Confederate sharpshooter, posted in a tree top, entered his neck, and passed out under his right ear. He returned to the front after the wound was dressed, and remained with the regiment till night. Next day, under the urgent advice of the surgeons, Colonel Warner went to Washington, and thence to his home in Middlebury. In his absence the command of the regiment devolved upon Lieut. Colonel Benton, Majors Chamberlin, Hunsdon and Fleming commanding the respective battalions.

In the action of the 21st, described in pages 454 and 455 of Vol. I, two men were killed, the first of the regiment to be killed in action. These were Corporal George O. Stevens and Joseph Larock, of company D. In all, at Spottsylvania, the regiment lost two men killed and fourteen wounded, one of whom, John Rudd, of company L, died of his wounds. Here also Lieutenant N. N. Glazier lost an arm by a piece of a shell. The regiment did no firing this day; but was highly complimented for its steadiness under fire.

In the movement of the Sixth Corps to the North Anna, on the 23d, the men of the Eleventh, not yet enured to marching, found the pace exhausting and some 200 men fell out on the way; but all came in that night or next morning.

On the 25th, having moved to the Virginia Central railroad, near Gordonsville, the regiment lay in line of battle all the afternoon, and there was sharp firing on the skirmish line. In the evening of the 26th, the regiment started again and marched all night in deep mud, to Chesterfield Station. Next day gave the men another tiresome march, with the corps, along the North Anna and Pamunkey rivers. Starting at daylight next morning they crossed the Pamunkey and lay near Hanovertown the next day and night. Moving thence, with the brigade and corps, to Cold Harbor, in the afternoon of June 1st, the Eleventh went into action with the brigade, losing five officers and 114 men (most of them from the First battalion) killed and wounded. The officers wounded were Captain George D. Sowles, company K; Lieutenants Edwin B. Smith, company A, and John H. Macomber, Stephen R. Wilson (fatally) and John S. Drenan, company L, Lieutenant Dustan J. Walbridge, company A, was wounded on the 3d, and died of his wounds several weeks later.

At Cold Harbor, from the 31st of May to the 4th of June, the regiment lost fifteen enlisted men killed, and six officers and 115 enlisted men wounded. Of the enlisted men wounded 17 died of their wounds.[1]

[1] The killed were: Company C, Charles B. Chase; company E, James R. Dickinson; company F, Corporal Almon V. Priest, George A. Heath, Edwin M. Markress, Horace Sulham and Ferdinand Wheeler; company I, Jeremiah Kelley; company K, John S. Heald, William Williams, John Forsaith and Luther A. Smith; company L, Homer C. Davis, Stillman E. Green and Curtis E. Pike.

The following died of their wounds: Company E, Florence Driscol, Elisha H. Jaqueth, Daniel G. Ormsbee and Leonard C. Park; company F, Corporal Albert Howard and Edwin E. Dewey; company H, Henry K. White; company K, William H. Bell, Orlando Macomber and Elam H. White; company L, Corporal Ozro P. Stone, James H. Bickford, Joseph Lounge, John S. Mason, Daniel J. Stevens and Edward Storey.

Henry M. Corlew and Daniel Higgins, of company G, each lost a leg, by the same shell.

Major Fleming, Captains Rice, Sowles, Eldredge and Safford, and Lieutenants Macomber and Chase, are mentioned by Lieut. Colonel Benton in his report as conspicuous for gallantry and good conduct at Cold Harbor. Captain Walker and Lieutenant Baxter are also mentioned as deserving of special credit for their conduct on the skirmish line on the 20th of May. The services of Major Chamberlin, Adjutant Anson, Lieutenants Todd and Foster and Sergeant Major Gould, acting on Colonel Benton's staff, are also acknowledged by him.

Between the 4th and 10th of June, at Cold Harbor, the regiment lost three men killed and 17 wounded, eight of whom died of their wounds.[1] In the first four weeks of its service in the field, the regiment thus lost 175 officers and men, of whom 20 were killed and 155 wounded, many receiving wounds which proved fatal. On the 10th of June Lieut. Colonel Benton went into hospital, and on the 21st resigned, in a debilitated condition from chronic diarrhœa. In his departure the regiment lost a resolute and capable officer. On the 12th of June Colonel Seaver of the Third regiment was assigned to the temporary command of the Eleventh. The regiment was in the front line of works that day, and lost two men killed[2] and three wounded.

The regiment marched twenty-five miles on the 13th with the brigade, in the march of the army to the James River, crossing the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge. The next day it started at three A. M., and marched to Charles City Court House; and next day lay in line at Turkey Bend, to cover the troops crossing the river.

[1] Killed, Sergeant Joseph W Hutchinson, Lester J. Lawrence and Asa Patten.

Died of their wounds: Company B, Henry J. Porter and Henry H. Porter, Jr.; company C, Albert W. Perry; company F, Rodney M. Boutwell; company I, John B. Kusic; company M, Ralph Lull, Harvey Hackett and John R. Wadleigh.

[2] Killed, company E, Eli R. Hosford; company G, Ora Howe.

On the 17th, it crossed the James River with the brigade and division, and that night and the next day moved to the front of Petersburg, by a hard march of twenty-five miles.

On the 18th, Colonel Seaver was relieved from the command of the Eleventh and rejoined his own regiment, and the command of the Eleventh devolved upon Major Chamberlin, the battalion commanders thenceforth being Major Hunsdon, Major Fleming and Captain Walker, who was soon promoted to be major.

The regiment lay in trenches under fire in front of Petersburg for three days, and had three men wounded by the enemy's sharpshooters. One of these, Abel Hinds, Jr., of company M, died soon after of his wounds.

THE AFFAIR OF THE WELDON ROAD.

The main features of the saddest day in the history of the regiment, a day black with misfortune but not with dishonor, that of the 23d of June, 1864, have been sketched on previous pages.[1] Since they were written, much additional information concerning the affair has been received, and the interest and importance of the transaction warrant a more detailed narration.

The Sixth Corps, it will be remembered, had been pushed out to the west, from the lines on the south of Petersburg, to cut the Weldon railroad. The railroad was first struck by a reconnoitring party under Captain Beattie of the Third Vermont, and a working party followed to tear up and destroy the track. To guard them from surprise, a detachment of 200 men of the Eleventh was sent out at ten o'clock A. M. This consisted of company A, Captain Morrill, company H, Captain Eldredge, and 25 men of company K, all under command of Captain Morrill. Captain Morrill reported to Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree Division Field-officer of

[1] Vol. I. pp 475–481.

the day, and the detail was posted by the latter in a skirmish line extending from a point in front of the right of the main line of the Second division (which at that point ran nearly parallel with the railroad and a mile or more from it), out to and a little beyond the railroad. A picket detail from the Third division was to connect with Morrill's line and maintain connection with the main body of the Sixth Corps, and did so connect for a time during the middle of the day, when it was withdrawn, leaving Morrill's line without any connection on its right. Beattie's sharpshooters for a time picketed the front along the railroad. The Fourth Vermont regiment, under Major Pratt, its other field-officers being disabled by wounds or absent, was out on picket to the left and rear of Morrill and Beattie, where it had been sent the day before; and some cavalry protected the front still further to the left. The skirmish line of the Eleventh had no direct connection with anything on its left, and during most of the day no connection on its right. During the forenoon clouds of dust, showing a movement of troops around to the west of the portion of the railroad which the pioneers were engaged in destroying, were seen and reported by Colonel Pingree to the Corps headquarters. General L. A. Grant was thereupon directed to support the advanced picket line with another detachment. He accordingly, about two o'clock P. M., sent out companies F and L and 50 men of company K, under command of Major Fleming. This second detachment did not report to Colonel Pingree, but was taken out and posted by a division staff officer.[1] It was posted in a piece of open timber, extending along a low ridge, on the right of the pickets of the Fourth regiment. The men of Fleming's detachment entrenched themselves with newly cut rails, which had been found in piles on the ground, and with wood from wood-piles in the timber.

[1] Captain Long of General Neill's staff, as Colonel Pingree thinks. General Wheaton was in command of the division, in General Neill's absence.

The enemy, consisting of Mahone's division, (of A. P. Hill's corps), comprising five brigades and numbering about 6,000 muskets, drove off the pioneers who were destroying the track; and a brigade[1] deploying in front of and to the right of the advanced Union picket line, early in the afternoon, began to press the latter. What took place on the right is thus described by Captain Eldredge:

We [companies A and H] were deployed as skirmishers, commencing with the left of my company, company A on my right, my left at the edge of some woods. Company A's right extended a short distance across the railroad. We were then faced about, which brought us facing Petersburg. The pioneers were destroying the track in our rear. The orders I received from Colonel Pingree were to "hold our line to the last possible minute; not to give an inch unless we were actually obliged to, and in case we were driven back, to fall back due south until we struck the Jerusalem Plank road."[2] Colonel Pingree said the Third division skirmishers would advance and connect with my right. At about eleven A. M. they made the connection and stayed with us about one hour, and then had orders to fall back, and we saw no more of them. The pioneers fell back at about noon. Occasionally some horsemen would come out into the oat-field in our front, but would leave on being fired upon. At about twelve M. the enemy were discovered marching troops in our front and moving to our left. By one P. M. it was evident to all on the line that we had got to fall back or we would be captured. Company A had no connection at that time on its left, and company H none on its right, and there were no other troops in sight. I sent Corporal Leonard of my company to report our situation to Colonel Pingree. He was gone about one hour, and on his return reported that he could not find the colonel, but that Major Fleming, with two companies of our regiment, with a portion of the Fourth Vermont, were back in the woods, and that the major said, "Hold your line." At about two P. M. the enemy advanced upon company A and skirmished with them for about two hours, when the enemy

[1] Posey's Mississippi Brigade.

[2] There would seem to be some mistake about this, on the part of some one, as the Jerusalem Plank road ran north and south, parallel with the railroad, and it would have been impossible to reach it by falling back due south.

advanced in line of battle and drove them back into the woods in their rear. After company A fell back the enemy advanced a skirmish line upon my company, and after exchanging shots for about an hour, came upon us with a line of battle and drove us back into the woods, where Majors Fleming and Pratt had thrown up some breastworks of rails. The enemy were close upon us, and there was some sharp fighting for a few minutes. Then the enemy fell back. We remained in these works until it was getting quite dark, when a line advanced upon us from the rear, and ordered us to surrender. Some one called to them to "give us a few minutes to consult," which was granted.

The occurrences farther to the left are thus narrated by Captain Safford, of company L, whose conduct this day, in charge of the skirmish line in that quarter, reflected high credit upon him. After premising that he was at the supply train drawing rations for his company when the battalion was ordered out to the skirmish line, and that as soon as he learned that it had been so sent he hurried out to the front after it, Captain Safford says:

After going some half or three-fourths of a mile I met the color guard which had been ordered back with the colors. About one hundred and fifty yards before I reached the line, I found Major Fleming in a hollow surrounded on three sides by some rails. I urged him to come on to the line, but he pleaded illness and did not go. Major Fleming's orders to me were: "Extend the line to the left till you connect with the Fourth Vermont, and hold the line at all hazards, reporting to me every half hour." I found the men busy covering themselves with rails, logs or whatever they could find. I extended the line until I made it as thin as I dared, but found no connection with any troops on the left. I did find a much stronger line, of the enemy, than our own, a short distance in front of us, and quite a brisk firing was kept up. I returned, leaving Lieutenant J. H. Macomber in charge of the left, and reported to Major Fleming, and about that time the Fourth Vermont, under Major Pratt, came up in our rear, instead of on the left of our line, and there remained so far as I am aware until the surrender. Finding that there was to be no connection on the left I then drew in the line somewhat, to strengthen it. About this time Captain Beattie came in from the front with the division sharpshooters. He

said: "Captain, if you don't get out of this you will catch h—l," adding that the enemy were in force in front. Soon after this I met Lieut. Colonel Pingree, division officer of the day, on or near the left of our line and reported the situation to him as near as I could and suggested that the line be drawn back nearer to supports; he replied, "The orders are to hold the line at all hazards." I think previous to my seeing Colonel Pingree one attack had been made upon us and repulsed and a while after another was made, but the men being well covered, we suffered but little from either, while ourselves doing good execution. Soon after the second attack I became aware that a force was working around our left flank. This, and in fact all the events that transpired, was communicated to Major Fleming. The attacks on our line were made from three to four o'clock, P. M., soon after I saw the skirmishers of the Third division withdrawn from our right flank leaving us alone. Upon stating these facts to Major Fleming, and that we must retreat or be captured, he said he was ordered to hold that position and must be captured rather than abandon it. At five o'clock P. M., our ammunition was almost exhausted, and we were covered by the enemy in front, on our left flank and partly in our left rear. The enemy then began to cover our right flank, and when at last, about sundown, the Major gave me permission to see if I could find a place where I could take the command out, I personally saw the circle completed and the enemy's left and right unite in rear of our right flank.

Immediately after the events thus described, Fleming called the five company commanders together for a consultation. All but one agreed that escape was impossible and surrender inevitable. The exception was Captain Eldredge, who was a sturdy fighter, and a soldier of more experience than the others, having served a year in the Third Vermont before he received his commission in the Eleventh. He urged that as it now was nearly dark, it might be possible to slip out through the woods and escape. For his own part, having had a taste of imprisonment, after he was captured at Lee's Mill, he would rather take his chances in an effort to cut a way out, if necessary. He was overruled, however, and at about 8 o'clock P. M., Majors Pratt and Fleming surrendered their commands. Fifty men of the Fourth slipped

back through the woods from the left. Sergeant Soper and seven men of Company A, in like manner made their escape from the right, falling back through the woods, and finding no enemy at the spot where they went out.

Opinions have differed as to whether the force which captured the Vermonters was in one or two bodies. Pingree and Eldredge believed that they were cut off by the body which came in from the left, and that no force of the enemy came in behind them from the right. On the other hand, General L. A. Grant says, in his report, that the enemy closed in from the right as well as the left. Adjutant Anson, in a report of the affair published soon after it in the Vermont papers, stated that the enemy pierced Morrill's line on the right; and the positive statement of Captain Safford that he saw the enemy's left and right unite behind the right of the battalion, must be accepted in spite of the negative testimony of witnesses who can only testify that they did not see such a junction of troops from opposite directions—as well as in spite of the fact that Sergeant Soper's squad got out to the right, which may be accounted for upon the supposition that they escaped before the enemy's lines united, or that they lay for a while in the woods and got away after the enemy left, as the latter did at once after the surrender.

No Confederate reports of this affair are to be found among the archives at Washington. General Mahone has, however, given to the writer of these pages the following clear account of the transaction from his point of view. In a letter dated at Petersburg, Va., Oct. 2d, 1887, he says:

I remember distinctly the little affair to which you refer. When your people struck the Weldon Road, my division, consisting of five brigades, and at the time of about 6,000 muskets, was ordered to the ground.

When we came upon the field the small force of your army which had reached the railroad near the Yellow Tavern, as we called it, quickly retired into the woods. It was thought that your people were making a movement in force to effect a permanent extension of your lines, to and

covering the railroad. My plan was to get on the flank of that force and attack it; and while I pressed the Mississippi brigade into the woods, on what I supposed to be the possible head of your projecting column, with the other four brigades (if all my brigades were with me, and that is my recollection), I moved around what I took to be your left by the road [a cross-road leading from the Halifax road to the Jerusalem plank-road, past the Gurley house]. When I came upon the open ground surrounding the Gurley house, I met a skirmish line of your people in the skirt of woods. Night was coming on and I had not yet discovered anything more than a retiring skirmish line. Meanwhile, Captain Girardy of my staff had gone into the woods along a blind road [leading north from the Gurley house] and discovered a body of your people. He took the Florida brigade, about 500 men, and moved quickly upon the flank and rear of this body of troops, and captured it, consisting of some four hundred men and officers. The Mississippi brigade had doubtless conspired to facilitate the capture of the force, supposed to have been a regiment. Yours truly,

MAHONE.

Hon. G. G. Benedict Burlington, Vt.

The above shows that General Mahone had a much larger force on the ground than has hitherto been supposed. It also supports the conclusion that while the commander of the Mississippi brigade advanced a line around the right of Fleming's battalion, the brigade which was chiefly instrumental in effecting his capture, came in from Fleming's left and rear. About a hundred men of the Eleventh must have slipped by, in one way or another, and made their escape. That a body of 400 good soldiers should have been allowed to be captured, not by a sudden dash of the enemy, but by the slow and gradual approaches of an immensely superior force, the process occupying several hours and being constantly reported to the corps commander, can only be characterized as an inexcusable blunder. The blame for it was pretty freely, but not always justly, distributed by the sufferers among the various officers responsibly connected with the transaction. No blame could attach to

the men; they held their ground with an obstinacy which led the enemy to suppose that there were twice or thrice as many of them as was the case.[1] The company commanders simply obeyed their orders; and so far as is known, the majors did the same. Major Fleming was especially blamed by the men of his command and of the regiment for not withdrawing his battalion; but General L. A. Grant attaches no blame to him, and says that he had previously shown himself a gallant officer. There is no doubt as to what the orders were, and no doubt that under the circumstances Major Fleming would have been justified in disobeying his orders.[2] With greater experience it is likely he would have done so, and withdrawn his command, when it became plain that to stay meant capture. About four o'clock, Major Fleming sent Lieutenant Griswold, his battalion adjutant, to report the situation to the division headquarters, and either get permission to withdraw or secure some strong reinforcements. In performing this duty, Lieutenant Griswold was captured by the Confederate skirmishers, who were at that time squarely in rear of Fleming's position. While being taken to the rear by his captors, Griswold passed two or three Confederate lines of battle, showing that it probably would have been impossible even then for Pratt and Fleming to withdraw.

As for the officer of the day, Lieut. Colonel Pingree, it is

[1] "Our captors expressed great surprise that there were not more of us, saying they supposed we had 1,000 to 1,500. I remember one officer—I think it was Captain Simmons, of the —— Florida, who commanded our guard that night—saying to me: 'Well, captain, if we had known how few there were of you, we would have made shorter work of it.' The same officer told me that we were entirely surrounded at seven P. M."—Statement of Captain D. J. Safford.

[2] "Why this small force was kept to the front did not appear clear then, and it does not now. If there was need of a force being kept out there, why it was not protected and cared for I never could understand. The corps commander [General Wright] afterwards told me that he did not understand the situation."—General L. A. Grant, 1887.

certain that he made frequent reports of the condition of things along his line to the corps headquarters, and he was subsequently assured by Captain Holmes of General Wright's staff, that no blame was attached to him at corps headquarters for the disaster. He barely escaped capture himself, by spurring his tired horse to a final effort, and running the gauntlet of the enemy's fire, as Mahone's lines closed in behind Pratt and Fleming. The great mistake of the day was the order, for which General Wright appears to have been responsible, directing the skirmishers to hold their position at all hazards. Such an order would have been justifiable if the sacrifice of the skirmish line was necessary to the safety of the corps or division; but that was not the case.

There was also, during the same afternoon, a sharp skirmish with a portion of Mahone's division on the extreme left of the line of the Sixth Corps, a mile or two to the south of the scene of the capture, in which a part of Captain Walker's battalion was engaged. The battalion had been sent out as a picket reserve the day before. The picket line which it supported covered the extreme left flank of the corps and of the army, here so refused that it faced to the south. The battalion was posted in a piece of clean pine timber, near a farm-house. In the morning of the 23d Walker sent out 140 men to the picket line, under command of First Lieutenant Henry Chase of company E, a good officer, with whom were Lieutenants Sherman of company C, Bedell of company D, and O. R. Lee of company M. In the afternoon this line was advanced half a mile, when its left was uncovered by the failure of the skirmishers on the left of it to advance and make connection. The line was attacked soon after. The men, having piled rails for their protection, repulsed two attacks, and held their ground till they were flanked and had to withdraw in haste. Lieutenant Sherman was killed[1]

[1] Lieutenant Sherman was a young officer of high patriotism and promise. He was a native of Danby, and was a member of the sophomore class in the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., at the time of his enlist-

instantly while trying to re-establish the line, and Lieutenant Chase was captured. Of the rank and file three were killed, 13 wounded, and seven captured in this skirmish. The line was re-established a short distance farther back; two regiments were hurried out to support it, and it was subsequently again advanced to its former position.

The loss of the regiment this day was nine killed, 31 wounded and 261 missing, a total of 301—the heaviest aggregate of casualties ever sustained by any Vermont regiment in one action.[1] Among those made prisoners of war were one field officer of the Eleventh, Major Fleming, and 17 line officers, as follows: Captain Morrill and Lieutenant Richards, company A; Lieutenant Parker, company B; Lieutenant Chase, company E; Lieutenants Matthews, Sargent, and Smith, company F; Captain Eldredge and Lieutenants McWain and Hart, company H; Lieutenants Morse, Sowles, and Fleury, company K; and Captain Safford and Lieutenants Macomber, Griswold, and Drenan, company L.

The prisoners were taken to Petersburg that night and

ment. While at home in the summer of 1862, he enlisted as a private in the Eleventh, saying that he thought it "a shame for a strong young man to be poring over Latin and Greek when his country needed him." His fine personal character, aptness and fidelity soon attracted attention, and he was promoted through the non-commissioned grades, to the second lieutenancy of his company. He was a thoroughly efficient officer, so careful that, as one of his comrades said, "nobody ever expected a mistake from Sherman," yet cool and gallant in action. Barely of age when he sealed his service with his blood, he left behind him the example of a life of Christian principle and true manhood.

[1] The rank and file killed were: Company A, Charles B. Sewell, Jr., Eleazer F. Granger, Samuel W Marden and Nathan Smith; company C, Sergeant Peter Donnelly and George A. Dawson; company E, George W. Colgrove and Merrill G. Hicks.

Ten wounded men died of their wounds, as follows: Company A, Jonathan C. Burnham* Edward Cady and Patrick Howard: company C, George Kilbourne, James Carlisle, Francis M. Farwell, Calvin O. Foster, and William C. Hawkins, company D, Oliver J. Spooner; company F. Orrin S. Hunt; company H, Edgar H. Leonard.

*Captured, and died in prison.

next day were sent to Richmond. The subsequent experiences of some of the officers are noteworthy. They were confined in Libby Prison until the 30th of June, when they were sent by railroad to Macon, Ga. After leaving Richmond, Captain Eldredge announced to several of his comrades his intention to attempt an escape and Captain Morrill agreed to accompany him. Each sat by an open window, and when about two miles beyond Appomattox station, on the Petersburg and Lynchburg railroad, while the train was running at ten or twelve miles an hour, at a prearranged signal they sprang out of the windows. Eldredge dropped instantly to the earth. Morrill, less fortunate, hung by his hands from the window-sill long enough for the guard posted on the platform to fire upon him, inflicting a mortal wound. The train swept on and left them. Eldredge assisted Morrill back to the station-house, and remained with him till the next morning, when, as he could do nothing more for him, he left him, in charge of the station-master and some negroes, in whose care he died that day. Exchanging his uniform with a negro for a suit of Confederate gray, Eldredge started for the north. Striking the James River about thirty miles below Lynchburg, he swam the stream, and going thence north-east crossed the battle ground of the cavalry fight at Trevillian Station three weeks previous, on which the dead still lay. Supplied with food and guided by the ever faithful blacks, he pushed on through the woods toward the north star. One day he was discovered while crossing a plantation by four armed men, who followed him for a mile, firing at him as they ran. But he outran his pursuers, and found refuge in a friendly wood. On the seventh day he reached the Potomac near Acquia Creek, having travelled twenty-four miles a day. There he built a raft and started out on the river, where he was picked up by the United States gunboat Dragon, and conveyed to Washington; and after the lameness from an injured hip was well, he rejoined

his regiment. Not a man in a thousand would have been equal to the effort and endurance required for this escape.

Captain Safford and Lieutenants Griswold and Fleury escaped at a point near Lynchburg, Va. As the railroad track at that point had been destroyed by a recent Union raid, the prisoners were marched to the Roanoke river, about twenty miles south of Lynchburg. After crossing the Stanton river, July 1st, the column, comprising over 100 Union officers and some 2,000 enlisted men, halted under guard for the night on the bank of the river near Roanoke Station. Here Lieutenant Fleury first escaped, by dodging into a clump of willows and crawling off through the bushes. He was followed a few minutes later by Captain Safford and Lieutenant Griswold. The three crossed the river by wading and swimming the channel, lay in the woods until dark, and then started to the northwest. They were fed and piloted by the negroes, and generally moved at night and lay in the woods by day. After a while they were guided by a Confederate deserter who joined them, and were also aided by Union men living in that region. They crossed the James river near the Natural Bridge; and at Millboro were hunted by a provost-guard stationed there to intercept deserters. These pursued them with blood-hounds and whistling bullets, and in their flight they became separated. Griswold was recaptured and sent back to Libby Prison. Lieutenant Fleury had a narrow escape from death by a fall from a precipice, from which he tumbled head foremost into a creek, but got off with a cut in his scalp, and made his way over the Alleghany mountains, and after travelling in all, on foot, about 350 miles, fed and guided day and night by the negroes, reached the Federal lines at Beverly, Randolph county, West Virginia, on the 23d of July, having been twenty-two days and nights on the way. Captain Safford reached Beverly twelve hours later. Both received furloughs to visit their homes, and rejoined the regiment in a few weeks.

The following account of the escape and recapture of Lieutenant A. R. Chase, and of the horrible death of Lieutenant Parker, is given in the words, slightly condensed, of Lieutenant Chase:

On the 23d of June, 1864, it was the lot of some 400 enlisted men and 17 officers of my regiment to fall into the hands of the rebels. We were taken to Libby, and from there to Lynchburg and Danville, Va.; thence to Greensboro, N. C.; thence to Macon and Savannah, Ga., and from Savannah to Charleston, S. C., which city we reached about the 13th of September. Learning while there that we were soon to be sent to Columbia, S. C., Lieutenant Parker, of Middlebury, and myself resolved to make our escape. From the scanty provisions furnished us we saved enough, with what we could pick up, to last us four or five days, taking our chances for the future. On or about the 1st of October we were loaded into freight cars, and started for Columbia. Lieutenant Parker and myself took a position near the door of the car, guarded on either side. After leaving Branchville, Ga., the guards relaxed their vigilance somewhat, and the opportunity presented itself for our escape, which we embraced and jumped from the cars. We were fired upon by the guard but were not harmed, and after gathering ourselves up and holding a short council of war, from what we knew of the topography of the country, and by the aid of the north star as our guide, we started for East Tennessee. Lying secreted in the woods by day and traveling by night, we got on very well until the night of the 5th, when attempting to cross the Wateree river by a bridge near where it unites with the Congaree to form the Santee, we found it guarded to apprehend deserters from the rebel army, then becoming numerous. When nearly across the bridge we were stopped, our passes demanded and we were ordered to the smouldering camp-fire at its end for examination. Getting a few feet from the guard, we again escaped, and though half a dozen shots were fired at us, all missed their mark. Going into the underbrush that grows in those swamps, we were soon out of present danger. After traveling until we were tired and faint, we stopped to rest. The river at this point forms a horseshoe curve, with the bridge at one end and the road touching the river at the other. An alarm was soon given and the dogs of the neighborhood placed upon our track; but as it was at dead of night and those low lands infested with reptiles, they would not follow us. Guards were next stationed

from the bridge along the road to where it touched the river. I have said we stopped to rest, but it was a sleepless rest. In the stillness of that October night we lay, anxiously awaiting the events of the morrow. Death stared us in the face, and we prayed, like him in Gethsemane, "if it be possible let this cup pass from us; nevertheless Thy will be done." Early in the morning the reports of shot-guns told us plainly that preparations were on foot for our capture. Hemmed in as we were, unarmed and defenceless, we felt our situation to be most critical. We could hear the blood-hounds howling, anxious to be let loose to hunt us down, and by placing our ears to the ground we soon discovered they were on our track. Rather than fall victims to a fate we dared not contemplate, we resolved to reach the river, if possible, choosing death by drowning rather than by the dogs. Mustering all the strength our emaciated condition could give us, we struggled to reach the river, but when within some twenty rods of it the dogs overtook us. Taking Parker's track instead of mine, thirteen bloodhounds attacked him. The horrible manner in which they tore the flesh from his limbs, his body and his arms, I cannot adequately describe. With the flesh of his arms torn in shreds and the muscles of his body and limbs mangled and bleeding, he shouted: "Help me, I am being eaten up alive!" Unarmed, I could do little. With the walking stick I had I could only drive off three or four of the dogs, and by this time the others would be at him again. Soon five men came up. In my excitement I paid no attention to their order to surrender until I was struck down and lay prostrate before them. I came near being shot. One of their number, a Mr. Mitchell, held the muzzle of his double-barreled gun against my breast and said he should have killed me had he not noticed a sign that I was a member of the same order to which he belonged. Meantime the others with their guns and clubs had driven the dogs off from Lieutenant Parker, and having wrapped him in his blanket we carried him to the station near by and laid him down. From there we were taken to Columbia, thirty miles by rail, where he lingered for several days. I did all I could for him as he lay in his dying agonies. He wanted to say something but could not till just before he died, when it seemed as if all pain had ceased and he looked up to me and said in a low whisper: "Tell my mother I tried to do my duty. Tell ——[one whom he hoped in a few months to call his wife] that in death I loved her." With these words he died. I was then taken in charge by the guard and

remanded to prison. Lieutenant Parker's remains were buried by the rebels, just where I know not; but the soil which covers him is no longer rebel ground, but is under the authority of that flag for which he fought and for which he paid the full measure of his devotion. He escaped October 5th, was run down by the dogs the 6th, and died of his injuries on the 13th.

The other officers, after a confinement of a month in the jail yard at Charleston, were taken to Columbia, S. C., where they spent the winter in the prison-pen, in huts which they built for themselves of pine poles covered with mud. They often suffered terribly from cold, as well as from starvation, scurvy and other ills, under which the strength and spirit of the stoutest gave way In time they began to be cheered by news, stealthily conveyed by the colored people who were admitted to the prison camp for menial service, of Sherman's march through Georgia. In February they learned that he was approaching Columbia, and when they soon were hurried north to Charlotte, N. C., they knew the reason why. At Charlotte, news of an approaching general exchange renewed the life within their wasted frames. From Charlotte they were moved to Goldsboro, N. C., and there paroled in March, 1865.

Of the officers of the Eleventh captured on the 23d of June, all but Captain Morrill and Lieutenant Parker lived to be thus paroled and exchanged; and all received honorable discharges from the service. The enlisted men captured at the same time fared much more hardly at the hands of their captors. They were distributed among the prison-pens of Andersonville, Millen, Florence, and Charleston, where within about six months nearly two-thirds of them died of starvation and exposure. Of the 261 stout and healthy men of the Eleventh taken that day, *one hundred and sixty-five* died in the enemy's hands *Eighty-nine* of these perished at Andersonville, between the 15th of July, 1864, and the 10th of February, 1865. Of 58 men of company A taken to Andersonville, only *eighteen* lived to return to their homes:

and the mortality in the other companies was only little less. Some of the survivors were but wrecks of men, and died soon after they reached Vermont. Not over one-fourth of the number, if so many, ever recovered from the effects of their imprisonment. The horrible details of the suffering which produced such results must be left to the imagination of the reader.

About this time several promotions, previously recommended, were made. Major Chamberlin was advanced to the vacant lieutenant-colonelcy, and Captain A. F Walker was promoted to be major. First Lieutenant Charles J. Lewis was appointed captain of company D, and Sergeant Major Charles G. Gould was commissioned as second lieutenant of company E. Having lost nearly a third of its number present for duty, the regiment was consolidated into two battalions, the first comprising the remnants of companies F, L, K and H, with companies E, C and D, under command of Major Walker; and the second, the remnant of company A and the four remaining companies, B, I, G and M, under Major Hunsdon.

The regiment remained, with the brigade, near the Williams House, four miles south of Petersburg, engaged in building earthworks, till the Sixth Corps was sent to Washington to defend the capital against Early's raid. In the engagement at Fort Stevens the regiment had three men wounded who were serving temporarily in Captain Beattie's company of sharpshooters. It was not a satisfactory experience to the members of the regiment, to come back to the fort which their own hands had built, and where they were familiar with the range and capacity of every gun, and to see the artillery entrusted to troops entirely unfamiliar with its use.

But the capital was saved without much use of artillery, though Colonel Warner, who, just convalescent from his wound, had reported for duty and been assigned to the com-

mand of a brigade in the forts, used some of the long range Parrott guns with good effect in the action of July 15th. Colonel Warner had a cordial greeting from the regiment as it passed Fort Reno on the first day's march after Early, but he could not accompany it, being retained to drill and discipline the green troops who garrisoned the forts after the departure of the veterans.

On the 23d of July, after ten days of hard marching in Maryland and Virginia, the brigade returned to Washington, where the Eleventh was detached from it and assigned to the eight forts, from Fort Lincoln to Fort Stevens, which it had garrisoned in former days. But after one night of garrison duty, the regiment was ordered to rejoin the First Vermont brigade, which was moving toward Frederick. The order was to report to the Sixth Corps "for temporary duty," but the regiment never returned to the forts. Instead, it had the better fortune to serve under Sheridan in the Shenandoah campaign.

On the hard march to Frederick City, under the scorching July sun, the regiment suffered even more than the other troops, for during its short absence from the corps it had missed its share of a new issue of shoes and clothing, and many of the men, already footsore, made this march nearly barefoot. During the halt and rest on the banks of the Monocacy, this lack was supplied, and the regiment made the trip to Strasburg and back to Harper's Ferry, as well clothed and shod as the rest.

In the engagement at Charlestown, Va., on the 21st of August, when the Vermont brigade held a Confederate division in check for an entire day, the regiment lost five killed and 27 wounded. It sustained an especially heavy blow in the loss of Lieut. Colonel George E. Chamberlin, who was shot through the abdomen during the first advance. He fell from his horse into the arms of Lieutenant Dodge, the adjutant of his battalion, was taken to Harper's Ferry and died

there next day.[1] In this fight, both battalions were engaged, and Walker's battalion suffered considerable loss. It had only a few rails hastily thrown together for shelter, while the Confederate skirmishers fired from behind a stone wall at short range. The color-sergeants of both battalions were shot—Sergeant Daniel B. Field, of Company B, being instantly killed, and Sergeant John C. Pellett, of Company E, seriously wounded, receiving injuries which occasioned his discharge in December following.[2]

In the reconnoissance to and skirmish at Gilbert's Ford[3] on the Opequon, September 13th, among the men wounded by shells from a battery on the further side of the stream,

[1] Colonel Chamberlin was born in Lyndon, in 1838. He graduated with honor from Dartmouth College in 1860, studied law in the Harvard Law School, and at the beginning of the war was engaged in the successful practice of his profession, at St. Louis, Mo. He returned to Vermont in the summer of 1862, impelled by his sense of duty to his country, in order to enlist in a Vermont regiment, and actively assisted in recruiting company A of the Eleventh regiment, at St. Johnsbury. He was chosen captain of the company at its organization, and was soon promoted to the office of major. He was appointed lieutenant colonel on the resignation of Lieut. Colonel Benton, in June, 1864. He was a conscientious and highly intelligent officer, who had the esteem and admiration of all who knew him, and his name should be cherished by Vermonters as that of one of the noblest and bravest of the sons of Vermont. While in command at Fort Totten, near Washington, Lieut. Colonel Chamberlin married the sister of his life-long friend, Colonel Gardiner, of the Fourteenth New Hampshire regiment, who was killed at the battle of the Opequon, a few days after Chamberlin's death, the sad fortune of war thus depriving the widowed bride, already an orphan, of her only brother.

[1] Among the killed were: John N. Copeland, company A; George A. Kilmer, company B; Charles Doolittle and Elbridge F. Lynde, company C. To the list of killed should probably be added Thomas Gilkerson of company A, and J. E. Sawyer of company H, reported "missing in action," and George H. Safford, recorded as "not accounted for, August 31, 1864." No men of the Eleventh, so far as was known, were captured that day.

The following died of their wounds: Frederick Beals, John F. Crapo, Allen W. Goodrich and Clark H. Russell, company C; David Goosey, company D; Charles Woodworth, company I; and George F. Bates, company M.

[3] This action is also called that of Lock's Ford.

was Lieutenant Henry E. Bedell, of company D of the Eleventh. The remarkable history of his case, surpassing fiction in romantic interest, is thus narrated by Colonel Walker:

Lieutenant Bedell was a man of splendid physique, muscular and athletic, over six feet high and about 28 years of age. An unexploded shell crashed through his left leg above the knee, leaving flesh at either side, and a ghastly mass of mangled muscles, shattered bones and gushing arteries between. The bleeding was stopped by compression and the surgeons speedily amputated the leg at the upper third. Everything that the rude circumstances permitted was done for the sufferer, but there was little hope of his recovery. Though his natural vigor was in his favor, his very size and the muscular strength on which he had prided himself were against him, for it was computed that over sixty-four square inches of flesh were laid bare by the surgeon's knife. His right hand had also been seriously injured at the same time, receiving comminuted fractures of the bones of three fingers and of the middle hand. The treatment of the hand was, however, deferred, until it should be seen whether he would rally from the shock of the amputation. The ride of seven miles back to camp at nightfall, was a terrible trial to the wounded man. An ambulance under the most favorable circumstances is not a "downy bed of ease," and the jolting over rough ground and across ditches partially filled with rails, reduced Bedell's chances of life to hardly one in a thousand. His death was, in fact, expected every moment, but sustained by stimulants and his indomitable courage, he reached the army lines alive. Fortunately a house was accessible, and the use of a vacant room in its second story was obtained, where Bedell was placed on a tick hastily stuffed with straw upon the floor. To the surprise of every one he survived the night, and a faint hope of saving his life was awakened. On the second day after the skirmish the surgeons decided to attempt the rehabilitation of the shattered hand. One or two fingers were removed, the broken bones were adjusted and the patient rallied in good spirits from the second operation. But his struggle for life had only just begun. After a few days of such rest as his miserable pallet could afford, orders issued in preparation for the coming battle of the Opequon came to remove the sick and wounded to Harper's Ferry, twenty miles distant. Army wagons and ambulances were

loaded with the unfortunates and an attempt was made to transport poor Bedell with the rest. But although he had already endured a rougher journey, it was while his wounded nerves were benumbed by the first shock of the injury. Now the torn and gashed flesh had become inflamed, and he had less strength to endure the torture. At every motion of the ambulance he groaned with agony, and it was soon evident that it would cost him his life to carry him a mile. He was returned to his straw pallet, all but expiring. The army moved next morning and Bedell was left lying on his chamber floor with a soldier nurse and such hospital stores as he would be likely to need before his death. The soldier left to care for him soon followed the army, at Bedell's request, for the country swarmed with guerillas, and under the system of reprisals adopted by Mosby and Custer the life or death of the nurse would have been a mere question of time, had he remained. The family who allowed the Union officer the use of their naked room to die in, had little sympathy with their unfortunate guest. Their solemn promises, made to his comrades, to give him care and attention were deliberately violated, and his chamber was never even entered by them. Death, horrible in its pain and loneliness, must have come quickly, had not a good Samaritan appeared in the person of a Southern woman who united with a tender heart the rarest courage and devotion and perseverance.

Mrs. Bettie VanMetre was a Virginian, born in the Luray Valley, scarcely twenty at the time in question, and of attractive personal appearance. She had been educated in comfortable circumstances, and before the war her husband had been moderately wealthy, but now his farm was as barren as a desert, not a fence to be seen, and nothing to protect had any enclosure remained; there was a mill upon the premises, but the miller had gone to fight for his country, as he believed, and there was now no grain left in the country to be ground. Officers who had called at her door, remarked the brave attempt at cheerfulness which so manifestly struggled with her sorrow, and treated her grief with deference. For this delicately nurtured girl was living alone in the midst of war; battles had raged around her very dwelling; she was entirely at the mercy of those whom she had been taught to believe to be her deadly enemies, and who held her husband and brother prisoners in Fort Delaware, taken while fighting in the Confederate army, the brother being, until long after this time, supposed to be dead. Her only companion was a little girl, perhaps ten

years of age, her niece. There this young woman and this child were waiting in their anxiety and desolation, waiting and praying for peace.

We should hardly expect the practice of active, laborious, gratuitous benevolence under such circumstances; but we shall see.

It is not known how Mrs VanMetre learned that a Union officer was dying of wounds and neglect in the house of her neighbor, but no sooner had she made the discovery than all her womanly sympathy was aroused. As she would have longed to have her husband or her brother treated under similar circumstances, so she at once resolved to treat their foe. She would not be moved by the sneers and taunts which were sure to come, but she would have him at her own house and save him if she could.

The lieutenant had now been entirely neglected for a day or two or longer; he had resigned himself to death, when this good woman entered his chamber and with kindly words called back his spirit from the mouth of the grave.

She had been allowed to keep an apology for a horse, so old and broken-winded and rheumatic that he was not worth stealing, and also a rickety wagon. With the assistance of a neighbor whose color permitted him to be humane, she carried the sufferer to her house, and at last he found himself in a clean and comfortable bed, his wounds washed and his bandages cleansed, and best of all, his wants anticipated by a gentle female tenderness that inspired him with sweet thoughts of his home, his family, and his life even yet perhaps to be regained.

The physician of the neighborhood, a kind old gentleman, was at once summoned from a distance of several miles, and uniting personal sympathy with professional zeal, he promised his daily attendance upon the invalid. The chance was still but a slender one, so much had been endured and so little vigor remained, yet those two good people determined to expend their most earnest endeavors in the almost desperate attempt to save the life of an enemy.

And they succeeded. The details of convalescence are always uninteresting; it is enough to say that Bedell lay for many days wrestling with death, but at last he began to mend, and from that time his improvement was rapid. But although Mrs. VanMetre and the good doctor were able to supply the lieutenant's most pressing wants, still much more than they could furnish was needed for the comfort of the invalid, and even for the proper treatment of his wounds.

No stimulants could be obtained except the vilest apple-jack, and the necessity for them seemed absolute; no clothing was to be had, and he was still in his bloody garments of blue; delicate food was needed, but the impoverished Virginia larder had none but what was simple and coarse.

At Harper's Ferry, however, was a depot of the United States Sanitary Commission, and stores in abundance. Some one must undertake a journey thither. It was a long day's ride to make the distance and return, and success was by no means assured even if the store-house could be reached. It was in the charge of strangers and enemies. The lieutenant was too feeble to write, and even if he had been able to do so, there was no method of authenticating his signature. But a woman would be far more likely to succeed than a man, and in fact no man would be allowed to pass within the limits of the garrison encircling Harper's Ferry. So it came about that the feeble Rosinante and the rattling wagon and the brave-hearted solitary driver, made the dangerous journey, and brought back a feast of good things for the sufferer.

The picket had been seduced by her eloquence to send her to headquarters, under charge of a guard, which watched her carefully as a probable spy. The general in command had seen fit to allow her to carry away such trifling articles as the Commission people would be willing to give; and although the chances were even that the gifts would be used in building up some wounded rebel, still the earnestness and apparent truthfulness of her entreaty for relief overbore all scruples; the old-fashioned vehicle was loaded with the wished for supplies, and the suspicious guard escorted the cargo beyond the lines. The trip was thereafter repeated week by week, and when letters were at length received in answer to those deposited by the fair messenger, postmarked among the Green Mountains, her triumph was complete, and her draft good for anything the Sanitary treasury contained. The only lingering doubt was in regard to the enormous amount of whiskey the invalid required. Mrs. VanMetre, however, explained that it was needed for diplomatic as well as medicinal purposes. Of course it had been bruited about among the neighbors that the miller's wife was nursing a Federal officer. In that region, now abandoned to the rule of Mosby and his men, concealment was essential. Therefore, the old men who had heard of the convalescent must be taken into confidence and pledged to secrecy, a course rendered possible only by the liberal use of *spiritus frumenti*. Under the influence of such liquor as had not been guzzled

in the valley since the peaceful days of Buchanan, the venerable rascals were easily convinced that such a shattered life as that of the lieutenant could not greatly injure their beloved Confederacy

Five weeks after Bedell received his wounds, Sheridan's army was encamped on Cedar Creek. The lieutenant now greatly needed his valise from the army baggage wagons. Therefore, a journey of twenty miles up the valley was planned, which brought our heroine and her little niece to the army again, with a few words traced by the maimed right hand of her charge as her credentials. Her simple story awakened the profoundest wonder and surprise among the lieutenant's former comrades, as they learned that their favorite who was dead was alive again, and felt how much true heroism her modest words concealed. She had plainly abandoned herself for weeks to the care of a suffering enemy, and yet she did not seem to realize that she deserved any credit for so doing, or that every woman would not have done as much. She was loaded with the rude attentions of the camp, and spent the night comfortably (from a military point of view) in a vacant tent at General Getty's headquarters. The desired valise was then at Winchester, but she obtained it on her return

The next daybreak found Getty's division fighting the battle of Cedar Creek. Amid the mounting in hot haste and the thronging confusion of the morning's surprise, General Getty found time to commit his terrified guests to the care of an orderly, who by a circuitous route conducted them safely out of the battle.

While the army was near Berryville, in September, some of General Getty's staff officers had called upon Mrs. Van-Metre, and had persuaded her to prepare for them a meal or two from the army rations, there being a magnetism in female cookery that the blades of the staff were always craving. In her visit to the army just mentioned, she had learned that one of those casual acquaintances had fallen at the former battle of the Opequon, and that his body was still lying somewhere on that wide battle-field. Seizing the earliest opportunity after her return, she personally searched all through the territory between Opequon Creek and Winchester, amid the carrion and the graves, until she found at last the rude board with its almost obliterated inscription that fixed the identity of the too scantily covered corpse. Shocked at the sight, for the rain had exposed the limbs and the crows had mangled them, she procured a coffin and laborers

from Winchester and had the remains decently interred in the cemetery there, at her own expense. Then she addressed a letter to his friends giving them the information which she possessed, and they subsequently recovered the relics, thanking God and their unknown benefactor.

After a long period of careful nursing, varied only by her weekly journey to Harper's Ferry for letters and supplies, the prudent doctor at last gave his consent that Bedell should attempt the journey home. Armed now with a pair of sanitary crutches, he doubted not that he could make his way, if he once could reach the Union lines But the difficulty of getting to Harper's Ferry cost him much anxiety. Though at various times forty guerillas together had been in and about the house where he lay, the watchful care of his protector had thus far kept them in ignorance of his presence. This journey, however, was likely to prove even more difficult to manage. At length one of the toddy-drinking neighbors, while relating his trials and losses, chanced to mention the seizure by our troops, of a pair of his mules months before, and the fact that a negro had since seen them in the Martinsburg corral. A happy thought struck the lieutenant; he at once assured the old gentleman that if he could only be placed (what there was left of him) in safety at the Ferry, the mules should be returned. The promise might perhaps be considered rash, seeing that Martinsburg was twenty-five miles from Harper's Ferry, under a different commander; that it was decidedly unusual to restore property seized from the enemy for government use ; that the chattels were probably long ago far up the Valley, and especially that Bedell could not have, in any event, the faintest shadow of authority in the premises. But the old man jumped at the offer and the bargain was struck.

It was decided that Mrs. VanMetre should accompany the Lieutenant home, both for his sake, as he was yet months from recovery, and for her own, as she had now lived for years in unwonted destitution and anxiety, while a quiet, comfortable home was thenceforth assured to her by her grateful charge until the return of peace ; and who knew if she might not in some way regain her own husband, as she had restored another's ?

So the party was made up and the journey commenced. The officer was carefully hidden in a capacious farm-wagon, under an immense heap of straw, and though two marauding parties were met during the day, the cheerful smile of the well-known jolly farmer disarmed suspicion. The escape was

successful. The clumsy vehicle drew up before headquarters at Harper's Ferry, and Bedell, saluted once more by a sentinel as he doffed his hat to the flag he had suffered for, headed the procession to the general's room.

The unique party told its own story. The tall lieutenant, emaciated, staggering on his unaccustomed crutches, the shrinking woman, timid in the presence of authority though so heroic in the presence of death, and the old Virginian aghast at finding himself actually in the lion's den, but with the burden of an anxious longing written on his wrinkled face,—each character so speaking, the group needed only this simple introduction: "General, this man has brought me in, and wants his mules!"

General Stevenson, warm-hearted and sympathetic, comprehended the situation at once. He made the party seat themselves before him and tell him all their story. He fed them at his table and lodged them in his quarters. He telegraphed for a special leave of absence for the officer, and secured free transportation for both him and his friend, and finally, most surprising of all good-fortune, he sent the venerable charioteer to Martinsburg, the happy bearer of a message that secured the restoration of his long-eared quadrupeds.

On the next day the lieutenant and Mrs. VanMetre went on by rail to Washington, where of course every one treated them kindly and gave them all possible assistance. When the paymaster had been visited and all preparation made for their journey north, it was determined to make an effort to secure the release of the rebel prisoner. So it came about that the quasi-widow and the crippled officer called together upon Secretary Stanton. The busiest of all busy men found time to hear their story, and despite the "stony heart" attributed to him by his enemies, he was deeply affected by the touching tale, and the ocular demonstration of its truth in the person of the wounded soldier. Tears rolled down his cheeks as he gave the order requested, earned by acts that few women would have dared; and the couple with glad hearts, crossing the street to the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners, presented the document to the clerk in charge to be viséd. But here another difficulty arose. Some one had blundered, and on searching the records of the office the required name could not be found. The cruel report was made that no such prisoner had been taken.

Nevertheless, Mrs. VanMetre's information had been direct and her conviction of some mistake was sure. They

laid the case before General Hitchcock, then in charge of that office, and again the story was argument enough. With trembling hands the old gentleman endorsed the order: "The commanding officer at Fort Delaware will release any person the bearer may claim as her husband."

The prison barracks were quickly reached. The commandant caused the thousands of grizzly captives to be paraded. File after file was anxiously, oh how anxiously! scanned by the trembling woman, and when the circuit was almost completed, when her sinking heart was almost persuaded that death instead of capture had indeed been the fate of the one she loved, she recognized his face despite his unkempt hair and his tattered garments, and fell upon the neck of her husband as he stood in the weary ranks.

A few days more and the two united families were at rest in Bedell's New England home.

In the battle of the Opequon, September 19th, Colonel Warner commanded the Vermont brigade with an ability which gave him the permanent command of the First brigade of the division, and the regiment was commanded by Major Walker, who distinguished himself by his personal gallantry and efficient handling of his command. The regiment lost seven killed, 85 wounded and four missing. Among the killed were Captain Charles Buxton of company G, who was shot through the head and died instantly and Lieutenant Daniel Duhigg, company M. Captain Buxton had been recently promoted to be major, and Lieutenant Duhigg to be captain of his company, but they had not received their commissions at the time of their deaths.[1] Captain James E. Eldredge of company H, and Captain Darius Safford of com-

[1] The rank and file killed were: Company B, Corporal Edgar M. Phinney and Lyman Dunbar; company F, Joel W. Chaffee; company I, John McCarthy; company M, Stephen Currier.

Twelve died of their wounds, as follows: Company A, Corporal Clesson Cameron; company B, Levi L. Goodrich; company D, Corporal Ira C. Twiss and John S. Andrews, company E, Corporal George A. Peeler; company G, Corporal Carroll N. Weatherbee; company H. Sergeant Benjamin S. Edgerton and Marcellus T. Russell; company I, Wyman R. Burnap; company K, Corporal John H. Fisk and Frank Minor; company M, Henry E. Decamp.

pany L, were in the line this day, having recently returned from the furloughs granted them after their escape from captivity, and both were wounded, as was also Lieutenant Edward A. Todd of company K.

Colonel Warner did not return to the regiment, the command of which devolved on Major Hunsdon, who was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy. Major Walker still commanded the First battalion, and Major George D. Sowles, who was promoted to the majority made vacant by the death of Major Buxton, commanded the Second battalion. The regiment had two men wounded at Fisher's Hill, September 21st and 22d, one of whom, Lieutenant J. A. Lewis of company C, was an aid on Colonel Warner's staff.

In the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19th, the two battalions of the Eleventh were commanded by Major Walker and Captain Robinson Templeton. A portion of the regiment took part in the first fighting done by Getty's division. This was about seven A. M., when, after the division took its first stand along Meadow Brook, the Vermont brigade was directed to drive the enemy from the woods east of the turnpike, behind which the enemy was re-forming his lines for a fresh advance. Several companies of Walker's battalion were at this time deployed, with portions of the Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments, and established a strong skirmish line along the crest of a ridge, from which they opened fire with effect on the enemy in front. They were seriously annoyed by the fire of the Union batteries behind them, and many took refuge from it in front of a large barn. They held the position till they were driven in by Pegram's double line of battle. In the second stand of Getty's division, soon after, the men of the Eleventh rendered admirable service, inflicting heavy loss on the enemy. At this point of the battle, on the crest west of Meadow Brook, the regiment lost most of its men that fell during the day. It shared in the sharp fighting and grand victorious advance of the afternoon, and its yellow flag

was as far to the front as that of any infantry regiment, in the final halt in the recaptured entrenchments of the Nineteenth Corps.

In this battle the regiment lost 10 killed and 74 wounded, of whom 14 died of their wounds, and 20 men were captured on picket in the early morning. Among the killed was Second Lieutenant Oscar S. Lee of company M, who was the only officer killed in the brigade. He was struck by a piece of shell, which carried away his left shoulder. His body was stripped of everything by the enemy, but was recognized when the field was re-occupied, and was buried in a graveyard near by. It was afterwards sent to his home in Waterford.[1]

Among the wounded were Captain Edward P Lee of company B, a brother of Lieutenant Oscar S. Lee; Lieutenant George O. French of company C, who was afterwards killed at Petersburg; Lieutenant Henry C. Baxter of company A, who was serving on the brigade staff, and First Lieutenant H. J. Nichols of company B, aid on Colonel Warner's staff.

[1] Lieutenant Lee was a brave and efficient officer. He was appointed first sergeant of his company at its organization; was commissioned second lieutenant March 29, 1864, and was promoted to be captain of his company three days before the battle in which he was killed, but he did not live to receive his commission.

The rank and file killed were: Company A, Corporal George T. Kasson and Obed S. Hatch, company D, Julius Minor; company E. Ira H. Tompkins; company G, George R. Campbell and Orson G. Gibson; company K Sergeant Manley E Bellus and Willard M. Davis; company L, Wesley G. Sheldon.

Those who died of their wounds were: Company A, Dan S. Smith; company B, John Woodward; company C, Sergeant Ransom M. Patch, Zelotes Kendall, Joseph Rabiteaux and Erastus Laird; company F, Corporals Charles Devereaux and Nelson F. Skinner, and Private George L. Heath; company I, Corporal Elbridge G. Wilson, Robert H. Tibbetts and Albert Woodworth; company K, Thomas Foster; company L, Sergeant John D. Williams; company M, Sergeant Marshall Wilmarth.

William A Page of company C, and M. K. Stoddard of company M, were captured during the forenoon, and died in the hands of the enemy.

The following officers of the Eleventh received brevet commissions signed by the President for gallant and meritorious service in the Valley: Colonel James M. Warner brevetted brigadier general; Major Aldace F. Walker, brevetted lieutenant colonel; Captain James E. Eldredge brevetted major; Lieutenant Henry C. Baxter brevetted captain. Surgeon Castanus B. Park of the Eleventh was brigade surgeon during the Shenandoah campaign. His duties were at times very arduous. After the battle of Cedar Creek he was at the operating table for forty-eight consecutive hours. During the whole campaign he performed, with his accustomed skill all the capital operations required in the brigade, and the whole command came to share the gratitude and affection with which he was always regarded by the officers and men of the Eleventh. Lieutenant Charles W Clark of the Eleventh was for a time, during this campaign, in charge of the quartermaster's department of the brigade, and fulfilled the duties with great efficiency and promptness.

The regiment remained with the brigade two weeks at Strasburg, and spent a comparatively restful month near Winchester. The morning report of October 31st showed the severity of the service during this campaign. It reported but 726 officers and men present for duty out of an aggregate of 1,668. Of the remainder 291 were prisoners and 630 were on the list of sick and wounded.

In December the regiment went with the brigade to Washington and thence to City Point, and to the front of Petersburg. Some convalescents returned and the regiment opened the year 1865 with an effective force of 853 and 475 on the sick list. Major Walker returned to Vermont on leave in March, taking with him the shot-torn colors of the regiment, under which two color-sergeants and fifteen corporals had been killed or wounded in the campaigns between Spottsylvania and Cedar Creek.

In the capture of the enemy's entrenched picket line, in front of Petersburg, on the 25th of March, the colors of the Eleventh were seized and borne into the enemy's works by Lieutenant George A. Bailey of company M, a brave young officer, who was personally complimented by General Getty for his gallantry, and was soon after placed on General Getty's staff. On the right of the Vermont brigade, Warner's brigade carried the entrenchments in front of them in a splendid charge, led by Colonel Warner, who took the brigade headquarters colors into his own hand and led his men over the breastworks, capturing a regiment and sweeping a long space of the rifle-pits clear of their defenders. In this affair the Eleventh lost one man killed and 12 wounded, two of whom died of their wounds.[1] Lieutenant William O. Dickinson of company E was among the wounded, receiving a severe contusion of the thigh, from a piece of a shell. In repulsing the attempt of the enemy to re-take the captured line on the 27th of March, the regiment lost five men wounded —none of them seriously. Eighteen men of the Eleventh were captured in this action, in a part of the rifle-pits which the enemy occupied for a few moments; but they did not remain long in the enemy's hands.

In the final assault upon the lines of Petersburg, April 2d, 1865, the two battalions were commanded, under Colonel Hunsdon, by Major George D. Sowles and Captain Darius J. Safford. The regiment had a brilliant share in the glorious work of the day. Though its battalions formed the last two lines of the brigade in its formation for the charge, the men of the Eleventh were among the first to mount the enemy's works, and the yellow colors of the regiment were planted on them little if any, in point of time, behind those of any other organization. Colonel Hunsdon was active in restoring the formation of the brigade after the tumultuous rush through the

[1] Killed, Horace G. Barnes of company L. Died of wounds, Augustus B. Fullerton and Solomon W. Cobleigh of company A.

enemy's lines, though there was not time to do much in the way of restoring company organizations before the line again started forward. In the movement of the brigade behind the enemy's lines, the two battalions of the Eleventh formed the left of the line of battle.

The incident of the capture of two guns and seventy officers and men of the Forty-second Mississippi, mentioned in the official reports, took place not long before the brigade halted near Hatcher's Run. In pushing on through swamps and woods, organizations had again been largely lost, and Captain Safford's battalion was hurrying forward without connections on either flank, when it was confronted by a considerable force of the enemy with two field-pieces. Captain Tilden asked and was granted the privilege of charging the guns. Taking twenty or thirty men, of several companies mingled indiscriminately, who formed the right of the battalion, he started for the guns. A discharge of canister from one of them disabled several men, but the rest pushed on, firing as they went, and bringing down a mounted officer. The artillerists fled from one of the pieces and Tilden's men turned and fired it upon the enemy. Here Tilden was joined by Lieutenant Dorman of company G, and about twenty men, and all started on the run to the right to cut off the retreat of the supports of the battery. These halted in a piece of woods and were summoned by Tilden to surrender. They waved a white handkerchief in response, and Lieut. Colonel A. M. Nelson of the Forty-second Mississippi, with 10 commissioned officers and 62 men of his regiment, marched out of the woods and laid down their arms. After his surrender Colonel Nelson, who was wounded, expressed regret that he had not discovered the small number of his captors a little sooner. Meantime Lieutenant Dorman had secured the other gun, and the guns and prisoners were soon turned over to Lieut. Colonel Mundee, of General Getty's staff, who was then directing the movement of the

brigade. In the movement back toward Petersburg the skirmish line of the brigade consisted of men of the Eleventh under Captain Safford, and in the capture of Williams's North Carolina battery at the Turnbull House, Captain Templeton and some men of the Eleventh had a gallant part. Throughout the day officers and men behaved with the utmost bravery and enthusiasm. The regiment lost five killed and 45 wounded.

Among the killed was Second Lieutenant George O. French, who fell while cheering on his men in the first assault. Among the wounded were Lieutenants Cyrus Thomas, William O. Dickinson, and John H. Macomber.[1]

In this final assault, General Warner again distinguished himself. His brigade charged on the right of the Vermont brigade, and Warner was, it is believed, the first mounted man inside the works. Upon the promotion of Colonel Warner as full brigadier general, bearing date May 8th, 1865, Lieut. Colonel Hunsdon succeeded him as colonel of the regiment, Major Walker was promoted to be lieutenant colonel, and Captain Darius J. Safford was appointed major. For gallant conduct on this occasion, Captain George G. Tilden, Brevet Captain Henry C. Baxter, and Lieutenant Henry J. Nichols received the brevet rank of major, and Lieutenants George A. Bailey, John H. Macomber, and Charles H. Anson were brevetted captains.

The regiment constituted a portion of the Vermont brigade until the latter was disbanded. It took part in the review of the brigade on the 7th of June, and in the grand review of the Sixth Corps at Washington the day following.

On the 24th of June, the original members of the regiment and the recruits whose term of service would expire before the 1st of October, 530 in number, were mustered out of

[1] The rank and file killed were: John Biden and Edwin Hall, company L, and Charles Colby and George W Weller, company M.

Died of their wounds: Nathaniel B. Johnson, company A, and Medard Peck, company G.

Jas. M. Warner

the service of the United States and started for home. They arrived in New York at three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, and reached Burlington in the afternoon of the 29th. They marched from the depot to the City Hall, the regimental band playing "Home Again," and were received by Mayor Catlin, and welcomed home by J. S. Adams, Esq. Colonel Hunsdon responded on behalf of the regiment, and the men stacked arms and marched up into the hall, where they were welcomed by the ladies with songs and flowers and a bountiful supper, which was acknowledged with cheers, in which the regiment sustained its old reputation as "the best yelling regiment in the defenses of Washington." The regiment then marched to its quarters at the Hospital grounds.

The officers and the numbers of the men of the respective companies returning at this time were as follows:

Colonel Hunsdon, Lieut. Colonel Walker, Majors Sowles and Templeton, Surgeon Park, Chaplain Little, Acting Adjutant E. L. Foster, Quartermaster Clark, and Assistant Surgeon Charles W Bourne.

Company A—Captain Orlo H. Austin, First Lieutenant Henry C. Baxter, Second Lieutenants Frank Anson and Charles Ross, and 37 enlisted men.

Company B—Captain Edward P. Lee, First Lieutenant Walter S. Jones, Second Lieutenant Philo S. Lawrence, and 52 enlisted men.

Company C—Captain Silas B. Tucker, First Lieutenants William V. Meeker and Judson A. Lewis, Second Lieutenants Francis R. Shaw and Asa F. Mather, and 48 enlisted men.

Company D—Captain Chester W. Dodge, First Lieutenants William G. Dunham and Cyrus Thomas, Second Lieutenant Paphro D. Pike, and 50 enlisted men.

Company E—Captain John C. Sears, First Lieutenants Charles H. Anson and Roger A. Tubbs, Second Lieutenants Albert Patch and Samuel H. Holbrook, and 41 enlisted men.

Company F—Captain Edward F. Griswold, First Lieutenant William W. Gage, Second Lieutenants Hollis D. Bailey and John N. Weston, and 30 enlisted men.

Company G—Captain Patrick Diggins, First Lieutenant Charles W. Clark, Second Lieutenant Alroy A. Snow, and 60 enlisted men.

Company H—Captain George G. Tilden, First Lieutenants William O. Dickinson and John R. Wilson, Second Lieutenants Edward Blaisdell and Charles D. Stafford, and 45 enlisted men.

Company I—Captain George G. Howe, First Lieutenant Edward L.

Foster, Second Lieutenants Charles L. Benson and George Colton, and 51 enlisted men.

Company K—First Lieutenant Sidney Bliss, Second Lieutenant Nathan Martin, and 51 enlisted men.

Company L—First Lieutenant Julius S. Dorman, and 6 enlisted men.

Company M—First Lieutenant Julius Rice, Second Lieutenant Ransom A Wells, and 3 enlisted men.

The members of the regiment who were not mustered out in June, were consolidated into a battalion of four companies of heavy artillery under command of Major Safford, and were stationed in the defenses of Washington, at Fort Foote, Md. Major Safford was promoted lieutenant colonel, and Captain Chase, major, in July.

On the 25th of August, the battalion, numbering 275 officers and men, was mustered out at Washington and started immediately for Vermont. It arrived at Burlington at half-past six on the evening of the 29th, was received at the depot by a number of citizens, and marched to the City Hall, where Rev. H. K. Cobb of the First M. E. church, welcomed them in behalf of the people of Vermont. The customary supper was served by the ladies in the City Hall. A few days later the officers and men were paid off, and dispersed to their homes.

The officers who returned at this time were as follows

Lieut. Colonel Safford, Major Chase, Assistant Surgeon Harrington, Adjutant Anson, and Quartermaster Stebbins.

Company A—Captain A. G. Fleury; First Lieutenant J. D. Sheridan, Second Lieutenants H. S. Castle and James J. Doty.

Company B—Captain George A. Bailey, First Lieutenant Charles H. Bush, Second Lieutenants Samuel B. Jones and Samuel H. Holbrook.

Company C—Captain John H. Macomber, First Lieutenants Oren G. Chase and Ira V. Edwards, Second Lieutenants Anthony W. Davidson and Harrison B. George.

Company D—Captain Henry J. Nichols, First Lieutenant Hollis D. Morrill, First Lieutenant Samuel L. Daggett, Second Lieutenant Don C. Ayer.

MEMBERS OF THE ELEVENTH WHO DIED IN THE ENEMY'S HANDS.

COMPANY A.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Capt. Edwin J. Morrill,	June 23, 1864.	June 30, 1864.
Lieut. Jonathan C. Burnham,	"	Richmond, July 21, "
Corp. Lorenzo D. Farnham,	"	August 19, "
William A. Aiken,	"	Andersonville, Nov. 17, "
Lanson E. Aldrich,	"	" Oct. 8, "
Harvey B. Aldrich,	"	" " 20, "
Freeman Barker,	"	" Sept. 7, "
Nathaniel Batchelder, Jr.,	"	Rebel hospital, Oct. 27, "
Elias S. Chase,	"	Andersonville, Sept. 15, "
George L. Fairchild,	"	Rebel hospital, Nov. 25, "
John Green,	"	In prison, Dec. 5, "
Charles A. Hale,	"	Andersonville, Nov. 17, "
Levi Hines,	"	" Oct. 12, "
Henry Lackie,	"	Rebel hospital, Nov. 25, "
Newcomb Martin,	"	Andersonville, " 2, "
Harry Nichols,	"	" Oct. 17, "
Corp. Marshall G. Packard,	"	" Nov. 13, "
Maxon L. Royce,	"	Rebel hospital, Dec. 15 "
Martin S. Sanborn,	"	Andersonville, Nov. 11, "
Clark S. Wright,	"	" Aug. 30, "
Joseph Baker,	"	" Oct. 26, "
Joseph B. Brown,	"	" " 16, "
Henry B. Chase,	"	" Sept. 16, "
George D. Emerson,	"	" Aug. 21, "
Leander B. Farnham,	"	" " 20, "
Benjamin Hall,	"	" " 11, "
John Howard,	"	" Nov. 4, "
John W Hudson,	"	" Oct. 16, "
Silas P. Hudson,	"	" " 14, "
Nathan C. Hulburd,	"	" Sept. 23, "
Thaddeus R. Prest	"	" Aug. 7, "
Andrew St. John,	"	" July 15, "
Albert S. Stockwell,	"	" Sept. 11, "
Joseph St. Pierre,	"	" Oct. 26, "
Edwin W. Stuart,	"	" Feb. 1, 1865.
Andrew Sturgeon,	"	In prison, Oct. 15, 1864.
James W. Taylor,	"	Andersonville, Oct. 19, "
Alfred Ward,	"	" Sept. 5, "
Charles K. Wells,	"	" " 17, "
Alonzo White,	"	" Oct. 8, "
Chester S. Willey,	"	" Nov. 25, "

COMPANY B.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
2d Lieut. Edward B. Parker.	June 23, 1864.	Columbia, Oct. 13, 1864.
Levi St. Clair,	"	Rebel hospital, " 15, "

COMPANY C.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
William A. Page,	Oct. 19, 1864.	Supposed dead.
William H. Barber,	June 23 "	Andersonville, Nov. 16, 1864.
Allen J. Benson,	" " " "	Aug. 21, "
Thomas Gary,	June 17, 1864. "	" 13, "
George Sweeney,	May 24, 1864. "	Sept. 4, "

COMPANY D.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Haskell Foster,	June 23, 1864.	Andersonville, Oct. 25, 1864.

COMPANY E.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Emerson Bishop,	May 17, 1864.	Andersonville, Jan. 8, 1865.

COMPANY F.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Sergeant Wm. C Tallman,	June 23, 1864.	Andersonville, Aug. 15, 1864.
Hiram Burroughs,	"	" Sept. 10, "
Francis W. Doying,	"	" Aug. 13, "
Corp. Moses M. Elkins,	"	Charleston, Jan. 20, 1865.
Charles Foster,	"	" Sept. 20, 1864.
Corp. Martin E. Guild,	"	In prison.
Joseph Kidder,	"	Florence, Sept. 25, 1864.
Willard Morse,	"	Andersonville, Aug. 3, "
Franklin A. Raymo,	"	" Oct 16, "
George Robbins	"	" Aug. 20, "
Lemuel H. Sulham	"	Charleston, Sept. 26, "
George S. Twiss,	"	" " 22, "
Chauncey G. Webster,	"	" " 19, "
Corp. John A. Wilson,	"	" Jan. 15, 1865.
George E. Bemis,	"	Dec. 20, 1864.
Charles H. Brooks,	"	Charleston, Oct. 1, "
Alden O. Bumps,	"	Florence, Sept. 20, "
Martin L. Clark,	"	Andersonville, Aug. 31, "
John D. Clough,	"	" July 24, "
Divine Crowley,	"	" Aug. 25, "
George W. Dewey,	"	Dec. 4, "
Edward Duval,	"	In prison, "
Stephen M. Fairbrother,	"	March 14, 1865.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Lewis H. Frost.	June 23, 1864.	Florence, Oct. 20. 1864.
Henry L. Goodall,	"	" " 18, "
Benjamin H. Jenks.	"	Dec. 18. "
Luther C. Kelsey,	"	Andersonville. Aug. 26. "
Lawrence Poquette,	"	Dec. 19, "
Samuel F. Stea ns.	"	Charleston, Sept. 20. "
Beman B. Stratton,	"	Andersonville. Aug. 27. "
Elbridge G. J. Varnum,	"	" " 13, "
George C. Varnum.	"	" " 14. "
Ira A. Willey.	"	Charleston, Jan. 20. 1865.
George F. Woodmancy,	"	Andersonville, Sept. 9, 1864.
Sergeant George R. Ranger,	"	Charleston, Feb. 20. 1865.
W. H. Chamberlin.	"	On transport. Dec. 20. 1864.
Lewis Flower.	"	Jan. 7, 1865.
Ana Lafountain.	"	March 15. "
Franklin Woodward.	"	Supposed dead.

COMPANY H.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Sergt. George Day,	June 23. 1864.	Andersonville, Sept. 6, 1864.
Henry K. Barrett,	"	Charleston. " 28. "
Wilmoth Ayers.	"	In prison.
John H. Bruce,	"	Andersonville. Oct. 5. 1864.
Carlos R. Bugbee,	"	Goldsboro. Feb. 25 1865.
Horace S. Dutton.	"	Florence. Dec. 24. 1864.
Arthur M. French,	"	Jan. 1. 1865
James B. Goodrich,	"	In prison.
Pembroke S. Grover.	"	
Crowell M. Knowles.	"	Andersonville. Sept. 16. 1864.
Harvey J. Lyman,	"	Florence, Oct. 24. "
George L. Morse.	"	In prison.
Samuel F. Parker,	"	Florence. Oct. 26. 1864.
Carlos A. Stowell.	"	In prison.
Edwin W Weston.	"	In prison. Sept. 16 1864.
Levi F. Wilder.	"	Andersonville, Aug 2.
Corp. William E. Willard,	"	Charleston. Oct. 2. "
Samuel P. Woodward,	"	Andersonville. Aug. 15. "
Edward M. Alles.	"	Florence. Dec. 25. "
John Browe,	"	Andersonville, Oct. 15, "
Heman Dole.	"	In prison.
Eli Faneuf.	"	Jan. 5. 1865.
Charles W Gleason.	"	Andersonville, Sept. 11 1864.
John Graves, Jr.,	"	" Oct. 28. "
David Johnson,	"	" Aug. 3. "
Carroll V. Kenyon,	"	Goldsboro.
Curtis W. Ruscoe,	"	Andersonville. Sept. 3. "

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Edward F. Smith,	June 23, 1864.	Danville, Oct. 8, 1864.
James A. Stone,	"	Andersonville, Aug. 17, "
Jared Blanchard, Jr.,	"	Supposed dead.
Carlos C. Hinkley,	"	" "
Charles Morey,	"	Dec. 20, 1864.

COMPANY I.

Name.	*Died.*
Alfred Jacobs,	Danville, Sept. 20, 1864.

COMPANY K.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Sergt. Thomas Babcock,	June 23, 1864.	Andersonville, Nov. 5 1864.
William H. Stockman,	"	Millen, Ga., Oct. 7, "
Willard Fox,	"	Andersonville, Sept. 7, "
Keyes Howard,	"	" Oct. 15, "
Merritt Ingalls,	"	Dec. 9, "
Joseph Lapoint,	"	" Nov. 20, "
Bartney Lawrence,	"	Florence, Apr. 10, 1865.
Peter McKanna,	"	Millen, Nov. 15, 1864.
Calvin J. Rowley,	"	Raleigh, N. C., Apr. 21, 1865.
Henry B. Tobias,	"	Millen, Nov. 3, 1864.
William Barton,	"	Andersonville, Sept. 5, "
George W Carter,	"	" Oct. 25, "
Asa J. Chesley,	"	" Aug. 9, "
George E. Frost,	"	" Oct. 12, "
James Hersey,	"	" Nov. 25, "
Joseph Holmes,	"	" " 2, "
John W Johnson,	"	" Oct. 1, "
Charles Knight,	"	" Aug. 20, "
Reno Laclaire,	"	Florence, Feb. 15, 1865.
Jonathan M. Roberts,	"	Andersonville, Sept. 7 1864.
Horace F. Ross,	"	" " 27 "
Byron Wheeler,	"	" Nov. 3, "
Kingsley L. Winslow,	"	" Oct 5, "
Joseph Fernette,	"	" Dec. 23, "
Joseph H. Monroe,	"	Danville, Jan. 23, 1865.
Charles Scott,	"	Supposed dead.

COMPANY L.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
William E. Owen,	June 23 1864.	Millen, Oct. 1. 1864.
Sardis Birchard,	"	Andersonville, Aug. 20, "
Harrison R. Powers,	"	Florence, Nov 27, "
James E. Miller,	"	Feb. 16, 1865.
Horace B. Foster,		Andersonville, Sept. 8, 1864.

Name.	*Captured.*		*Died.*
Edward Hyde.	**June** 23, 1864	Andersonville.	Aug. 17, 1864.
Daniel Adams.	"	"	" 2, "
Simeon S. Bean.	"	"	"
Tuffel Brother.	"		Dec. 1, "
Albert S. Butler.		"	" 6, "
Philip Camere.	"	"	Aug. 24, "
William H. Colvin.	"	Millen.	Oct. 15, "
Eben. F. Cross.	18.	Andersonville.	Nov. 2, "
John J. Horan.	23.		Feb. 6, 1865.
Clement Lizotte.	"		Sept. 10, 1864.
William Martin.	"		Supposed dead.
George W. H. Martindale.	"		" "
Lyman Mason.	"	Savannah.	1864.
Henry C. Taylor	"	Andersonville.	Sept. 23, "
George Turner.		Florence.	
George W. Ransom.	"	Andersonville.	Aug. 23, 1864.
Asa L. Munroe.	"	"	Feb. 10, 1865.
Antoine Rivers.	"	Savannah.	

COMPANY K.

Name.	*Captured.*		*Died.*
John Clark.	May 23, 1864	Andersonville.	Aug. 31, 1864
Warren Colburn.	June 23, "	"	Oct. 4, "
Meigs K. Stoddard.	Oct. 19, "	in prison.	Nov. 19, "

The battles and engagements in which the Eleventh regiment took part were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Spottsylvania,	May 5 to 18, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864.
Petersburg,	June 15, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	June 23, 1864.
Washington,	July 11, 1864.
Charlestown,	Aug. 21, 1864.
Gilbert's Ford,	Sept. 13, 1864.
Opequan,	Sept. 19, 1864.
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Petersburg,	March 25 and 27, 1865.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.

The final statement of the regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 42; enlisted men, 1273; total.....1315

GAINS.

Promotion from other regiments—com. officers	3
Transfer from other regiments—enlisted men	26
Recruits—appointed com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 971; total	976
Total gain	1005
Aggregate	2320

LOSSES.

Promotion to other regiments—com. officers, 3; to U. S. army—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 9; total	14
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, navy, other regiments, and organizations of other states—com. officer, 1; enlisted men, 109; total	110
Killed in action—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 64; total	69
Died of wounds—com officers. 3; enlisted men, 83; total	86
Died of disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 212; total	213
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 165; from accident, 7; total	174
Total of deaths	542
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 15; for wounds and disability, 20;—enlisted men, for wounds, 67; for disability, 229; paroled prisoner, 1; total	332
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 6; total	9
Total discharged	341
Deserted, 143; dropped from rolls, 1; unaccounted for, 4; total	148
Total loss	1155
Mustered out—com. officers, 74; enlisted men, 1091; total	1165
Aggregate	2320
Total wounded	418

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECOND BRIGADE.

TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH REGIMENTS.

The Militia Called out—Organizations of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Regiments—Rendezvous at Brattleboro—Departure for Washington—Organization of the Second Vermont Brigade—Ordered into Virginia—Camp Vermont—General Stoughton assumes Command—Duty in the Defenses of Washington—Repulse of Stuart's Cavalry from Fairfax Court House—Winter Quarters at Fairfax Station and Wolf Run Shoals—Organization of Twenty-Second Army Corps—Capture of General Stoughton—Fifteenth and Sixteenth Regiments move to Union Mills, and the Thirteenth to Occoquan—General Stannard assumes Command—Spring Campaign of 1863—Reopening and Guarding the Orange and Alexandria Railroad—Mosby Captures and Burns a Train—Opening Movements of the Gettysburg Campaign—Brigade joins the Army of the Potomac—Assigned to First Army Corps—March to Gettysburg—Battle of Gettysburg—Pursuit of Lee to the Potomac—Expiration of Term of Service—Departure for Home and Muster Out.

Roused by the reverses of the Peninsular campaign to a fuller realization of the magnitude of its task, the Government, in July and August, 1862, was making extraordinary efforts to place a force in the field sufficient to speedily overwhelm all resistance to the national authority. It was not enough that on the 1st of July the President had issued his call for 300,000 three years men. Congress, a few days later, passed an act authorizing him to call out the entire militia of the States, adding provisions for filling the quotas, if necessary, by conscription—the method by which the Confederacy had for six months been filling its armies. Under this act, on the 4th of August, Mr. Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 militia to serve for nine months, within which time the rebellion was to be crushed. When this new call came the State authorities of Vermont were busy in arming and

equipping the Tenth and Eleventh regiments, and were hoping that when these had been sent out and the other regiments filled by volunteers in numbers sufficient to raise the State's quota of three years men, they could have a respite from the work of recruiting troops; but they responded to the new demand with undiminished spirit. On the 10th of August the instructions of the Secretary of War, fixing Vermont's quota of the militia at 4,898 men, were received by Governor Holbrook, and on the next day he issued a general order for a new enrollment of the militia of Vermont, comprising all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and on the day following an order—General Order No. 12, of August 12, 1862—calling into active service all the militia companies in the State.

Twenty-two such companies appeared upon the State roster. Ten of these had seen three months' service in the First regiment, but so many of the members of these companies had subsequently re-enlisted in the three years regiments, that but six companies had been able to preserve their organizations, and these were much reduced in numbers. Of the other companies, some had formally disbanded, and some, though existing on paper, had ceased to exist in fact. Under the circumstances only thirteen companies were able to respond to the call. These were the Howard Guards of Burlington,[1] West Windsor Guards, Allen Greys of Brandon, Saxton's River Light Infantry of Rockingham, Woodstock Light Infantry, Bradford Guards, Rutland Light Guard, Tunbridge Light Infantry, Ransom Guards of St. Albans, New England Guards of Northfield, Emmett Guards of Burlington, Lafayette Artillery of Calais, and Frontier Guards of Coventry.

On the 13th of August a third order—General Order No. 13,—called for volunteers for nine months to fill the

[1] This company was the first to respond. It was filled and organized for service on the 23d of August.

quota. The order stated that no recruiting officers would be appointed, but that the town officers and patriotic citizens would be expected to enlist the men and form the companies. "The commander-in-chief," said the order, "confidently expects that before the time for a legal draft shall arrive, every man necessary to complete the requisition upon the State will be furnished; and he trusts to the people of the State to carry out his wishes, in their own way, without the intervention of recruiting officers or other official agencies."

Thirty companies were enlisted, organized and accepted under this order, as follows :

The Montpelier company, from Montpelier Waterbury, Barre, Berlin, Middlesex and other towns; organized August 25th.

The Moretown company, from Waitsfield, Warren, Fayston, Duxbury, Moretown and Middlesex; organized August 25th.

The Bethel company, from Bethel, Stockbridge, Rochester, Royalton and Pittsfield; organized August 26th.

The Bennington company, from Bennington, Pownal and Woodford; organized August 27th.

The Wallingford company, from Danby, Pawlet, Middletown, Clarendon, Wallingford, Shrewsbury, Tinmouth and other towns; organized August 27th.

The Brattleboro company, from Brattleboro, Marlboro, Putney, Dummerston, Guilford and Westminster; organized August 28th.

The Manchester company, from Manchester, Rupert, Winhall, Sunderland, Arlington and Dorset; organized August 28th.

The St. Johnsbury company, from St. Johnsbury, Waterford, Barnet, Kirby, Concord and Ryegate; organized August 28th.

The East Montpelier company, raised in East Montpelier, Berlin, Calais, Marshfield, Worcester, Plainfield and Orange; organized August 29th.

The Ludlow company, from Ludlow, Plymouth, Andover, Weston, Landgrove, Cavendish, and other towns; organized August 29th.

The Shoreham company, from Shoreham, Cornwall, Bridport, Benson, Orwell, and other towns; organized August 29th.

The Townshend company, from Wardsboro, Londonderry, Windham, Grafton, Townshend and Jamaica; organized August 29th.

The Middlebury company, from Middlebury, Salisbury, Addison, Cornwall, Whiting, Shoreham, Weybridge, Ripton, and other towns; organized August 30th.

The West Fairlee company, from Vershire, Thetford, Strafford, West Fairlee and Washington; organized August 30th.

The Springfield company, from Springfield, Chester, Weathersfield, and Reading; organized Sept. 1st.

The Barton company, from Barton, Irasburgh, Sutton, Albany, Craftsbury, Greensboro, Brownington, Westmore and Glover; organized Sept. 3d.

The Castleton Company, from Castleton, Hubbardton, Fairhaven, Poultney and West Haven; organized Sept. 3d.

The Wilmington company, from Wilmington, Whitingham, Dover, Searsburgh and Halifax; organized Sept. 3d.

The Barnard company, from Barnard, Pomfret, Sharon, Bridgewater and Hartford; organized Sept. 4th.

The Colchester company, from Colchester, Milton and other towns; organized Sept. 6th.

The Bristol company, from Bristol, Starksboro, Monkton, New Haven, Hinesburgh and other towns; organized Sept. 8th.

The Danville company, from Danville, Hardwick and Walden; organized Sept. 8th.

The Morristown company, from Morristown, Stowe, Cambridge, Eden, Wolcott, Johnson and Westford; organized Sept. 8th.

The Richmond company, from Jericho, Underhill, Essex, St. George, Bolton, Williston, Huntington, Richmond and Starksboro; organized Sept. 10th.

The Rutland company, from Rutland, Sherburne, Mendon, Chittenden, Pittsfield, Mount Holly, Ira and other towns; organized Sept. 10th.

The West Randolph company, from Northfield, Brookfield and Randolph; organized Sept. 11th.

The Highgate company, from Swanton, Highgate, Franklin, Grand Isle, Alburgh, North Hero, South Hero and other towns; organized Sept. 11th.

The Bakersfield company, from Berkshire, Bakersfield, Enosburgh, Richford, Montgomery and other towns; organized Sept. 15th.

The Chester company, from Springfield, Baltimore, Weathersfield, Grafton, Cavendish, Norwich and Chester; organized Sept. 15th.

The Wait's River company, from Barre, Orange, Topsham, Newbury, Groton, Corinth, Washington, Bradford and other towns; organized Sept. 15th.

Within a month forty-three companies, comprising about 4,000 men, were organized and accepted; and by the 20th of September seven additional companies tendered themselves, so that the quota of militia was filled by voluntary enlistments.[1] These seven companies were as follows:

The Island Pond company, raised in Brighton, Holland, Morgan, Newark, Burke, Lunenburgh, Canaan, East Haven, Lemington, Charleston, Brunswick and Maidstone; organized September 15th.

[1] It is true that drafts were ordered in a few towns, by which forty or fifty men were drawn; but the men so drawn at once enlisted, and they were enrolled as volunteers, and not as conscripts.

The Vergennes company, raised in Charlotte, Addison, Vergennes, Ferrisburgh, New Haven, Huntington, Goshen, Panton and Granville; organized September 16th.

The McIndoe's Falls company, raised in Barnet, Peacham, Ryegate, Danville, Coventry, Greensboro, Barton, Waterford and St. Johnsbury; organized September 16th.

The Lyndon company, raised in Sheffield, Wheelock, Lyndon, Sutton, Glover, Guildhall, Kirby and Victory; organized September 17th.

The Danby company, raised in Danby, Pownal, Rupert, Sandgate, Shaftsbury, Stamford, Wallingford, Wells, Poultney and other towns, organized September 18th.

The Felchville company, raised in Reading, Hartford, Hartland, Weston, Royalton, Barnard, Sharon, Stockbridge, Windsor and other towns; organized September 18th.

The Williamstown company, raised in Newfane, Putney, Guilford, Peru, Stratton, Readsboro, Dummerston, Brookline, Searsburgh, Windham, Wardsboro, Marlboro, Jamaica and other towns; organized September 20th.

Among the men so enlisting were many men of high patriotic purpose, whose professional and civil responsibilities had not permitted them to engage for a three years' term in the army; and the nine months regiments thus comprised an unusual proportion of men of liberal education and recognized standing.

The fifty companies were organized into regiments by Adjutant General Washburn, and rendezvoused at Brattleboro as soon as the barracks furnished by the United States were ready for occupation. As these were militia regiments, they were officered in accordance with the State Constitution —the companies electing the company officers; the company officers nominating the field officers, who were thereupon commissioned by the Governor; and the field officers selecting the regimental staff.

THE TWELFTH REGIMENT.

The Twelfth regiment comprised the first ten of the thirteen companies which first responded to the new call, and was, in a sense, a revival of the First regiment, seven of its companies, viz., B, C E, F, G, H and K, having been companies of the First, though with different company officers and for the most part different members. The field officers were elected at a meeting of the line officers, held at Bellows Falls, September 19th, and the regiment was organized as follows:

Colonel—Asa P. Blunt, St. Johnsbury.
Lieut. Colonel—Roswell Farnham, Bradford.
Major—Levi G. Kingsley, Rutland.[1]
Adjutant—Roswell C. Vaughan, St. Johnsbury.
Quartermaster—Harry Brownson, Rutland.
Surgeon—Benjamin F. Ketchum, Manchester.
Assistant Surgeon—Granville P. Conn, Richmond.
Chaplain—Rev. Lewis O. Brastow, St. Johnsbury.

Company A.	West Windsor Guards.	Captain Charles L. Savage.
" B.	Woodstock Light Infantry.	" Ora Paul, Jr.
" C.	Howard Guards.	" Lemuel W. Page.
" D.	Tunbridge Light Infantry.	" David F. Cole.
" E.	Ransom Guards.	" Hamilton S. Gilbert.
" F.	New England Guards.	" Darius Thomas.
" G.	Allen Greys.	" Ebenezer J. Ormsbee.
" H.	Bradford Guards.	" Preston S. Chamberlain.
" I.	Saxton's River Light Infantry	" Carlton H. Roundy.
" K.	Rutland Light Guard.	" Walter C. Landon.

The field officers of the Twelfth had all seen service. Colonel Blunt, when the war broke out, held a responsible position in the employ of the great manufacturing firm of E. & T. Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury. He went out as adjutant of the Third regiment in July, 1861, and five months after was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Sixth, in which he served with credit for a year. He was now 34 years

[1] Captain N. T. Sprague, of Brandon, was chosen major; but having declined the office, under medical advice, Captain Kingsley was chosen in his place.

of age, straight and soldierly, a fine horseman, apt in military duties and prompt and spirited in command." He took hold with spirit of the work of drilling and disciplining the regiment, and at once established himself in the respect and confidence of the officers and men.

Lieut. Colonel Farnham was of patriotic lineage, his grandfather on the mother's side having fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont, and when the war broke out was practicing his profession, of the law, in Bradford, with promise of prominence and usefulness, which was fully borne out by his subsequent career in civil life, as lawyer, legislator, and Governor of the commonwealth. He was State's attorney of Orange County and captain of the Bradford Guards when appointed lieutenant colonel of the Twelfth. He had learned military duty as lieutenant of the Bradford company of the First regiment, under Colonel Phelps, and was a highly intelligent, patriotic and efficient officer.

Major Kingsley was captain of the Rutland Light Guard when elected major. He had also seen service as a lieutenant of the Rutland company in the First regiment, and was a faithful, trusty and competent soldier.

The staff were generally new in their duties. Surgeon Ketchum had recently established himself in the practice of his profession in Manchester. Assistant Surgeon Conn was a practicing physician in Richmond. An additional assistant surgeon was appointed in January, 1863, in the person of Dr. Oliver E. Ross, of Cornwall. Chaplain Brastow was one of the pastors of the two Congregational churches in St. Johnsbury, who left their pulpits to accept chaplaincies in the

[1] After the close of his service with the Twelfth, Colonel Blunt entered the Regular Army as Captain and A. Q. M., held highly responsible positions in the quartermaster's department during the war, and was promoted to be colonel and brevet brigadier general of volunteers, for faithful and meritorious services. He was subsequently for many years superintendent of the United States military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Second brigade, and returned to them after their term of service expired. He was an earnest and faithful chaplain.

A considerable proportion of the line and non-commissioned officers had seen service in the First and other regiments.

September 25th, the regiment went into camp at Brattleboro, designated as "Camp Lincoln." Colonel E. H. Stoughton, of the Fourth Vermont, was commandant of the post, having been taken from his regiment under the understanding that after drilling the new regiments while in the State he should command the brigade when it took the field.

On the morning of October 4th the regiment was reviewed and inspected by Governor Holbrook, Adjutant General Washburn, Q. M. Gen. Davis and Colonel Stoughton. On the afternoon of the same day it was mustered into the service of the United States by Major William Austine, U. S. A., and on the evening of the 7th, it left Brattleboro for Washington, spent the night in the cars, and at five o'clock next morning took steamer at New Haven for Jersey City, where it had soup about noon. It stopped in Philadelphia for supper, and at 9 P. M. Oct. 9th arrived at Washington and was quartered for the night in the "Soldiers' Rest." Next morning the regiment went into camp on Capitol Hill, where it was brigaded provisionally with the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh New Jersey (nine months) regiments, under command of Colonel Derrom of the Twenty-fifth New Jersey. The brigade was attached to General Casey's Division of the Reserve Army Corps for the defense of Washington, and during its stay of three weeks on East Capitol Hill, it took part in various reviews, in which the regiment acquitted itself so well as to win special complimentary notice from the general commanding.

On the 30th of October, the other regiments having arrived at Washington, the five nine months regiments were brigaded together under the temporary command of Colonel

Blunt. The subsequent record of the Twelfth forms part of the history of the Second brigade.

THE THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

The Thirteenth regiment comprised two of the thirteen companies of uniform militia, who first responded to Order No. 12—viz., the Emmett Guards of Burlington, and the "Lafayette Artillery" of Calais—with eight of the companies of volunteer militia raised under General Order No. 13. On the 24th of October the company officers met at Montpelier and elected the field officers. The regiment was organized and officered as follows:

Colonel—Francis V Randall, Montpelier.
Lieut. Colonel—Andrew C. Brown, Montpelier.
Major—Lawrence D. Clark, Highgate.
Adjutant—Orloff H. Whitney, Franklin.
Quartermaster—Leonard F. Aldrich, Barre.
Surgeon—Dr. George Nichols, Northfield.
Assistant Surgeon—Dr. John B. Crandall, Berlin.
Chaplain—Rev. Joseph Sargent, Williston.

Company A,	Emmett Guards,	Captain	John Lonergan.
" B,	Moretown Company,	"	Oscar C. Wilder.
" C,	East Montpelier Company,	"	Lewis L. Coburn.
" D,	Colchester Company,	"	William D. Munson.
" E,	Morristown Company,	"	Joseph J. Boynton.
" F,	Richmond Company,	"	John L. Yale.
" G,	Bakersfield Company,	"	Marvin White.
" H,	Lafayette Artillery,	"	William V. Peck.
" I,	Montpelier Company,	"	John M. Thacher.
" K,	Highgate Company,	"	George S. Blake.

The regiment was well officered. Its colonel, Francis V Randall, was a native of Braintree. He had been a prominent citizen, having held the office of State's attorney of Washington county and thrice represented the town of Roxbury in the Legislature. When the war broke out he was a lawyer in active practice in Montpelier. He recruited company F of the Second regiment and was elected its captain in

May, 1861, and had seen fifteen months' service in the First Vermont brigade, when he was elected colonel of the Thirteenth. He was in his 38th year, soldierly in bearing, blunt of speech, of genial temperament, and made a popular and efficient colonel.[1]

Lieut. Colonel Brown had been connected with the Montpelier *Watchman* as assistant editor, and was captain of the Montpelier company of militia when elected. He had seen no previous military service.

Major Clark was captain of the first company of the First regiment, throughout its term of service, being 48 years old and the oldest officer in the line when he responded to the first call for troops. Led by high patriotism, he now returned to the service at the age of fifty, and was the oldest commissioned officer in the Second brigade.

Adjutant Whitney had served with credit in the ranks of company C of the First regiment. Quartermaster Aldrich was a Barre merchant, and proved a competent officer. Surgeon Nichols was a graduate of the Woodstock Medical College, and a physician in Northfield, whose genial temperament and care for the men won him their cordial affection. He became prominent, after the war, in civil life, as Secretary of State of the State of Vermont. Assistant Surgeon Crandall had been hospital steward of the Sixth regiment, and gained valuable experience in the field. Chaplain Sargent was a Universalist minister of Williston. He died, in camp, near Occoquan, Va., of disease, April 20, 1863.

Several changes in the field and staff occurred during the term of service of the regiment. Lieut. Colonel Brown resigned in May, 1863, and was succeeded by Captain Wm. D. Munson, of company D, who was a graduate of Norwich University, and a popular officer. Major Clark resigned in

[1] After the close of the war Colonel Randall resumed the practice of his profession for a time, at Montpelier, and subsequently purchased the hotel at Northfield Centre, where he resided when, on the 1st of March, 1885, he died from a stroke of apoplexy.

March, 1863, in impaired health, and was succeeded by Captain Joseph J. Boynton, of company C. Adjutant Whitney was promoted, January, 1863, to the captaincy of company H, and was succeeded as adjutant by Lieutenant James S. Peck of company I, who was a graduate of the University of Vermont, a man of many genial qualities, and a thoroughly competent officer.[1] Quartermaster Aldrich resigned, in December, in consequence of serious illness, and was succeeded by Quartermaster-Sergeant Nelson A. Taylor of Montpelier.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 29th of September. On the 1st of October it received its arms, Springfield rifles, and had its first battalion drill. The regiment was mustered in by Major Austine, on the 8th of October, with 953 officers and men, and left Washington in the afternoon of Saturday, the 11th, by the usual route by way of New Haven and Jersey City.

It marched through Baltimore in the night, in a drenching rain, and after the usual delays and a tedious ride of eight hours in open cars, reached Washington in the afternoon of the 13th. The next day the regiment went into camp—at first in shelter-tents, for which A tents were soon substituted—on East Capitol Hill, about half a mile west of the camp of the Twelfth, with which and the two New Jersey regiments already mentioned it was temporarily brigaded. Its energetic colonel soon brought his command into a condition of proficiency which compared favorably with that of many regiments which had been under longer discipline, and company drill in the forenoon, regimental drill in the afternoon, and brigade drills and reviews twice a week, gave the men plenty to do.

The first death in the regiment took place on the 26th, in the regimental hospital,[2] and on the 29th, Lieutenant

[1] Subsequently Adjutant General of the State from 1872 to 1881.

[2] Isaac N. Brooks of company E, a boy of eighteen years.

Nathaniel Jones, Jr., of company B, died of typhoid fever. In general, however, the health of the regiment was excellent during its stay on Capitol Hill.

The order consolidating the Vermont regiments into a brigade, was read at dress parade on the evening of October 27th and was received with cheers. On the 30th the regiment broke camp and marched across Long Bridge into Virginia. Its subsequent service forms a notable part of the history of the Second Brigade.

THE FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

The companies which formed the Fourteenth regiment were recruited in the counties of Addison, Rutland and Bennington. The company officers met at Rutland on the 25th of September, and elected the field officers; and when the regimental staff had been appointed the list stood as follows:

Colonel—William T. Nichols, Rutland.
Lieut. Colonel—Charles W Rose, Middlebury.
Major—Nathaniel B. Hall, Bennington.
Adjutant—Harrison Prindle, Manchester.
Quartermaster—Charles Field, Dorset.
Surgeon—Edwin H. Sprague, Middlebury.
Assistant Surgeon—Lucretius D. Ross, Poultney.
Chaplain—Rev. William S. Smart, Benson.

Company	A,	Bennington Company	Captain Ransom O. Gore.
"	B,	Wallingford "	" John C. Thompson.
"	C,	Manchester "	" Josiah B. Munson.
"	D,	Shoreham "	" Charles E. Abell.
"	E,	Middlebury "	" Edwin Rich
"	F,	Castleton "	" Joseph Jennings.
"	G,	Bristol "	" Noble F. Dunshee.
"	H,	Rutland "	" Walter C. Dunton.
"	I,	Vergennes "	" Solomon T. Allen.
"	K,	Danby "	" Alonzo N. Colvin.

Colonel Nichols was one of the three Vermont colonels whose first commission was that of colonel. In January, 1861, he was a young lawyer in Rutland, and was a member of

the Rutland Light Guard when Captain Ripley of that company called its members together, three months before Sumter was fired on, to ascertain how many would agree to take the field to maintain the Constitution and protect the National Capital. Private Nichols was the first to respond and the speech in which he set forth the duty of the patriot in such a crisis, was long remembered. He served with the First regiment, was under fire at Big Bethel, and returning home was elected to represent the town of Rutland in the Legislature of 1861, of which he was a prominent member. He had been re-elected representative of Rutland in September, 1862, when the command of the Fourteenth regiment was tendered to and accepted by him; and dropping all civil duties he devoted himself anew to the armed defense of his country. He was now 33 years old. He took hold of the drill and discipline of his regiment with characteristic energy and proved himself a prompt and efficient commander.[1]

Lieut. Colonel Rose was first lieutenant of the Middlebury company of the First regiment in the spring of 1861; returned to the service as captain of company B of the Fifth regiment in September of that year; was wounded at Savage's Station in June, 1862; and now, at 24 years of age, was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy of the Fourteenth, bringing to the position, experience and recognized capacity.

Major Hall was a son of Hon. Hiland Hall, long prominent in the annals of Vermont as Judge, Congressman, Governor and historian. He was a lawyer in successful practice, and State's attorney of Bennington county, when elected major. He was a highly patriotic and efficient officer.

Adjutant Prindle had had no previous military experience. Quartermaster Field was also new in military duties,

[1] After the war Colonel Nichols removed his residence to Maywood, Ill., near Chicago, where he was a leading citizen and property owner, and where he died, in April, 1882.

but speedily demonstrated his fitness for his responsible office. Surgeon Sprague was discharged, after a three weeks' trial, for incompetency—the only case of the kind on record among the Vermont surgeons—and was succeeded by Dr. Adrian T. Woodward of Brandon, who was an able and acceptable surgeon. Assistant Surgeon Ross was a competent physician. Chaplain Smart was the pastor of the Congregational Church in Benson, which gave him leave of absence for nine months, and continued his salary while he was in the army. He made an excellent chaplain. Dr. A. M. Plant of Burlington, was appointed second assistant surgeon in January, 1863.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 6th of October, and was at first armed with old muskets, which were subsequently replaced by Austrian rifles.

On the 21st, the regiment was reviewed, with the Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments, by Governor Holbrook, accompanied by General Phelps and Colonel Stoughton, in the presence of throngs of spectators. In the afternoon of the same day it was mustered into the United States service, with 952 officers and men. It left the State on the 22d of October, going by rail to New Haven; thence by steamer "Continental" to New York; thence by two steamboats to Perth Amboy, N. J., and thence by a cold night ride by rail, via Camden and Philadelphia, to Washington, where it arrived at noon of the 25th. The day was hot, and three men were prostrated by sunstroke while standing in the line. In the evening of the same day it marched seven miles—its first march of any distance with knapsacks—via Chain Bridge to "Camp Chase," on Arlington Heights, where it was temporarily brigaded with some Maine troops.

On the 28th, the regiment, with the brigade, was reviewed by General Casey; and, after a parade lasting five hours, re-crossed the river, and marched to Capitol Hill, Washington, where it joined the three Vermont regiments

already there, and became a part of the Second Vermont brigade.

THE FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

The companies which constituted the Fifteenth regiment were recruited in towns in Caledonia, Orleans, Orange and Windsor counties, one of the number, the Frontier Guards of Coventry, being one of the thirteen existing companies of uniform militia which responded to the President's call of August 4th.

The election of field officers took place at St. Johnsbury, September 26th, and the regimental staff was soon after announced. The field, staff and company commanders were as follows:

Colonel—Redfield Proctor, Cavendish.
Lieut. Colonel—William W. Grout, Barton.
Major—Charles F. Spaulding, St. Johnsbury.
Adjutant—J. Monroe Poland, Montpelier.
Quartermaster—Putnam D. McMillan, Danville.
Surgeon—Carleton P. Frost, St. Johnsbury.
Assistant Surgeon—Gates P. Bullard, St. Johnsbury.
Chaplain—Rev. Ephraim C. Cummings, St. Johnsbury.

Company A,	West Fairlee Company,	Captain Horace E. Brown.
" B,	Danville "	" James M. Ayer.
" C,	West Randolph "	" Cornelius N. Carpenter.
" D,	Wait's River "	" Charles G. French.
" E,	Island Pond "	" Warren Noyes.
" F,	McIndoe's Falls "	" Xerxes C. Stevens.
" G,	Lyndon "	" Stephen McGaffey.
" H,	Frontier Guards "	" Riley E. Wright.
" I,	Barton "	" Wm. H. Johnson.
" K,	St. Johnsbury "	" George B. Woodward.

Colonel Proctor was of revolutionary parentage. His grandfather, Captain Leonard Proctor, fought under Washington at Trenton and Monmouth and on other battlefields of the revolution, and after the close of the struggle for American independence, came to Vermont as one of the

pioneers and founders of the town of Cavendish. Colonel Proctor was born in Proctorsville, in that town. He graduated at Dartmouth college and at the Albany law school, commenced practice as a lawyer in 1859, and when the war broke out was a law partner of his cousin, Judge Isaac F. Redfield, of national eminence in his profession, in Boston. Relinquishing his flattering prospects of professional success, he entered the army as quartermaster of the Third Vermont regiment. He was for a time on the staff of General William F. Smith, and was then appointed Major of the Fifth regiment. After nine months' service with that regiment he resigned, in consequence of serious and prolonged illness. Now, with restored health, he was again ready for service. Adding military experience and aptitude to his energy, industry, power of organization and command and strong sense—qualities which subsequently gave him eminence as representative, State senator, lieutenant governor and governor of Vermont—he made one of the best colonels in the service.

Lieut. Colonel Grout was a young lawyer of the Orleans county bar, who, at 26 years of age, had already made his mark, and had just received the republican nomination for State's attorney of that county. This he declined at that time in consequence of his purpose to enter the army; but the office was subsequently held by him, as well as those of town representative, State senator, and representative in Congress, which kept him almost continuously in the civil service of the State and nation after the close of the war. He had enlisted in the Barton company and had been elected as its captain, before his election as lieutenant colonel, a position to which he brought enthusiasm, industry and ability.

Major Spaulding was a business man of St. Johnsbury, and was captain of the militia company recruited in that town, when elected major.

Adjutant Poland was the eldest son of Hon. Joseph

Poland of Montpelier. He had just graduated from the University of Vermont, when he enlisted and was appointed a sergeant in the Montpelier company of the Thirteenth, in which his ability had recommended him for the higher position. Chaplain Cummings was the pastor of the North Congregational church of St. Johnsbury, which gave him leave of absence to accept the chaplaincy. Surgeon Frost and Assistant Surgeon Bullard were physicians in established practice in St. Johnsbury. The former resigned in May, 1863, and was succeeded as surgeon by Assistant Surgeon Bullard, who added intense patriotism and thorough devotion to the regiment to high professional ability.

The regiment went into camp at Brattleboro on the 8th of October, occupying the barracks which had been vacated by the Twelfth the day before. After two weeks in camp it was mustered into the United States service on the 22d of October, and left the State on the 23d. The men had the usual experiences of greetings along their way, of Philadelphia hospitality, and of delays on the railroads. Arriving in Washington early in the morning of the 26th, it spent a day and a night there and then went to Alexandria, to join the Second brigade of Casey's division, consisting of the Fourteenth Vermont and some Maine regiments; was reviewed with these by General Casey, and then marched back with the Fourteenth to Washington, to join the other Vermont regiments composing the Second Vermont brigade.

THE SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

The Sixteenth Vermont was composed of companies recruited in Windsor and Windham counties.

The election of field officers took place at Bellows Falls

on the 27th of September, and the field, staff and company officers were as follows :

Colonel—Wheelock G. Veazey, Springfield.
Lieut. Colonel—Charles Cummings, Brattleboro.
Major—William Rounds, Chester.
Adjutant—Jabez D. Bridgman, Rockingham.
Quartermaster—James G. Henry, Royalton.
Surgeon—Castanus B. Park, Jr., Grafton.
Assistant Surgeon—George Spafford, Windham.
Chaplain—Rev. Alonzo Webster, Windsor.

Company A,	Bethel Company,	Captain Henry A. Eaton.
" B,	Brattleboro "	" Robert B. Arms.
" C,	Ludlow "	" Asa G. Foster.
" D,	Townshend "	" David Ball.
" E,	Springfield "	" Alvin C. Mason.
" F,	Wilmington "	" Henry F. Dix.
" G,	Barnard "	" Harvey N. Bruce.
" H,	Felchville "	" Joseph C. Sawyer.
" I,	Williamsville "	" Lyman E. Knapp.
" K,	Chester "	" Samuel Hutchinson.

Colonel Veazey was a native of Brentwood, N. H., a graduate of Dartmouth College, and at the opening of the war was just commencing practice as a lawyer in Springfield. He enlisted under the call for three years men and was elected captain of company A of the Third regiment. His military genius was early recognized, and within a month after he was mustered into the U. S. service he had been successively promoted to be major and lieutenant colonel of that regiment. He was, for some time in the winter and spring of 1862, a member of the staff of Maj. General William F Smith, and during a portion of the Peninsula campaign of that summer, was detailed to command the Fifth Vermont. Thus trained, under masters of the art of war, he was a spirited and capable commander. A thorough disciplinarian, cool and brave in battle and prompt and zealous in every duty, he had the absolute confidence of his regiment, which he made one of the best in the army in drill and discipline. His brilliant military reputation was supple-

mented after the war by a like honorable and distinguished record in civil life as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont.

Lieut. Colonel Cummings was the editor of the Brattleboro *Phœnix* and had been for years the popular clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives. He had enlisted in the Eleventh Vermont, was chosen first lieutenant of company E of that regiment at its organization, and a month later was elected lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth. He returned to the service, after the muster out of the Sixteenth, as lieutenant colonel of the Seventeenth, and was killed in battle while commanding that regiment in the battle at Poplar Grove church, in front of Petersburg.

Major Rounds was a lawyer in good standing, of the Windsor county bar, a man of sturdy patriotism and sterling qualities, staunch and true as steel wherever he was placed.

Adjutant Bridgman and Quartermaster Henry were men of liberal education, and lawyers by profession. Surgeon Park was one of the best of surgeons, and subsequently served with distinction as surgeon of the Eleventh. He had an efficient assistant in Dr. Spafford. Chaplain Webster was a Methodist clergyman, holding the office of chaplain of the Vermont State prison, and was granted leave of absence for nine months by the directors of the prison, to allow him to accept his army appointment.

These officers all remained with the regiment during its term of service, except Adjutant Bridgman, who resigned in January, 1863. His place was filled by the appointment of Lieutenant Harland O. Peabody of Andover. A second assistant surgeon was added to the staff in January, in the person of Dr. Nathaniel G. Brooks, of Acworth, N. H.

On the 9th of October, the regiment went into camp at Brattleboro, where it remained about two weeks, receiving meantime its arms and outfit, and taking its first lessons in soldier life and discipline. It was mustered into the United

States service on the 23d of October, with 949 officers and men, and left the State next day by the customary route.

Arriving at Washington on the 27th, the regiment marched to Capitol Hill and went into camp near the the other new Vermont regiments, with which it was brigaded. The regiment took supper with the Thirteenth, and breakfasted with the Twelfth the next morning, and the officers and men had begun to settle themselves comfortably in camp, when the brigade was ordered across the Potomac. The important part which it thenceforth contributed to the history of the Second brigade will be related in the pages following.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND BRIGADE.

As has been noted, the order brigading together the five nine months regiments was received by them on the 27th of October, 1862. This arrangement was gratifying alike to the troops and to the people of Vermont, who recognized the distinction gained by the First Vermont brigade, and expected like worthy service from a second brigade composed wholly of Vermont regiments. The brigade did not disappoint this expectation. Probably no body of troops of equal number ever contained more men of high patriotism and unselfish sense of duty. Desertions were almost unknown among them. The Fourteenth never lost a man by desertion, the Fifteenth lost but one, and the whole brigade less than a dozen. As regarded good order in camp, soldierly appearance and general good conduct, they were a marked body of men. The number of professional men among them was large, and they did not altogether disappear from sight when they returned to civil life. From their number, in the twenty-five years after the close of the war, three governors, two lieutenant governors, two judges of the

supreme court, a congressman, a secretary of state, a United States district attorney, an adjutant general, a quartermaster general, fourteen State senators, and many town representatives were selected, in the State of Vermont; and others attained prominence in other States.

The concentration of the brigade took place on the 29th of October, at "Camp Casey," on East Capitol Hill, so named after Maj. General Silas Casey, under whose command it constituted the Second brigade of Casey's division of the Reserve Corps, in the defenses of Washington. Its first brigade commander was its ranking colonel, Colonel A. P. Blunt. Its stay, as a brigade, on Capitol Hill, was of but a few hours. The Twelfth and Thirteenth regiments had been there long enough to get their tents floored and stockaded, and the others, just arrived, were preparing to follow their example, when the order came to move across the Potomac.

The brigade broke camp on the morning of the 30th, crossed the river by Long Bridge, and moving out five miles into the country back of Arlington Heights, halted near Munson's Hill and camped in the edge of a stretch of oak timber, where fresh green grass, near a stream of clear water, was in refreshing contrast with the bare and barren surface and stifling dust-storms of Capitol Hill. After a day's stay in this pleasant spot, the Twelfth and Thirteenth regiments were sent to the south by a ten miles' march through Alexandria, to a spot south of Hunting Creek, on the road to Mount Vernon, to take the place of Sickles's brigade, which had marched the day before, with other troops, to join General Sigel at Centreville. The two regiments bivouacked there for the night and the next day moved to the south a mile and a half, to the spot occupied by the brigade for the next month. The other three regiments moved thither on the 5th of November, and the camp was christened "Camp Vermont," the brigade headquarters being established in a wing of the mansion of Mr. George Mason—an old Virginian

who announced himself as "neutral" on the war issue—on whose estate of "Springbank," the Vermonters found a good camping ground, with timber near by for fuel. This was a matter of some consequence, for the winter opened early in Virginia, and five inches of snow lay on the ground on the night of November 7th, a month earlier than any such snowfall occurred in Vermont that year. The main duty of the brigade was the picketing of a portion of the line encircling Washington, extending from a point on the Potomac two miles north of Mount Vernon, six miles to the north to the vicinity of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. To this was added fatigue duty on the outworks of Fort Lyon, half a mile north of Camp Vermont, for which 1500 men were detailed daily from the brigade.

At this time Lee's army was in the Shenandoah Valley, and McClellan was concentrating the Army of the Potomac around Warrenton. The change of commanders of the Army of the Potomac, made November 7th, created no excitement in the Second brigade, for not many of its officers had served under McClellan, and some who had, had lost confidence in him as a fighting general. No enemy was in the immediate front of the brigade, and no sound of actual combat reached their ears, with the exception that, one day, the cannon of the Second Corps were heard far to the northwest, when Hancock occupied Snicker's Gap. The men prepared for winter by building barracks of oak logs for company quarters; but few had been finished before orders came to leave them.

While in Camp Vermont, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments exchanged the old French and Belgian muskets with which the government had armed them on leaving Vermont, for Austrian and Enfield rifles. On the 26th of November, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth regiments, under command of Colonel Randall, were sent to the neighborhood of Union Mills, to picket the line of the

Occoquan and Bull Run, and guard the railroad. The Fifteenth returned to Camp Vermont on the 4th of December and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth on the 5th. The two latter reached camp at nightfall in a heavy snow-storm, and being without tents, were glad to find shelter in the tents and quarters of the other regiments. The brigade remained at Camp Vermont for a week longer, doing picket duty in rain and snow and sometimes on frozen ground with the mercury 18 or 20 degrees below freezing.

On the 7th of December General E. H. Stoughton, having been appointed a brigadier general and assigned to the command of the brigade, arrived at Camp Vermont and assumed command.

On the 11th, when Burnside moved to the Rappahannock and commenced his ill-fated Fredericksburg campaign, Sigel's corps was moved forward from Fairfax Court House in order to be within supporting distance, and the Second Vermont brigade was ordered up to the position vacated by Sigel. The brigade moved thither on the 12th. The men started in excellent spirits—though many were sorry to leave the comfortable log huts which they had just completed—and marched twenty miles in ten hours, over roads which became slippery as the frozen ground thawed under the sun, with heavy knapsacks and with little straggling. At four in the afternoon the regiments halted and camped among the pine trees near Fairfax Court House, and General Stoughton established his headquarters in the village, where they remained for three months.

The brigade now had to picket a front of five or six miles along Bull Run and Cub Run, in the outer line of infantry pickets around the defenses of Washington, the line being continued on the right and left of the brigade by other troops of the Reserve Corps. In front of the infantry pickets, videttes of the First Virginia (loyal) cavalry were posted. The regiments took turns in picket duty, a regiment

being sent out at a time, and remaining for four days. The service was not particularly exciting, the only enemy in front being guerrillas, till, a few weeks later, the Confederate partisan, Mosby, began operating in that quarter with his rangers. The weather in December was much of it fine, and the log huts which kept Beauregard's troops warm the winter before, while McClellan's were shivering under canvas, were still standing and afforded shelter for the picket reserves in the cold nights and storms.

In the camps the men stockaded their tents, and the officers built commodious log houses, where some of their wives joined them during the winter. General Stoughton added to the usual battalion drills, frequent brigade drills, for which the broad open plain near Fairfax Court House afforded admirable ground. A brigade band of 17 pieces, which had been organized by Colonel Blunt, furnished music for dress parades and special occasions. The camps were clean and orderly, the men well behaved, the health of the brigade was fair, and the time passed not unpleasantly and with little excitement till the 27th of December, when Stuart's raid, called by his biographer the "Dumfries Raid," afforded a decided sensation.

Starting from Lee's army south of the Rappahannock on the 26th, with 1,800 cavalry and a light battery, Stuart marched to the north, and the next day made a demonstration against the Union post at Dumfries. Finding that position strongly guarded he moved north to the Occoquan, taking some sutlers' and army wagons on the way, and struck the Orange and Alexandria railroad at Burke's Station. There he captured the Union operator in the telegraph office, put an operator of his own in his place, took from the wires the despatches of General Heintzleman, commanding the defenses of Washington, notifying the officers in command at Fairfax Station and Court House of the dispositions he was making of troops to intercept Stuart; and

after sending a despatch to Quartermaster-General Meigs at Washington, complaining of the poor quality of the mules he furnished to the Union army, cut the wires and moved toward Fairfax Court House, hoping to surprise and capture that post.

General Stoughton, however, was on the alert. The artillery firing at Dumfries, twenty-five miles to the south, had been heard and the fact that Stuart was on a raid became generally known. Of course rumors and expectations were rife in the camps. At nightfall on Sunday, the 28th, Stuart's arrival at Burke's Station was announced, and the regiments were ordered to fall in. Colonel Veazey, with the Sixteenth, with a section of the Second Connecticut Battery, Captain J. W Sterling, which was now attached to the brigade, was sent by General Stoughton to Fairfax Station to guard the army supplies there. The Fifteenth, Colonel Proctor, was on picket at Centreville and was left there. The Twelfth, under Lieut. Colonel Farnham, Colonel Blunt being absent in attendance on a court-martial in Alexandria, and the Thirteenth, Lieut. Colonel Brown, Colonel Randall also being in Alexandria, were posted in some old rifle-pits, half a mile east of the village, running across the Alexandria turnpike, by which Stuart was approaching, with four guns of the Connecticut battery ; and the Fourteenth, Colonel Nichols, was in reserve, a short distance to the rear of them. Companies B and G of the Twelfth, under Captain Paul, were posted half a mile in advance, in some timber by the side of the turnpike, and a cavalry vidette was stationed farther out. Lieutenants Hooker and Schermerhorn of General Stoughton's staff, volunteered to reconnoitre down the turnpike, and went toward Burke's till they were near enough to Stuart's column to hear the orders to "close up," when they returned with the information they had obtained. About ten o'clock in the evening, a cool moonlit evening, the cavalry pickets

were driven in, Stuart's advance following them on the gallop, till they came within 100 yards of Paul's detachment, which received them with the first shotted volley fired by any of the troops of the Second brigade. This brought the Confederate troopers to a sudden halt. They then wheeled and retired out of musket range, without returning the fire, and came no more within musket shot of any portion of the brigade. A squad of six men, under Sergeant Dan K. Hall of company G of the Twelfth, was then sent down the turnpike to reconnoitre. They went till they met the enemy's picket, when Hall tied a white handkerchief to his bayonet, announced himself as a flag of truce, asked for the commander of the Confederate force, and was sent back with word that General Stuart would communicate with General Stoughton next morning. Soon a line of camp-fires, seen along the turnpike, seemed to indicate that the enemy was bivouacking for the night. The battery shelled the fires but evoked no response. Thirty men of companies B and G, under Captain E. J Ormsbee, were then sent forward to reconnoitre and marched up to the fires but found no enemy. Ormsbee learned from a colored man, whose house was near by, that Generals Stuart, Fitzhugh Lee and Hampton, with a very long column of cavalry, had passed on to the north. Upon receipt of this information Stoughton hurried his regiments to the north of Fairfax Court House, and disposed them to meet an attack from that quarter. They stood to arms all night, but were not molested. Stuart had given up the attempt to surprise any of the Union posts; and marching round by way of Vienna, Middleburg and Warrenton, returned whence he came.

Confederate accounts of this affair are as follows: Lieut. Colonel W R. Carter, Third Virginia Cavalry, says:

'Reaching the Little River Turnpike, the division turned down toward Fairfax Court House, and on arriving within a mile of that place the enemy's infantry, in ambush, opened

on the head of our column, fortunately killing only two horses and wounding one man very slightly. We made no reply to their fire, and only withdrew out of musket-range; whereupon the enemy, not knowing how to interpret it, and thinking it might be a party of their own men, sent a flag of truce to ask whether we were friends or foes. They were told that they would be answered in the morning. On this being reported back they began to shell the turnpike; but in the interim we had built camp-fires, as if about to encamp for the night, and had left, taking a cross-road toward Vienna."

Major McClellan, the biographer of Stuart, says:

"From the information he had received Stuart conceived that it might be possible to surprise and capture the post of Fairfax Court House. He therefore marched direct to that point; but when within about a mile of the town his advance was stopped by a volley from infantry and artillery, which showed that the enemy was in force and on the alert. While still maintaining the semblance of an attack, he turned off the rear of his column to the right without the least delay, and crossing the turnpike between Fairfax Court House and Annandale, marched to Vienna. Here he turned westward to Frying Pan, which he reached at daybreak, and fed and rested for some hours. Thence by easy marches he returned through Middleburg and Warrenton to Culpeper Court House, which he reached on the 31st of December. His loss on the expedition was one killed, 13 wounded, and 14 missing.

The execution done by the volley of Paul's men is somewhat understated by Colonel Carter. A man in front of whose house the head of Stuart's column halted just after, stated next day that *eight* of Stuart's troopers were wounded by it. The bodies of three horses killed, a riderless horse captured, and several revolvers, carbines, hats and other articles found in the turnpike showed that a number of bullets took effect; and there is no doubt that the squadron which received the fire was pretty well shaken up.

Colonel Randall, returning from Alexandria, passed along the turnpike just before it was occupied by Stuart, and joined his regiment in the rifle-pits. Colonel Blunt, attempting to do likewise a little later, was stopped near

Annandale by an outpost of the First Vermont cavalry, who informed him that the turnpike was full of rebel cavalry, and he waited and joined his command the next morning.

The affair was a trifling one; but as the first actual collision with the enemy it made no little stir in the brigade, and on other accounts it had prominent mention in the newspapers and reports. It had also the effect to inspire officers and men with mutual confidence; for the former, from their young general down, were seen to be firm and cool in the prospect of a sharp encounter; and the men were willing and even eager to fight.

Nothing further occurred of special interest till the 20th of January. The troops of General Slocum's (the Twelfth) corps, which had been stationed at Fairfax Station and on the line of the Occoquan, having been sent forward, the Second Vermont brigade was at that date moved down to take their places. It was understood that Generals Slocum and Sigel had both asked for the brigade to strengthen their commands; but General Casey was unwilling to relinquish it, and it remained in his division. The order to move came on the evening of the 19th, and early the next morning the regiments broke camp. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, with the Second Connecticut battery[1], marched to Fairfax Station, where they occupied, in part, the stockades and barracks which had sheltered Slocum's men. The Station, a military village of sheds and store tents, was the base of supplies for the thousands of troops at Centreville, Fairfax Court House, Union Mills, and other points in the vicinity, and as such needed to be strongly guarded. The Twelfth and Thirteenth moved on seven miles farther to Wolf Run Shoals, where one of the highways leading from Fairfax Court House south to Dumfries crosses the Occoquan.

Heavy rain storms set in on the night after this move; the bottoms dropped out of the roads; and in addition to

[1]The battery shortly after moved down to Wolf Run Shoals.

picket duty the regiments had to turn out and corduroy the roads leading from the Station to Wolf Run Shoals, in order to make them passable for the loaded army wagons.[1] What with this labor, the digging of rifle pits to guard the fords across the Occoquan, the stockading of their tents, the corduroying of the company "streets," and the levelling of some Confederate fortifications on the south side of the river, the men did not languish much in idleness, though drills were for a time abandoned.

The details for picket duty from the regiments at the Shoals were heavy, the two regiments there having to picket seven miles of the outer boundary of the newly organized Department of Washington, extending from the mouth of the Occoquan to Union Mills. A few weeks later the force for this duty was increased and the duty of the Vermont troops somewhat lightened, by the addition of a force of Pennsylvania and Michigan cavalry, which furnished men for outpost duty, and to be "gobbled" by Mosby.

This daring partisan was now beginning to be an annoyance and dread, especially to the cavalry pickets in that quarter. Mosby had been a soldier in Stuart's cavalry, and rode in his column on his raid to Dumfries and Fairfax Court House. Perceiving during this raid the opportunities for irregular operations afforded in the debatable ground outside the Union lines around Washington, he had at his own request been detailed to harrass the Federal forces guarding the Capital between the Potomac and the Blue Ridge. Fifteen men of the First Virginia (Confederate) cavalry formed the original nucleus of his force, which he increased at will to a troop of a hundred or two, by additions of inhabitants of the region, who placed themselves under his command, retiring to their homes when not needed by him.[2]

[1] It was here, according to tradition, that a teamster of a Vermont regiment discovered "a new road to camp—three feet below the old one."

[2] Mosby called his force "the Conglomerates," and said that like one of the old political parties they were "held together by the force of public plunder."

Having guides perfectly familiar with every road and by-path; tied to no headquarters or base of supply; assembling his force at an hour's notice; striking a supply train one day here, and surprising an outpost the next, fifty miles away, he waged a sort of mosquito warfare, vastly annoying to the Union commanders,who had to keep large numbers of men employed in watching and guarding against his petty incursions. As a rule, however, he preferred to keep clear of infantry; and so far as is known he never got through the pickets of the Second Vermont brigade; nor did he make any captures from its number, with a single notable exception, soon to be related.

On the 2d of February the troops in the Department of Washington were organized into the Twenty-second Army Corps, under command of Major General Heintzleman. The brigade remained, under this organization, the second brigade of Casey's division. Though the men suffered somewhat from poor water and exposure, the weather being sometimes quite cold and snow storms more than once in February leaving over a foot of snow on the ground, the general health of the brigade continued good, and the morning reports of February 15th gave as present for duty, of the Twelfth, 856; Thirteenth, 831; Fourteenth, 777; Fifteenth, 753; Sixteenth, 684 men—an effective aggregate of 3,901. Sickness increased and pneumonia and typhoid fever developed somewhat as the spring rains came on, but the epidemics were soon under control and by the end of March the health of the brigade as a whole was again excellent.

On the 9th of March occurred the peculiar incident of the capture of the brigade commander by Captain Mosby. When the brigade moved forward to Fairfax Station and Wolf Run Shoals, General Stoughton retained his headquarters at Fairfax Court House. Here, three miles from his nearest regiment, he occupied the brick house of a Dr. Gunnell, having with him his personal staff, the brigade

band, and a small headquarters guard of half a dozen men, detailed by turns from the regiments of his command. His exposure to capture, under these circumstances, was a matter of common remark and of much uneasiness on the part of both officers and men of the brigade. In his behalf it is to be said that his retention of his headquarters at Fairfax Court House had the sanction of his superior officers, though it was reported that General Casey considered it an unwise arrangement. Colonel Percy Wyndham, of the First New Jersey, an English soldier of fortune, who had served in the Sardinian army and under Garibaldi and was now commanding three regiments of cavalry in the Department of Washington, also had his headquarters in the village, and often had a cavalry force with him, though the camps of his regiments were several miles away. General Stoughton had himself called General Heintzleman's attention some days before to a portion of the picket line northwest of Fairfax Court House, which was insufficiently manned. Having been assured, in reply, that this should be better guarded, General Stoughton apparently dismissed any apprehension of trouble from that quarter, and paid no heed to the advice of officers of his brigade, who thought he was running too great a risk. He had his mother and his two sisters with him at his headquarters, and in this and other ways showed that he felt quite secure. That his command did not share this feeling was shown by the frequent remark among them, that General Stoughton would be "gobbled" some night, if he stayed where he was; and by similar predictions expressed in letters written from the camps, weeks before his capture."

An opportunity so apparent was not overlooked by Mosby. Starting from Aldie with 30 picked men, at night-

[1] One of these letters dated February 26 1863, contained the following sentence: "For all we can see the rebels might make a dash any night, and take the general, headquarters and all, and get away before his brigade would be any the wiser."

fall of the dark and rainy night of the 8th of March, the Confederate partisan passed through the Union picket line between Chantilly and Centreville, moved around to the south of Fairfax Court House, and at two o'clock in the morning entered the village by the road leading to it from Fairfax Station. He had with him Sergeant Ames, a deserter from the Fifth New York Cavalry, who was familiar with the situation at the Court House. This renegade, who was killed under Mosby a year later, carrying with him to his unmarked grave the secret of his hatred of the Union cause and of the comrades with whom he enlisted, captured one or two of the Union sentinels, by representing that the party was a squad of the Fifth New York Cavalry. Stoughton's headquarters guard was taken in a tent in the rear of his headquarters, where, with his permission, they had found shelter from the rain. In front of the village hotel, used at the time as a hospital, Mosby divided his men into three parties. One, under Ames, was sent to capture Colonel Wyndham; another was directed to collect the horses from the stables; with the third Mosby went to General Stoughton's headquarters. Rapping at the door and announcing that they had despatches for General Stoughton, they were admitted; and going to the general's room, roused him from sleep and informed him that he was a prisoner. He dressed himself and accompanied them perforce, as did Lieutenant Samuel F Prentiss of the Thirteenth Vermont, of his staff. The latter, however, soon after made his escape. Ames did not find Colonel Wyndham, who was in Washington that night, but took there Lieutenant A. Austin of the First New Jersey Cavalry, of Wyndham's staff, and Captain Barker of the Fifth New York Cavalry. The raiders spent an hour in the village without a shot being fired and without causing any general alarm, and between three and four o'clock they left as they came, taking with them General Stoughton, Captain Barker, Lieutenant Austin, a Baron Vardner who

was a guest at Wyndham's headquarters, the telegraph operator, post postmaster, a photographer, and 15 private soldiers, several of whom were members of the Vermont regiments, on duty at headquarters as guards and orderlies. They also secured 55 horses, 14 of which belonged to General Stoughton and his aids. Before daybreak they passed out between the Union pickets near Centreville, and reached Warrenton unmolested. Some of the officers had narrow escapes. Lieutenant George W Hooker, General Stoughton's adjutant general, who was asleep in his room, was not discovered by the raiders and was unmolested. Lieutenant L. L. O'Conner of the Fifth New York Cavalry, provost marshal of the post, owed his safety to the fact that he was visiting his outposts at the time. Lieut. Colonel Johnston of the Fifth New York, quartermaster of the post, stepped to the door of a house which he occupied with his wife and hailed the raiders as they passed to inquire who they were. Suspecting from the way in which the question was answered, that it was a party of the enemy, he ran out of the back door in his night linen, crawled under a barn and was not discovered, though close search was made for him. Lieutenant Prentiss, of General Stoughton's staff, slipped away from his captors before they left the village. Next day Mosby took his prisoners to Culpeper, where he delivered them to General Fitz Hugh Lee, who, having known General Stoughton at West Point, was quite civil to him. They were forwarded thence to Libby prison.

Several hours elapsed after Stoughton's capture, before the event became known to the troops of his command. It of course created no small sensation among them, as in fact it did throughout the country.[1] The officers and men of the brigade, however, felt in no wise responsible for the occur-

[1] President Lincoln's *mot* on the subject became historic. He said he did not so much mind the loss of a brigadier general, for he could make another in five minutes; "but those *horses* cost $125 apiece!"

rence and they accepted it with equanimity To General Stoughton the misfortune was most disastrous. It ended his military career. His nomination as brigadier general, which was awaiting confirmation by the Senate at the time, was withdrawn by the President; and when, two months later, General Stoughton was exchanged and released from prison, he found himself without military rank or position. He never re-entered the service, and died a few years later.

Nine citizens, residents in the village, together with Miss Antonia Ford, a young lady whose southern sympathies had not prevented her from making the familiar acquaintance of the northern officers, were arrested by Provost Marshal O'Conner on suspicion of complicity in the capture of General Stoughton,[1] and were sent to the Old Capitol prison in Washington; but nothing was established against them and they were soon released.

The command now again devolved upon Colonel Blunt, who at once removed the brigade headquarters to Fairfax Station. He strengthened the defenses of that important depot of supplies with miles of rifle-pits, dug by the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Vermont regiments; increased the efficiency of the picket service, and in other ways made the position more secure.

The Vermont regiments, however, did not remain much longer around Fairfax Station. In the last week of March, General Casey moved the headquarters of his division from Washington to Centreville, accompanied by a large portion of his command, and the three Vermont regiments which had been for two months at Fairfax Station were moved forward —the Fourteenth joining the Twelfth and Thirteenth at Wolf Run Shoals, and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth going to

[1] Major Scott, author of "Partisan Life under Mosby," published after the war, who was one of Mosby's party, says this suspicion was "wholly devoid of foundation in fact." As he also says that Mosby's first proceeding, after entering the village, was to go to the house of a citizen, there is, nevertheless, room for the suspicion that the citizen was expecting him.

Union Mills. Colonel Blunt at this time removed his headquarters to Wolf Run Shoals.

On the 2d of April the Thirteenth was moved five miles down the Occoquan, and camped about a mile north of the river, opposite the village of Occoquan, in a fine open field on the farm of one Widow Violet, after whom the camp was named. Here it took the place of a cavalry force which had been stationed there, which had gone to Fairfax Court House, where the several regiments of cavalry which had been stationed in the vicinity were concentrated under command of General Stahel. The duty of the Thirteenth was to guard the ferry at Occoquan village, and the several fords up to Davis's Ford, three miles below Wolf Run Shoals. The Twelfth and Fourteenth regiments guarded the line from there to Yates's Ford, two miles below Union Mills, on Bull Run, and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth from there to Blackburn's Ford, where the troops of General Hays's brigade continued the picket line to the north.

The snows and severe weather lasted into April, in Virginia that year, and made the spring a trying one to the health of the brigade. The sick list rapidly increased, and the picket service became more arduous. Bushwhackers prowled around the outside of the line, and so frequently fired on the pickets at night, that a closer supervision of the inhabitants near the line was instituted. A general search of the houses of the planters and farmers, made by Captain Munson of the Thirteenth who was detailed as brigade provost marshal, revealed numerous fire-arms, of all ages and patterns, with concealed stores of powder and ammunition, which were confiscated, though relinquished with great reluctance by their owners. The oath of allegiance was administered to all who would take it, and a number of citizens who would not take it were sent to Washington for safe custody. These measures had a salutary effect, and materially lessened the annoyances to which the soldiers of the brigade were exposed.

About the 10th of April the weather became more settled, and General Hooker's preparations for the Chancellorsville campaign being in progress, Colonel Blunt was ordered to put his brigade in readiness for more active duty The A tents and officers' baggage were accordingly sent to Alexandria; the sick men who were able to be moved were removed to the city hospitals; rations and ammunition were provided, and the men waited eagerly for the order to advance. Several weeks elapsed, however, before it came.

On the 20th of April, the brigade received a new commander in the person of General George J Stannard, who had been promoted brigadier general after the withdrawal of the appointment of General Stoughton, and assigned to the command of the Second brigade. He was personally known to many of the officers, and his character and military record, as well as the quiet but effective way in which he entered on the duties of his position, gave him the respect and utmost confidence of his command. Five hours of drill each day kept the troops from getting rusty, and the brigade was kept in a fine condition of drill and discipline.

The protection of the Orange and Alexandria railroad, which had just been re-opened for the use of the army from Union Mills to the Rappahannock, was now added to the duties of the brigade. On the 21st the Sixteenth regiment was sent out to guard the construction train which re-opened the road; and was the first infantry to pass over the road after the close of Pope's campaign.

On the 1st of May, General Abercrombie, who had succeeded General Casey in the command of the division, directed General Stannard to send a regiment to Warrenton Junction, to guard the railroad. The Twelfth regiment was detached for the purpose. It started early next morning and marched to Union Mills, where a train was waiting which took the regiment to Warrenton Junction over a track portions of which had been so often torn up and so hastily

Yours Very Truly
Gen J. S. Cummins

repaired, as to be scarcely passable, strewn on either side with car-trucks, the remains of trains burned in Pope's campaign. Two companies were left at Catlett's Station and the rest of the regiment went on three miles beyond Warrenton Junction, and bivouacked in a stretch of level meadow. The battle of Chancellorsville was then in progress, twenty miles to the south of that point, and the sound of the artillery of the contending armies was audible, there and in the camps nearer Washington. The thunder rolled more heavily next day, when the First Vermont brigade, under Sedgwick, was storming Marye's Heights and Hancock, Sickles and the rest were fighting around the Chancellor house. Intense as was the interest of the men of the Twelfth in the great battle, the smoke of which was almost visible to them, their attention was more strongly taken by a cavalry encounter nearer by. Mosby, now promoted to be a major, had left Warrenton that morning, with 100 men, for Fredericksburg, intending to hang upon and harass Hooker's rear. On his way he ran upon the picket line of the Twelfth, captured three men, and finding that he was close upon an infantry camp, turned back to Warrenton Junction, where he struck an outpost of DeForest's cavalry brigade which was on duty in that quarter, consisting of 100 men of the First Virginia loyal cavalry. The latter were taken entirely unawares, their horses unsaddled, and men scattered here and there, and after a short fight, in which their commanding officer, Major Steele, was mortally wounded, about half of them surrendered and were being taken off by Mosby, when Major Hammond and a squadron of the Fifth New York Cavalry, followed by a portion of the First Vermont Cavalry, came upon the scene, and in a running fight of four or five miles recaptured all the prisoners but two, captured 23 of Mosby's men, most of them wounded, and scattered the rest so that hardly two were together. Mosby himself got off

with a single follower. The captured pickets of the Twelfth made their escape in the skirmish.

After three days here, the Twelfth moved forward, on the 7th, to Rappahannock Station, to guard the railroad bridge, which, though much damaged, was still passable for foot passengers. The Fifteenth regiment was sent forward to Bealton, four miles back of the river. The camps were pleasant, the region healthful, and the health of the two regiments was much benefitted by the change. They were twenty miles from any infantry supports; the Confederate pickets were in sight across the Rappahannock; Confederate scouting parties were frequently seen, and if the enemy had attempted to repossess that portion of the railroad, they might have had trouble.

An episode of some interest occurred during their stay here. On the 10th of May three colored men, lately the chattels of Hon. John Minor Botts, and about the last he had left to him, escaped from his plantation at Brandy Station and came to the camp of the Twelfth. They were followed thither by Mr. Botts, who asked to have them returned to him on the ground that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation affected only the slave property of rebels, and that as a Union man he was entitled to reclaim his negroes. Colonel Blunt did not see his way clear to grant his request, but allowed Mr. Botts an opportunity to persuade the fugitives to voluntarily return with him. This, it is needless to say, he did not succeed in doing, the colored men being clear that they would rather be free. The spokesman, a mulatto boy who strongly resembled Mr. Botts and used about as good language, discussed the matter with Mr. Botts and quite posed the latter by the suggestion that though if he was a rebel he might claim his slaves, if he was a truly loyal man, he ought to respect Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, which declared all the slaves in any State or part of a State in rebellion, to be "thenceforward and forever free." His powers of persuasion

failing, and worsted in the argument, Mr. Botts drew up and forwarded through General Stannard to the President, a long letter arguing his right to his slaves and representing that the refusal of the Vermont officers to restore his chattels was calculated to drive many Union men into the Confederate ranks. This appeal, however, was without effect; the President did not recall or modify his proclamation; and the colored men remained with the brigade as officers' servants and hostlers during its term of service, and returned with it to Vermont, where they supported themselves and their families in comfort by their industry.

On the 18th Stoneman's cavalry came to guard the position at Rappahannock Station, and the two Vermont regiments were withdrawn. The Fifteenth returned to Union Mills and resumed picket duty on Bull Run. The Twelfth was drawn back, its right wing to Bristoe's Station and the left in two detachments was stationed at Catlett's Station and Manassas, till the 1st of June, when the Twelfth returned to Union Mills and was replaced on the railroad by the Sixteenth, which was succeeded after two weeks by the Fifteenth. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth remained on the Occoquan. The brigade was now guarding a front of nearly fifty miles, three regiments maintaining a picket line of about twenty miles, and the other two guarding thirty miles of railroad, for which a year before 16,000 men had been considered to be only a sufficient guard, though there was then no enemy in force east of the Blue Ridge. Much malarial fever prevailed in the Thirteenth regiment during May and June, and its camp was moved a short distance to what it was hoped would be a more healthful location.

Among the incidents of this period were the capture by guerrillas of some men and army wagons belonging to the Thirteenth, and the capture and destruction by Mosby of a supply train on the railroad. The former occurrence took place May 14th. The wagons, three in number, with their

drivers, accompanied by three men, were on their way to Fairfax Station for rations, when, about two miles out from camp, they were suddenly attacked by a party of guerrillas, under command of Lieutenant Smith of the Fourth Virginia Cavalry. With pistols held at their heads, the teamsters and their companions, all being unarmed, had no option but to surrender. Their captors cut the teams from the wagons, mounted the captives on the horses and hurried back across the river. Word was soon brought to camp, and Lieut. Colonel Munson commanding, Colonel Randall being ill, hurried off several parties on each side of the river, in hopes to intercept the guerrillas; but they had too long a start, and took their prisoners to Gainesville, where they were paroled and released.[1]

The other affair was a more exciting one. On the 30th of May a supply train of ten cars loaded with forage for the cavalry at Rappahannock Station left Alexandria. At Union Mills it took on a train guard of twenty-five men, detailed from the Fifteenth regiment under command of Lieutenant Hartshorn of company E of that regiment. Chaplain Brastow of the Twelfth accompanied the train as a passenger. In the neighborhood of Catlett's Station, Major Mosby, with 50 or 60 men, was lying in wait for the train. He had obtained from General Stuart a mountain howitzer to assist his operations against the railroad trains, and, proud as a boy with a new top, he took it to a favorable spot, put it in position behind a screen of bushes about a hundred yards from the track, removed a rail sufficiently to derail the train, and taking his men under cover, awaited the train. It approached at a good rate of speed, ran off from the track and came to a halt. Mosby's first shell crashed through a car.

[1] The men so taken were Sergeants Boyce and Silsby of company B; Sergeant Fuller of company G, who was picked up by the party on the south side of the river where he was scouting on his own hook; G. Woodworth and J. Griffith of company G; S. Austin of company H, and J. Carr of company I—all of the Thirteenth.

His second shot went through the boiler of the locomotive. The engineer, train-men and guard waited for no more; the latter fired a few shots, one of which killed one of Mosby's horses; and springing from the cars, made their escape into the woods near by Mosby's men at once surrounded the train, pillaged a car loaded with sutlers' supplies, and setting fire to the hay in the rest, destroyed the train and started back for the mountains. How they were pursued by Colonel Preston and a battalion of the First Vermont Cavalry, which was in camp near by, and how the Vermont troopers charged upon and captured the gun, will be related in the history of the Vermont cavalry, in subsequent pages.

While the picket and guard duty was at this time more exacting than ever, daily drill was not neglected, and some of the regiments attained a high degree of proficiency in infantry evolutions and the manual of arms. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments were reviewed by General Abercrombie at Union Mills soon after he assumed command of the division, and received high compliments from him on their fine condition and appearance, which were conveyed to them in a special order.

In the first week in June, General Lee began the preliminary movements of his second invasion of the north, and the artillery firing in the great cavalry fight between the mounted forces of the two armies, on the 9th, which followed Hooker's endeavor to unmask the movement of his adversary, was plainly heard by the Fifteenth Vermont, then stationed at Bristoe's and Catlett's.

Next day Pleasonton's cavalry corps bivouacked near Warrenton Junction, his pickets joining those of the Second Vermont brigade.

On the 13th, the infantry of Hooker's army began to move past, on the march which was to end at Gettysburg, led by the Eleventh Corps, which bivouacked that night at Catlett's Station, followed by the three other corps which

took the line of the Orange and Alexandria road. With these columns came large numbers of colored people. These, finding at Catlett's what seemed to be a permanent infantry camp, halted there, under the supposition that perhaps the region was not to be permanently abandoned by the Union forces.

Lieut. Colonel Grout, commanding the four companies of the Fifteenth stationed at Catlett's, which was now the extreme southern infantry outpost on that line, was informed by General Buford, commanding the First division of the cavalry corps, then in camp within sight of Catlett's and forming the rear guard of the army, that he should move to the north that night; that the enemy was in force in his immediate front and would undoubtedly follow him; and that it would not do for Grout to remain after he left. The latter replying that he had no orders to withdraw, General Buford took the responsibility of giving such an order, and promised to supply transportation for Grout's tents and baggage, provided a train came to take his own baggage and supplies. But as no train arrived, Grout and his men took care of themselves. A car was hastily constructed by Captain Blake from some lumber and a set of car-trucks found by the side of the track. A rope was attached to the front of the car, to draw it by hand; another rope behind served the purpose of a brake. The tents and baggage were loaded, and the battalion started for Bristoe's, followed by Buford, who burned his forage and supplies, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and marched away by the light of the conflagration. A colored woman with a baby three hours old had a place on Grout's car, and a crowd of over a thousand negroes, men, women and children, accompanied the battalion. The party joined the rest of the regiment at Bristoe's that night; and next day the regiment joined the rest of the brigade at Union Mills.

The headquarters of the cavalry corps on the night of

the 15th, were at Union Mills, where General Pleasonton accepted the hospitality of General Stannard; and on the 16th the Sixth Corps, moving from Dumfries to Fairfax Station, marched past, and there were fraternal greetings of the soldiers of the two Vermont brigades.

MARCH TO GETTYSBURG.

On the 23d of June General Stannard was notified that his brigade had been attached to the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac; that he was to hold his line till all the rest of the army had passed on; and then he was to follow the column to the north, and report to General Reynolds, commanding the First Corps. On the 25th the brigade was accordingly concentrated at Union Mills; and starting at three P. M., marched eight miles and bivouacked a mile beyond Centreville, where Howe's division of the Sixth Corps lay that night. Waiting next morning till the troops and long trains of artillery and wagons of the Sixth Corps had passed, and forming the rear guard of the army, the brigade marched next to Herndon Station. Thence moving on with the great tide of the army, along the line of the Alexandria and Loudon railroad, it struck at Guilford Station the line of march of the First Corps, which had passed that point two days before, and was now a day's march into Maryland. That afternoon the brigade crossed the Potomac on the ponton bridges at Edwards Ferry and marched nearly to Poolesville, Md. Waiting next morning, Sunday, June 28th, for many troops and trains to pass, the brigade started at eight A. M., crossed the Monocacy at its mouth at noon, and marching hard, the men discarding knapsacks and blankets by hundreds, bivouacked two miles beyond Adamstown, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Moving again, in a steady rain which lasted all day of the 29th, the brigade halted for three hours at Frederick City. The march was

telling on some of the men, many of whom were poorly shod, the chief quartermaster thinking it not worth while to issue new shoes before the march, to troops whose term of service was so soon to expire. Most of the men had blistered and bleeding feet; and 90 disabled men were left at Frederick City. Marching due north the brigade bivouacked that night near Cregertown, where the news was received that General Hooker had been superseded by General Meade. Here a rumor that the rebels had sacked Harrisburg stirred the blood of the tired soldiers. Next day, June 30th, after another hard day's march in the mud, the brigade reached Emmittsburg, two miles from the Pennsylvania line. It had marched 120 miles in the six days, which was doing well for troops unused to marching. General Meade telegraphed General Halleck this day that the Pennsylvania Reserves, which left the defenses of Washington the same day with the Second Vermont brigade, could not keep up with the army. Stannard's brigade had not only kept up, but had gained a day's march on the First Corps. An aid sent forward by Stannard to report the approach of the brigade to General Reynolds, found him that evening, stretched on a wooden settle in a little wayside inn at Marsh Run, five miles from Gettysburg, and took back to General Stannard a message from General Reynolds to the effect that the brigade had marched well, and that he should be glad when it joined him, for he was likely to need all the men he could get. Twelve hours later this gallant and trusty commander had passed beyond the need of men. Next morning General Reynolds was assigned to the command of the left wing of army and turned the command of the First Corps over to Major General Abner Doubleday, to whose division (the Third) the Second Vermont brigade had been attached, the command of the division devolving upon Brig. General Thomas A. Rowley.

That the enemy was in force at Cashtown, less than a

dozen miles away, was known in the camps that night; and that a pitched battle was impending was doubted by no one, from the general commanding to the youngest drummer-boy.

The armies about to engage in the bloodiest and most momentous battle since Waterloo, were not as nearly equal in numbers, as they were supposed to be at the time. The Army of the Potomac numbered in round numbers a hundred thousand men of all arms; that of Northern Virginia about eighty-five thousand men. In effective strength upon the field, according to the careful and impartial computation of the Comte de Paris, Meade had 91,000 men and 327 guns. Lee had 80,000 men and 268 guns. The numbers that actually took part in the fighting, however, were about equal, for Lee fought every brigade but two in his army, while Meade had one corps which was held in reserve. Being in an enemy's country, there was no straggling from the Confederate ranks; and the fighting strength of Lee's army approached the reported number of effectives more nearly than Meade's. Meade's preponderance of artillery availed him nothing; for Lee's longer lines enabled him to use more guns than Meade could place in battery. Lee's army consisted wholly of veterans, in splendid condition, flushed by the victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, under a tried and trusted leader; and according to the testimony of Confederate historians, "equal to anything."[1] The Union army contained a larger proportion of troops that had never been under fire, was more widely scattered when the battle opened, and was under a general who had accepted the chief command with reluctance and had held it but two days. Yet as a body it was nerved throughout by the common thought that the battle was for the possession of the National

[1] "I do not think a better army, better nerved up to its work, ever marched upon a battlefield."—Gen. E. P. Alexander, chief of artillery of Longstreet's corps: Century Magazine, vol. xxxiii., p. 464.

Capital and that a Union defeat might be the success of the rebellion.

GETTYSBURG.

July 1, 1863. When the first shot of the battle of Gettysburg was fired at 9 A. M. of Wednesday, the Second Vermont brigade was lying where it had bivouacked, a little outside the village of Emmittsburg. Having established communication with General Reynolds and with the headquarters of the Third division, which lay that morning near the house of W R. White, in Freedom, Pa., the next town north of Emmittsburg, General Stannard awaited further orders.

About six o'clock that morning, General Reynolds, having become satisfied that the enemy was moving upon Gettysburg, went forward from Marsh Run with Wadsworth's division, to support Buford, whose cavalry at that hour was the only Union force between Gettysburg and Hill's corps, advancing from Cashtown. At the same time, he directed Doubleday to assemble the rest of the corps and follow him. The Third division got its order to move, and started, at eight o'clock. An hour or more later Stannard, who had moved forward two or three miles from Emmittsburg, received orders to leave two regiments to guard the corps trains, and to follow the division with the rest of his brigade. The Twelfth and Fifteenth regiments were accordingly directed to remain with the trains, and the other three regiments moved forward to the north. The forenoon was misty and rainy, but later the sun came out, and during the afternoon the heat was oppressive. Occasionally a watery cloud obscured the sun and sent down a short and sudden shower of rain, which did not cool the air, the rays of the sun seeming to be more scalding after each shower. About noon a courier from General Doubleday brought word that the battle had begun in earnest; that General Reynolds was killed; that the First

Corps and cavalry were holding back a much superior force, and that the brigade was needed at the front as soon as it could get there. Stannard hurried his regiments forward, and the men pushed on about as fast as they could march, yet all too wearily, till as the column crossed a crest, the first sound of the battle, the distinct and heavy roar of cannon, came to their ears. The effect of the sound was noticeable. The ranks at once closed up, the weary men stepped off with freer step, and not a straggler thenceforward dropped from the column. About four o'clock the brigade halted for a few moments' rest, in a grove of walnut trees by the side of the road, about four miles from Gettysburg. The smoke of the battle was now mounting high into the air in front, and "the sultry thunder of Gettysburg" rolled heavily from under the vast pillars of cloud.

At this time the First and Third divisions of the First Corps, after five hours of hard fighting, were still holding their ground in front of Seminary Ridge. Howard's corps (the Eleventh) had arrived and relieved the cavalry on Doubleday's right, and was now formed in the fields north of the village. Both corps were soon to be flanked and overwhelmed, upon the arrival of Ewell's corps, now coming on to the field by way of the Carlisle and York roads. But how the fight was going was not known to the Vermonters till another courier meets the head of the column with word that Doubleday is hard pressed and cannot hold his ground without help, and that the brigade must hurry forward. Receiving Stannard's reply that he will be there just as soon as he can and have his men in any condition to fight when they reach the ground, the orderly strikes spurs into his dripping horse and returns. The brigade hurries forward at quicker step. Soon companies of pale women and frightened children are met, fleeing from the scene of bloodshed, and groups of excited inhabitants, gathered at points of view looking toward Gettysburg, meet the column with varied greetings—

some seeming to say by their sad gaze: "Alas that these new thousands should be food for powder," while the expression of other countenances can be seen to change from fear to hope and confidence, as they glance along the well-closed ranks and look into the stern sunburned faces pressing resolutely forward; and they wave them on, as to certain victory

The brigade followed, according to its orders, the round-about route taken by the division, by way of the country roads west of Marsh Creek, and though the men did their very utmost, it was nearly sunset when the column struck across Willoughby Run to the Emmittsburg road within the limits of the town of Gettysburg.

By this time what was left of the First and Eleventh corps had fallen back to Cemetery Hill. Hancock, sent forward by General Meade to represent him on the field, had made the necessary dispositions to resist further attack. A faint demonstration made by Ewell against the north face of Cemetery Hill had been repulsed. General Slocum had arrived with the advance of the Twelfth Corps. The Third Corps, General Sickles, was coming upon the ground, and the storm of human strife had about ceased for the day, to be more heavily renewed on the morrow.

The Second Vermont brigade, turning from the Emmittsburg road at Klingel's house, passed across the fields, close behind the picket line of Buford's cavalry, along which the carbines were cracking, to a wheat-field on Cemetery Ridge, a little south of the spot now occupied by the National Cemetery. Immediate command of the brigade was at once claimed by the commanders of the First, Third and Twelfth corps, and under contradictory orders from one and another, the brigade was marched and countermarched to and fro for an hour, to the immense disgust of the men, who had had enough of marching for one day. It was finally placed on the right of Birney's division of the Third Corps, and the men

stayed their stomachs on the hard bread in their haversacks, and sank to sleep upon their arms. A picket detail of 200 men of the Sixteenth, under Major Rounds, brigade field-officer of the day, was posted out in front, relieving Buford's cavalry. Colonel Veazey accompanied Major Rounds to the picket line, and with some difficulty, darkness having fallen on the field, the pickets were posted a short distance in front of the Emmittsburg pike, connecting right and left with the pickets of the other corps.

It had been a hard fought day. Of the 16,000 men of the First and Eleventh corps, barely 6,000 remained at sundown with their colors. But they had inflicted heavy loss upon the enemy—Rhode's division of Ewell's corps having lost 3,000 men, and Hill's corps having suffered heavily;—and holding the key to the field in their possession of Cemetery Ridge, Doubleday and Howard had made possible the final victory.

General Hancock having returned to report in person to General Meade, who was still back at Taneytown, engaged in hurrying forward the troops, General Slocum took command upon the field for the time being, and Maj. General John Newton, of the Sixth Corps who had been sent forward by General Meade to take command of the First Corps, relieved General Doubleday, who returned to his division. General Slocum appointed Stannard general field-officer of the day, or night rather, for the left wing of the army; and while his men slept their general watched the front and rode the lines in the moonlight. There, on the left of Cemetery Hill, at three o'clock in the morning, he met the vigilant commander of the army, who, having arrived at midnight, was satisfying himself by personal observation in regard to the disposition of the troops.

To return to the regiments left near Emmittsburg,—the Twelfth and Fifteenth had accompanied the First Corps train to within five miles of the field, and were halting in a

grove by the side of the Emmittsburg road, the train being parked near by at a cross-road leading east, when General Sickles rode up on his way to the field. He inquired what brigade that was, and under what orders it was acting, and remarking that one of two such large regiments was enough to guard the train, directed Colonel Blunt to leave the smaller of the two with the wagons, and to have the other follow the division (Birney's) of his corps, then passing at a hurried pace. "Let your men," he said, "drive up all the stragglers, and bayonet any man that refuses to go forward." [1]

A count by companies, which was taken of the two regiments, showed that the Fifteenth had a few more men present for duty than the Twelfth, and it accordingly followed the Third Corps to the field. It arrived at Gettysburg in the course of the night, and joined the brigade at daylight in the morning.[2]

[1] General Sickles's testimony to the exposed nature of the duty these regiments were doing, is worth quoting. In a public address at Gettysburg, July 2d, 1882, he said: "On my way [to Gettysburg] I discovered Stannard's Vermont brigade guarding a wagon-train. This was a duty those splendid soldiers did not much relish, so I took the responsibility of ordering them to join my command. You can hardly imagine their joy when they found they were going to join in the battle. They gave a rousing cheer, and the splendid work they performed during the next two days justified my order. The march of the advance brigades of the Third Corps on the flank of the enemy—without an attack—without annihilation, is one of the strangest incidents of the movement. Yet more remarkable is the circumstance that the trains of the First Corps, guarded by the Vermont brigade under Stannard, were found by me parked on the road to Gettysburg. I ordered the trains to the rear, and brought those splendid regiments of Vermonters, with my column, to Gettysburg, where they fought so heroically and so effectively on the last day. These trains and their escort had likewise escaped capture. It was easy enough for the enemy to reach out and capture and destroy all these detachments on their flank."

General Sickles was in error in supposing that these two regiments were the whole of Stannard's brigade; but he correctly describes their willingness to go forward.

[2] This matter of the count having been a subject of some discussion, at the time and afterwards, it may be explained that at no previous time

Apprehensions of a movement from the enemy's right upon the communications and army trains, coupled possibly with a feeling on the part of some one that General Sickles's interference with the troops of the First Corps was uncalled for, occasioned a reversal of the order which had brought the Fifteenth to the field, and on the morning of the 2d, it was sent back, by orders from division headquarters, to join the Twelfth with the trains now parked at Rock Creek Church, two and a half miles back. General Stannard tried to obtain leave for the regiment to remain with him, but his request was refused. Proctor's instructions were to return by the route over which he came. Starting about noon, he accordingly took his regiment back by a route between the line of battle and the skirmish line of the Third Corps, in front of Little Round Top, and had turned thence to the right, to strike across the field to the Emmittsburg road, when a staff officer was sent by General Sickles to him with the information that he could not go much farther in that direction

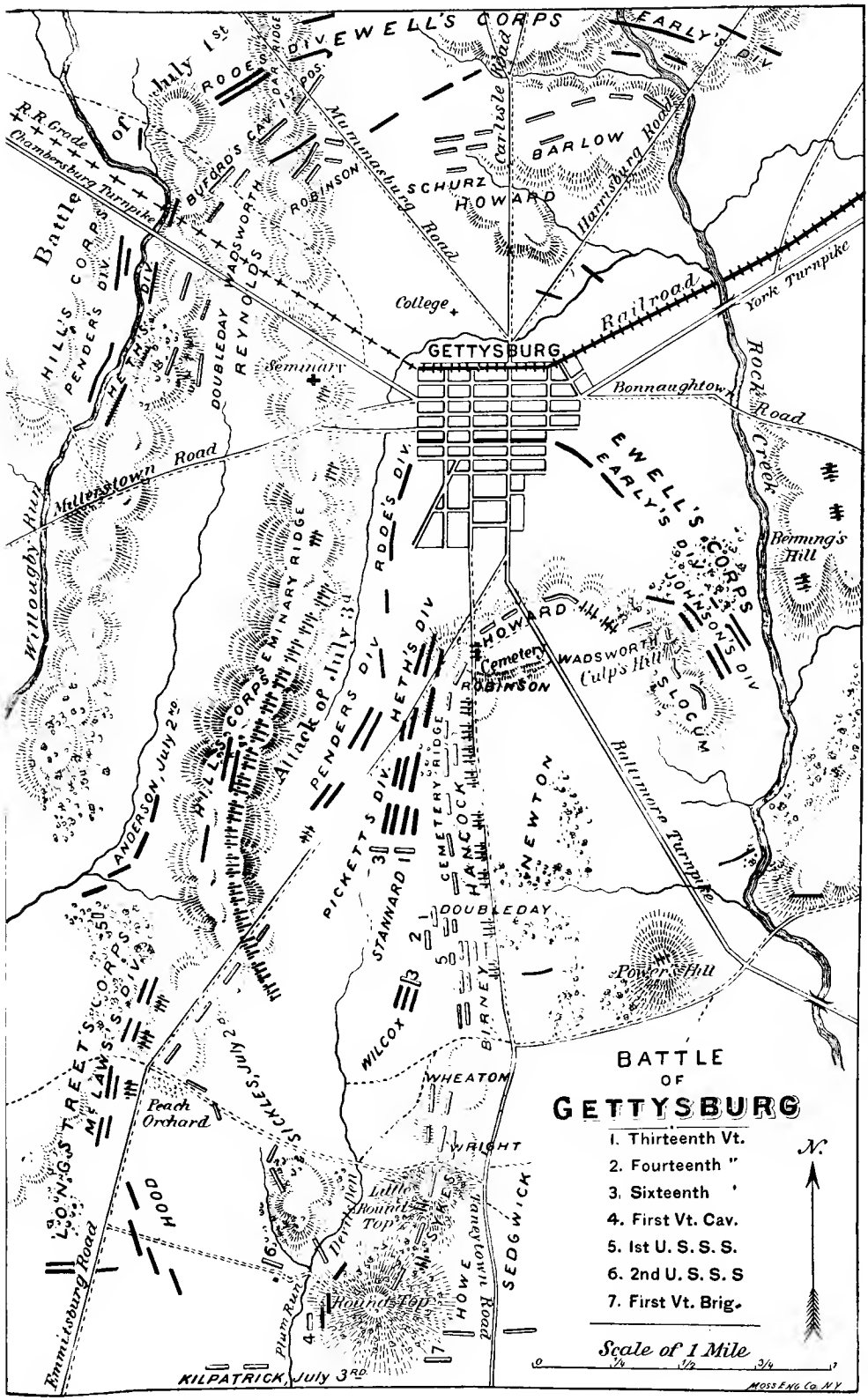
would any count have been needed to determine which regiment was the stronger in numbers, the Twelfth regiment having left the State with 55 more men than the Fifteenth and having maintained its preponderance in numbers up to the time the brigade left Union Mills. At that time, in preparation for the march, the sick and feeble men of the brigade were sent to Alexandria. The numbers so excused by the surgeons from the Twelfth and Fifteenth, were about equal. But the detachment of invalids from the Fifteenth happening to come under General Stannard's eye as they were starting, he found among them a number of convalescents whom he thought fit for duty and ordered back to the ranks. The detachment of the Twelfth, having already gone to Alexandria, escaped his scrutiny. There was thus a greater depletion of the Twelfth, at this time, than of the Fifteenth, and there was room for doubt which was the larger. The result of the count was, however, a surprise to the officers and men of the Twelfth, and Colonel Blunt ordered a second count of his regiment, directing the captains to see that every man was counted. The result was the same, and he accordingly sent the Fifteenth on. It left for the field in high spirits, while the Twelfth remained as train-guard, much to the disgust of most of its officers and men, many of whom, it must be added, did not believe, either before or after the count, that the Fifteenth was the larger regiment, and severely blamed the adjutant of the Twelfth, by whom the count was made, for keeping the regiment out of the fight.

without marching into the enemy's lines. He accordingly halted, and sent back for further instructions. These were to return to Rock Creek Church by any route open to him. He started again, and guided by a citizen, passed between the Round Tops, and on to the south. The movement of the Third Corps to occupy the ridge beyond the Emmittsburg road, was at that time in preparation, and that of Longstreet to the same position was in progress, and as the regiment passed over the ridge, the cannonade which preluded the terrible fighting of the afternoon was seen as well as heard. From Rock Creek Church, the trains and train-guards were ordered to Westminster, Md., twenty-two miles back. A portion of the First Corps' ammunition train, however, remained near the field, and companies B and G of the Twelfth and two companies of the Fifteenth were detached to guard the wagons. These, with the guard, moved on the forenoon of the third day, in consequence of a threatening movement of the enemy's cavalry, across Rock Creek and up the Taneytown road to a field near the barn occupied as the brigade hospital, and remained there during the fighting of the third day.

THE SECOND DAY.

The commanders of the armies were hurrying forward their men to the field during the night of the 1st. By morning of the 2d almost all of Lee's army was on the ground, or near by Of the Army of the Potomac, the First and Eleventh corps, now reduced to the size of divisions, and the Twelfth, were the only corps wholly up. The others were in large part still strung out along the roads, and were arriving by brigades and divisions all along from seven A. M. to four P. M. As the troops poured in and lines extended and batteries multiplied, the Vermonters of the Second Brigade awoke to the full realization of the fact that they were in the centre of the vast field of what

Thursday, July 2.


BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
1. Thirteenth Vt.
2. Fourteenth "
3. Sixteenth "
4. First Vt. Cav.
5. 1st U. S. S. S.
6. 2nd U. S. S. S
7. First Vt. Brig.
Scale of 1 Mile
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1
N.
MOSS ENG. CO. N.Y.
GETTYSBURG
EWELL'S CORPS
EARLY'S DIV.
ROOE'S DIV.
DAR RIDGE
1ST POS.
BUFORD'S CAV.
WADSWORTH
ROBINSON
SCHURZ
HOWARD
BARLOW
Carlisle Road
Harrisburg Road
Mummasburg Road
Battle of July 1st
R.R. Grade
Chambersburg Turnpike
HILL'S CORPS
PENDER'S DIV.
HETH'S DIV.
DOUBLEDAY
REYNOLDS
College
Seminary
Railroad
York Turnpike
Bonnaughtown Road
Rock Creek
Millerstown Road
Willoughby Run
EWELL'S CORPS
EARLY'S DIV.
JOHNSON'S DIV.
SLOCUM
Benning's Hill
Culp's Hill
Cemetery
HOWARD
WADSWORTH
ROBINSON
Baltimore Turnpike
RODE'S DIV.
HETH'S DIV.
PENDER'S DIV.
SEMINARY RIDGE
HILL'S CORPS
Attack of July 3d
ANDERSON, July 2nd
PICKETT'S DIV.
CEMETERY RIDGE
HANCOCK
NEWTON
STANNARD
DOUBLEDAY
BIRNEY
WILCOX
WHEATON
WRIGHT
Power's Hill
LONGSTREET'S CORPS
McLAWS'S DIV.
SICKLES, July 2d
Peach Orchard
HOOD
Emmitsburg Road
Little Round Top
Round Top
Devil Den
Plum Run
SYKES
HOWE
Taneytown Road
SEDGWICK
KILPATRICK, July 3RD

might be the decisive battle of the war. The men of the Sixteenth on picket had been relieved at daylight by troops of the Third Corps, and the brigade joined Doubleday's division to which it belonged, which was lying in the rear of Cemetery Hill, a little east of the Taneytown road. Here they got their breakfast. That they had anything to eat was owing to the energy of Acting Brigade Quartermaster Charles Field. Aware that the men had not over a day's rations with them, he took the responsibility when the trains were ordered back, of going forward with four wagons loaded with hard bread, pork and coffee. He reached the field with these after dark of the first day Coming in by the Emmittsburg road, he would have gone unawares into the Confederate lines if he had not been halted by the Third Corps pickets who directed him to the position of the brigade. He had a cordial welcome from General Stannard, and the regiments were thus supplied with the food so needed to sustain the men in the strain and struggle before them. During the forenoon of the second day the brigade lay massed in column by divisions, in the rear of Cemetery Hill, the men occupying themselves in drying in the sun their cartridges which had become damp in the rain of the previous night, and awaiting events. They were pleased and cheered by a remark of General Doubleday's, made in the hearing of many of them, to a member of his staff, as he rode by: "Here are some boys that will *fight* when their turn comes."

About two P. M., General Stannard was placed in general charge of the infantry supports of the batteries on the left brow of Cemetery Hill; and took his position with several of his staff where the Taneytown road crosses the brow of the hill. There was an occasional cannon shot and a little skirmishing out near the Peach Orchard; but on Cemetery Hill all was quiet till about three o'clock P. M., when two Confederate batteries of 10 and 20-pound guns, placed on a knoll in a wheat field 1,300 yards in front, suddenly opened fire on

Cemetery Hill. "This was," says Colonel Wainwright, chief of artillery of the First Corps, "the most accurate fire I had ever yet seen from their artillery." The first shell thrown, just clearing the ridge of Cemetery Hill, exploded over the Thirteenth Vermont, wounding several men—the first men of the brigade hurt by hostile shots. Others quickly followed, and there was a sudden scattering to the rear of ambulances, orderlies and all whose duties did not hold them to the spot; and the three Vermont regiments were moved a little closer under the hill, where the men, lying down, were fairly sheltered by the crest. The Union guns on the brow of the hill, thirteen in number, replied vigorously, and a sharp artillery duel followed, lasting two hours, when the enemy's batteries were silenced. During this cannonade the spot where Stannard stood was much exposed, not only to the enemy's artillery, but to his sharpshooters on his skirmish line in front, whose bullets hummed by with unpleasant frequency. General Stannard was at one time whirled off from his feet by the explosion of a shell which burst almost in the little group of himself and his staff; but none were hurt, though a fragment of the shell cut a button on the breast of Lieutenant Prentiss. A gap in the picket line in front being reported to General Stannard, he sent for a company of the Sixteenth to fill it. Company B, Captain Arms, of that regiment, reported for the purpose, and Captain A. G. Foster of the brigade staff was sent to station it. The company moved down under partial cover of Bryan's house, and thence to the Emmittsburg road in front, and had barely time to get protection in a ditch by the road side when a volley from a body of the enemy whistled over them. By this fire Captain Foster fell with musket balls through both legs, and was taken to the rear. Captain Arms deployed his company and advanced some distance beyond the road, connecting with the picket line on his right. There was some picket skirmishing here during the after-

noon, in which two men of the company were seriously wounded, and a corporal of the Nineteenth Mississippi was captured by the pickets of company B. The company remained on the skirmish line the rest of the day and night. During the forenoon of the 3d it was relieved from the skirmish line and then, together with company G of the same regiment, under Lieutenant Dutton, and a battalion of Pennsylvania "Bucktails," supported a battery on the left of Cemetery Hill. During the terrible cannonade of Friday afternoon, Captain Arms was stunned by a shell which killed a man by his side, and four men were wounded, two of them mortally, by artillery fire. The companies rejoined the regiment in the evening.

During the opening cannonade of the afternoon five companies, D, E, F, H and K of the Thirteenth regiment, were detached and sent, under Lieut. Colonel Munson, to support a battery on the north front of Cemetery Hill. They moved to the rear of the battery, a short distance to the right of the brigade, and remained there during the remainder of the day till about sundown.[1]

The brigade as a body had little to do till near the end of the afternoon. The Third Corps had made the important movement to the front which has been the occasion of so much discussion since the battle. Sickles had been struck on front and flank by Longstreet with much superior numbers of men and guns. After prolonged and bloody fighting and great loss on both sides, the angle of Sickles's lines at the Peach Orchard had been broken; he himself had been

[1] During the shelling of Cemetery Hill, Lieutenant S. F. Brown and Privates Hogan, Prouty and Monahan of company K, rendered active assistance to one of the batteries from which most of the gunners had been driven by the severity of the enemy's fire. The battalion moved to the left and front, with other troops, to support the Union lines which were being re-established after Longstreet's onset. It did not become engaged, however. Later in the evening it joined the other half of the regiment, in the front line on the left centre.

disabled by a shell which shattered his leg, and his entire corps was driven back, in a broken condition, to the position from which it advanced. Longstreet followed up his advantage with great vigor, and pushed forward his masses to seize the low crest between Cemetery Hill and the Round Tops. Had he succeeded in this effort he would have cut the Army of the Potomac in two; taken its lines in reverse on right and left, and probably ended the battle in the defeat of the Union army. On the extreme left, the day was restored by the Fifth Corps, which had been ordered forward from Rock Creek. General Meade was in that part of the field in person, had his horse shot under him and was active in stemming the tide of defeat. General Warren, sent by him to look after the commanding summit of Little Round Top, had sent thither in haste the brigades of Weed and Vincent, both of whom were killed in the struggle for the possession of the Hill. This was saved, in large part, by the desperate fighting of the Twentieth Maine, Colonel Chamberlain, on the extreme left, some Vermonters of the Second United States Sharp-shooters, also contributing a part to the result. The shattered lines of Birney's division of the Third Corps were enabled to rally behind the lines of the Fifth, supported by portions of the Twelfth Corps, brought over from the right, and of the Sixth Corps, just arrived upon the field, and after a tremendous struggle, in which General Hood commanding the right division of Longstreet's corps lost an arm, and his successor, Robertson, was wounded, the arrival of darkness found the Union position secure. On the left centre, to the right of the scene of this contest, General Hancock was in command, having had the Third Corps assigned to him in addition to his own corps, after General Sickles was wounded. Humphreys's division, after most obstinate and effective resistance, had fallen back to Cemetery Ridge, closely pressed by Anderson's Confederate division of double its numbers. General Hancock brought

forward to Humphreys's support what troops were available of the Second Corps; but they were not sufficient in number to make a continuous line, or stay the onset of the enemy. The Confederate brigades of Wilcox, Perry and Wright advanced to the crest, outflanked Humphreys on right and left, broke through the fragmentary line of Second Corps troops, seized a number of Union guns,[1] and had well nigh cut the Army of the Potomac in two. At this juncture the Second Vermont brigade came into action; took the place of veteran troops which had broken; drove back the advancing masses; filled a large gap; and completed the re-establishment of the Union lines along Cemetery Ridge.[2]

Some idea of the critical nature of the situation when this service was performed, and of the prompt and steady way in which the Vermont troops went in, may be gained from the following graphic description given in a letter to the writer of these pages, by Lieut. Colonel George Meade, son of General Meade, who was on his father's staff, and at his side, that day. After alluding to the circumstance that an important message was received by General Meade, after his return to his headquarters from the left, which caused him to send an order to Newton to bring up some troops as soon as possible, and then to mount and hurry out to the line of the Second Corps, Colonel Meade says:

As the general rode up toward the line the firing was

[1] Wilcox and Wright claimed that they captured, but could not hold, 28 guns.

[2] General Doubleday says that General Meade's attention was called to the critical condition of things at this point by General Tidball, chief of artillery of the cavalry corps, who said to him: "General, I am sorry to see that the enemy have pierced our centre. * * * If you need troops, I saw a fine body of Vermonters a short distance from there, belonging to the First Corps, who are available." Whereupon General Meade directed Tidball to take an order to Newton and to put the men in at once. "I have been particular," says General Doubleday, "in narrating this incident, as Stannard's Vermont Brigade contributed greatly to the victory of the next day, and it is worthy of record to state how they came to be on that part of the field."—Campaigns of the Civil War, Vol. VI., p. 177.

very sharp, both of artillery and infantry. Between the left of Gibbon and some troops farther to the left, there seemed to be a vacant space in the lines, and apparently no organized body of troops there. Many of our men were scattered about, coming back. Directly in front of the general a line of the enemy could be seen advancing in the open between our ridge and the Emmitsburg pike. I think this must have been Wright's Georgia brigade. They seemed to be making straight for where we were. The general at once took in the situation. He once or twice looked anxiously in the direction whence Newton should come, and then rode slowly forward. It was in the minds of those of us who were with him that as a last resort he was going to make some personal effort at a diversion—anything to give a little time. I was so impressed with this that I rode up as close to him as I could get. The others did the same. I do not remember that there was anything said—in fact the fearful crash of the firing all around and the shouts of the men, that you know so well on a field of battle, would have prevented any one being heard. Just as we were making up our minds for the worst, some one shouted or rather yelled: "There they come, General!" Looking around we saw a column of infantry come swinging down the Taneytown road from the direction of Cemetery Hill, in close column of divisions, at a sharp double-quick, flags flying, arms at right shoulder, officers steadying their men with sharp commands. They came on as if on review. It was the most exciting and inspiriting moment I ever passed, and every one yelled as if for dear life. Newton came up ahead of the column and General Meade rode to meet him. They had a few hurried words; the head of the column wheeled to the right and moved up to the line of battle. A line of skirmishers was thrown forward, and as they passed General Meade and his aids, he turned his horse's head and waving his hat, said: "Come on, gentlemen!" and rode along with the skirmish line up to and beyond the crest.

The rest you know better than I can tell. Some one about this time rode up to General Meade and remarked that at one time it looked "pretty desperate." It was a great relief, I can assure you, to hear him reply: "Yes! but it is all right now, it is all right now." This column of troops was Doubleday's and Robinson's divisions of the First Corps and I have always understood that at the head of the column was Stannard's Vermont brigade. It has always been to me the most dramatic incident connected with

General Meade on that field, and I have often wished that I could only command the power of description, so that I could give it as I saw it then and as I think of it now.

The column thus seen and described by Colonel Meade was in fact simply the Second Vermont brigade. With its nearly 2,000 muskets, it undoubtedly looked like a division. It was in advance of the rest of Doubleday's division, which followed at a considerable interval; and still more in advance of Robinson's, which in fact did not go down where the Second Vermont brigade went, or anywhere very near it. The reports of Generals Doubleday and Robinson do not mention the taking of any active part in the repulse of Wright by any troops of the First Corps except Stannard's brigade. And the Vermont troops were in fact the only ones of the corps that actually struck the enemy at this time, and it was by them that the broken line of the Second Corps was re-established. The details of this important piece of service are as follows.

Till they were thus put in, the Vermonters, lying under the hill, had seen little of what was going on in front; but the activity of the batteries along the ridge and the gradual nearing of the smoke-clouds and musketry-volleys had admonished them that the tide of battle was sweeping toward them. Suddenly, after a pause, there came a fresh outbreak of musketry, nearer still, followed by the shrill yell with which Wright's men rushed upon a Union battery. A moment later the orders came which hurried the regiments into the fight. The Fourteenth lay nearest to the break in the Union lines, and led the way to the left for a quarter of a mile, when fronting into line of battle, it moved forward under sharp fire to the rear of a battery which had been left alone by the retirement of its supports. The line of the enemy which was assaulting the battery halted and then fell back as the Fourteenth moved forward, and did not again advance to the attack.

The Sixteenth, Colonel Veazey, came next. It moved

left in front, down the Taneytown road a short distance, and then into the field and along the crest till it reached the position of the Second Corps' batteries, receiving as it moved a cannon-shot—the first that entered its ranks—which knocked down a file of men, killing two of them.[1] The smoke enveloped that part of the ridge, but it could be seen that a battery near there was without support, and a line of the enemy was both seen and heard advancing upon the guns with loud shouting. The Sixteenth deployed in rear of the battery; the enemy, disconcerted by the appearance of this fresh line, fell back; and the Sixteenth supported the battery till dark, when the regiment was moved to the left and forward into the front line in that part of the field.

Colonel Randall, with companies A, Captain Lonergan; B, Captain Wilder; C, Captain Coburn; G, Lieutenant Clarke and I, Lieutenant Searles, of the Thirteenth, moved with equal promptness. On the crest he met General Hancock, who had been endeavoring to rally the supports of Weir's (Fifth U. S.) battery, now in danger of capture by a regiment of Wright's brigade. Lieutenant Weir had had his horse shot and was stunned by a spent ball. The gunners had abandoned three of his guns, and the entire battery was in the utmost danger. "Can't you save that battery, Colonel?" asked Hancock. "We can try," was the reply—"forward, boys!" Randall's gray horse soon fell under him, shot through the shoulder; but the colonel went on, on foot, and was one of the first to reach the battery, with Captain Lonergan by his side. The Georgians were driven from the guns; the cannoneers withdrew two of them, and four were passed to the rear by hand, by the men of the Thirteenth. They did not stop long there, however; but pushed on to the Emmittsburg road, stepping over some Confederates who were lying in the ditches, on the way, one of whom rose

[1] Killed, Sergeant Moses P Baldwin and Private Sylvanus A. Winship of company C.

and fired ineffectually at Major Boynton's back after he had passed him. His life was spared by the men, in obedience to the major's command, and he was taken to the rear as a prisoner. Colonel Randall says, in his report: "I advanced my line to the [Emmittsburg] road, and sent Adjutant James S. Peck back to inform General Hancock of our position. While he was gone, the rebels advanced two pieces of artillery into the road about 100 yards to the south of us, and commenced to shell us down the road, whereupon I detached one company and advanced them under cover of the road, dugway and fences, with instructions to charge upon and seize those guns, which they most gallantly did."

About this time the battalion was fired upon from Rogers's house on the Emmittsburg road, and company A was sent thither. Captain Lonergan surrounded the house with his men, and took there a captain and 80 men of an Alabama regiment—being a larger number of prisoners than there were men in the company. It being now dark, Stannard concentrated his brigade, and it occupied at the close of the day the front line on the left centre, between Gibbons's and Caldwell's divisions of the Second Corps, which post of danger and honor it held for twenty-six hours, and to the close of the battle.

While these events were in progress, on the left wing, General Meade's centre and right had been subjected to a shelling, which was only eclipsed by that on the left centre the day following. At five o'clock the enemy, probably surmising (which was the fact) that his right had been weakened to reinforce the left, made a determined attack on his extreme right. The ground here is high and broken, rising into a rocky eminence, known as Culp's Hill, with two summits, whose steepest inclines faced the enemy to the northeast, separated by a ravine strewn with large granite blocks. Hill and valley were wooded with a fine growth of oak. The whole position here had been made very strong by substan-

tial breastworks of felled trees and piled stones. Culp's Hill was held by General Wadsworth, with the remnant of his division of the First Corps, and by General Geary's division of the Twelfth, until the latter part of the afternoon, when Geary was ordered with two brigades of his division across to the left of the field to reinforce Sickles. General Greene's brigade of Geary's division remained and manned the breastworks through the ravine. About seven o'clock the famous Stonewall brigade, of Early's division of Ewell's corps, formed column in mass, and marched boldly up the steepest part of Culp's Hill, against what they supposed to be the extreme Union right. They met the Seventh Wisconsin and Ninety-fifth New York Volunteers, who received them with a fire of musketry which piled the ground in front of the entrenchments with their dead. Foiled in his attack in column, the enemy deployed to his left in line and furiously attacked General Greene's brigade. He met again a welcome of rolling volleys, and, foiled at every point, fell back to the foot of the hill, where, covered by the trees and rocks, he kept up, till nine o'clock, a close but comparatively ineffective fire on the whole position on the right.

At the close of the second day the Army of the Potomac held Culp's Hill on the right, Cemetery Hill and Ridge in the centre, and the Round Tops on the left. But the enemy was in dangerous proximity to the Baltimore Pike on the right. In front of the left centre he had gained the low ridge crossed diagonally by the Emmittsburg road; and on the left he had gained the Devil's Den and established himself on the very bases of the Round Tops. Lee had lost in the two days' fighting 13,000 men, and Meade 20,000. In spite of the untoward progress of the battle, the Union generals took courage from the strength of their position, and from the fact that the army was at last all upon the ground; and, though there was deep depression among the troops which

had suffered so severely,[1] even among them there was no thought but of fighting the thing through.

After nightfall of Thursday Colonel Veazey was detailed as division field-officer of the day, and taking the Sixteenth Vermont regiment and a detail from the brigade on the right, posted a picket line along the front, from the right of Codori's house on the Emmittsburg road through the low ground to the left, till it joined the picket line of the Fifth Corps. Three companies were deployed on the picket line, and the remainder of the regiment lay as picket reserve. "It was," says Colonel Veazey, "the saddest night on picket that I ever passed. The line ran across the field that had been fought over the day before, and the dead and wounded of the two armies, lying side by side, thickly strewed the ground. The mingled imprecations and prayers of the wounded, and supplications for help, were heart-rending. The stretcher-bearers of both armies were allowed to pass back and forth through the picket lines, but scores of wounded men died around us in the gloom, before any one could bring relief or receive their dying messages."

During the night word was brought by a prisoner to Colonel Nichols that General Barksdale, of Mississippi, lay mortally wounded on the field in front of his line. Colonel Nichols at once sent out a detail of eight men under Sergeant Vaughan (a brave soldier who fell next day), who brought him in on a stretcher and took him to a small temporary hospital in the rear. His last message, "Tell my wife I fought like a man and will die like one," was delivered to Sergeant Vaughan, and his hat and gloves, which he gave to one of the men who brought him in, were long in Colonel Nichols's possession. His body, with a ball-hole through the breast, and legs bandaged and bloody from gun-shots through both of them, lay in the rear of the position of the

[1] "I wish I were already dead," said General Birney, to a member of his staff, Thursday night.

Vermont brigade during the forenoon, and was then temporarily interred upon the spot.

The brigade hospital was established in a barn near the Taneytown road, about a mile and a half south of General Meade's headquarters, and the surgeons were busy through the night over the wounded. The portions of the brigade not engaged in special duties lay upon their arms during the night. There were numerous movements of troops behind them as the lines were disposed and strengthened for the next day's struggle; but they slept the sleep of the tired soldier, and heeded little what was going on around them.

THE THIRD DAY.

Friday, the last and greatest day of the battle, opened with cannonading at daylight on right and left,—on the left from Longstreet's batteries along the low ridge he gained the afternoon before. This was to attract attention to that part of the field, while Ewell should make good his foot-hold on the right. The horses of staff officers and mounted orderlies around General Stannard attracted the enemy's fire, and after two horses had been maimed by shells, all the horses were removed from that part of the field. This cannonade received but small response from the Union batteries, and died away in an hour or so. On the right Geary's guns opened the day. Several batteries had been collected there to shell the enemy out of the woods near the Baltimore road, where he had gained entrance the evening before; but, owing to the nature of the ground, which prevented any very effective artillery fire, the cannonade here too mainly ceased, and a terrific infantry fight succeeded. General Geary had returned during the night, charged with the duty of re-occupying the breastworks at the head of the ravine. He found himself at first the attacked rather than the attacking party. Early, supported by Rodes's division,

July 3, 1863.

pressed forward to secure the advantage he had partially gained the night before. It is said he had sworn he would break through the Union right if it cost him his last man. If so, he was forsworn. For *six hours*—from five till eleven o'clock—the musketry rolled on those hill-sides in one incessant crash. For six hours, the rest of the army watched the white smoke-clouds curling up through the tree-tops, and wondered what the issue would be. At eleven Geary had driven the enemy back over the breastworks into the valley below. General Greene, after repulsing another desperate assault on his line, made a sally and drove the enemy from his front, capturing three colors and some prisoners. Early retired, terribly broken, and the battle was over for good on the right. The Confederate dead at its close covered the ground from the front of the breastworks to the foot of the ravine. The Union loss on the right was quite small.

To return to the left centre, the enemy's skirmishers began before four o'clock in the morning to press Veazey's pickets, who, however, held their ground, and there was more or less picket skirmishing in front for several hours. The Confederates were so watchful and became so active when any movement on the Union side was attempted, that it was not deemed best to relieve the line, and the men of the Sixteenth remained upon the picket line, though hungry, thirsty and exhausted by want of sleep.

The Second Vermont brigade took its share of the opening cannonade in the morning and lost a few men by it. The Fourteenth regiment, in particular, had several non-commissioned officers and men killed at the same instant, by the explosion of a caisson of the battery close to which they were lying, and private S. M. Southard of company I lost a leg by a solid shot. Just after the enemy's batteries opened in the morning, Colonel Nichols received permission to move his regiment forward about ten rods to a position where some scattered trees and bushes afforded a partial shelter

for his men, and the Fourteenth remained substantially in that position thenceforward through the battle. The Thirteenth regiment lay to the right and a little to the rear of the Fourteenth. Rowley's and Dana's brigades of Doubleday's division were placed behind the Vermonters, in a double line.

During the forenoon the Confederate sharp-shooters discovered from the movements of staff officers to and fro around General Stannard, that a general officer was closer to the front at that point than at any other, and began to pay especial attention to him. After a ball had passed through his coat and another cut a piece from the rim of his hat, he thought it time to return these favors, and a dozen United States sharp-shooters, under a tall sergeant, were sent down in front, and soon silenced the more troublesome of the hostile marksmen.

With the exception of some scattered firing on the skirmish line, no fighting took place on the left centre during the forenoon of Friday. The only farther preparation to resist an attack, that under the circumstances could be made in that portion of the field, was attended to. It was to collect the rails lying where the dividing lines of the fields had run, and to pile them into breastworks. There were not enough of them to make a breastwork proper, anywhere; but they sufficed for a low protection of two feet or more in height, which would shelter men lying flat behind it, and every such help was needed before the day was done.

For two hours succeeding the close of the musketry fight on the right, almost absolute quiet prevailed along the lines. Occasionally only, a distant cannon-shot boomed from the northeast, where Gregg with the cavalry was harassing the enemy's left and rear. The silence else was oppressive. The batteries frowned like grim bull-dogs from the opposing ridges, but not a shot was fired. The great feature of the day—and a grander one has seldom been witnessed in human warfare—was in preparation. This has passed into

history as the charge of Pickett's division. That, however, is a most inadequate title. The troops composing it were not one but *three* divisions (lacking two brigades) of Lee's army. They were Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps; Heth's division of Hill's corps, commanded by Pettigrew, Heth having been wounded the day before; and half of Pender's division of the same corps, commanded by Trimble, Pender being also wounded. Pickett took about 5,000 men into that charge.[1] Pettigrew's was a strong division numbering some 7,000 men. Wilcox's and Perry's brigades of A. P Hill's corps, and Lane's and Scales's brigades of Pender's division probably numbered not less than 5,000 men. Colonel Fremantle, of the British Army, who wrote the account of this battle in *Blackwood's Magazine*, says Longstreet told him that the great mistake on their side was in not making the attack on Friday afternoon with 30,000 men instead of 15,000. They made it with from 16,000 to 17,000.

This assault, which has been called by a Southern historian "the most determined assault of the war;"[2] and by another "a charge that well nigh ended the war with a clap of thunder,"[3] was heralded by a cannonade of even more tremendous proportions. The guns which Lee had been concentrating during the forenoon along the opposing ridges were upwards of *one hundred and fifty* in number.[4] They

[1] "Four thousand, four hundred and eighty-one privates, 244 company officers, 32 field officers and four general officers, 4,761 all told."—Confederate statement.

[2] John Esten Cooke, History of Virginia, p. 503.

[3] John W Daniel of Virginia.

[4] In his official report, dated August 10th, 1863, General Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, says: "The fire opened furiously, my 75 guns being assisted by 65 in the Third [Hill's] Corps and Henry's guns (10 or 12) on the right." These figures give 148 to 150 guns in action on his side, besides Ewell's batteries, to which General Alexander elsewhere alludes.

were placed in a curved line which gave a converging fire on the Union centre. It was a fire without parallel in field operations. The famous cannonade with which Napoleon preceded the decisive charge at Wagram was of but 100 guns, and that of Ney at Borodino of but 80. At Solferino and Sadowa neither army had half as many guns at once in action.

The enemy's batteries almost filled a front of two miles. General Hunt, Meade's chief of artillery, who just before the cannonade opened, was on the brow of Cemetery Hill where he could see them plainly, says of them: "They stretched —apparently in an unbroken mass—from opposite the town to the Peach Orchard which bounded the view to the left, the ridges of which were planted thick with cannon. Never before had such a sight been witnessed on this continent, and rarely, if ever, abroad."

At ten minutes past one o'clock two guns, fired by the Washington artillery, gave the signal to this tremendous array of the enginery of war. At once those miles of crests became wreathed in smoke, and in an instant later the air seemed literally *filled* with flying missiles. It was a converging fire which came upon the Union lines at every angle, from direct point-blank at a range at which grape was served with effect, to an enfilading fire, from a battery of Whitworth guns far to the right, which sent their six-sided bolts screaming by, parallel to the lines, from a distance of over two miles. Shells whizzed and popped and fluttered on every side; spherical case shot exploded overhead, and rained showers of iron bullets; solid shot tore the ground into furrows, and grape hurtled in an iron storm against the low breastworks of rails. Meade, with more guns, had less available ground on which to place them and could put but 71 guns in battery on Cemetery Ridge. Ten or twelve more took part from Cemetery Hill, and six from Little Round Top. Thus about 90 guns replied from our side. It is im-

possible to describe such a cannonade. It may assist the imagination, however, to recollect that a field piece, actively served, is discharged with ease twice in a minute. The 240 guns in action probably gave over 350 discharges a minute, and, adding the explosions of the shells, it is not extravagant to estimate that in many a minute of those two hours the explosions amounted to 600; and this without count of the musketry. The din was compared, by the correspondent of the London *Times* on the field, to "the thundering roar of all the accumulated battles ever fought upon earth rolled into one volume." The sound was heard at Greensboro, Green County, Penn., 143 miles in a direct line from Gettysburg.

Lee's cannonade was almost described in advance by a writer on artillery, before the war, as follows: "The grandest results are obtained by the reserve artillery, in great and decisive battles. Held back out of sight the greater part of the day, it is brought forward in mass upon the decisive point, when the time for the final effort has come. Formed in a crescent a mile or more in extent, it concentrates its destructive fire upon a comparatively small point. Unless an equal number of guns is there to meet it, half an hour's rapid firing settles the matter; the enemy begins to wither under the hail-storm of howling shot; the intact reserves of infantry advance,—a last sharp struggle, and the victory is won. Thus did Napoleon prepare McDonald's advance at Wagram, and resistance was broken before the three divisions advancing in column had fired a shot or crossed bayonet with the enemy."[1]

General Lee followed closely the general plan thus laid down; but there were some variations in detail. Instead of half an hour of rapid firing, he gave two hours. There was another important variation,—the troops sustaining "the hail-storm of howling shot" did not "wither" according to

[1] Article on Artillery in Appleton's New American Cyclopedia.

the programme. Creeping close under the low protection of rails they had piled in the forenoon, and hugging the ground, heads to the front and faces to the earth, the men remained immovable in their lines. The general, field and staff officers alone, as their duties required, stood erect or moved from their places; all else needed little caution to keep down—even the wounded, for the most part, remained and bled quietly in their places. Colonel Veazey mentions a most remarkable effect of the cannonade on his men, who, it will be remembered, had been without sleep and almost without food for twenty-four hours. "The effect of this cannonade on my men," he says, "was the most astonishing thing I ever witnessed in any battle. Many of them, I think a majority, *fell asleep*, and it was with the greatest effort only that I could keep awake myself, notwithstanding the cries of my wounded men, and my anxiety in reference to the more fearful scenes which I knew would speedily follow." The portion of his regiment of which he speaks was lying at this time in front of the Union batteries, which fired right over them. Sleep obtained under such circumstances could have been nothing more than a stunned and weary drowse. The effect of this awful cannonade was especially noticeable on the batteries which occupied Cemetery Ridge and were for the most part without any protection. They stood stoutly to their work, but suffered greatly in both men and horses. Four caissons of Thomas's battery, in position to the right and rear of the Second Vermont brigade, were blown up at once by the enemy's projectiles. There was a scene of great confusion around it for a moment, as the thick cloud of smoke, through which shot fragments of exploding shells, rolled up, and mutilated horses were seen dashing wildly to the rear; but another battery wheeled promptly into its place, and before the cheers which greeted the sight from the opposite ridge had died away, its fire opened with fresh vigor from the spot. Cushing's battery, farther to the right, lost 63 of the 84 horses attached to it.

General Hunt having ordered a cessation of the Union artillery, the cannonade also ceased on the other side shortly after three o'clock, and the grand charge followed. The assaulting forces were formed in two main lines, having a front of about 1,000 yards, with supports in the rear extending beyond the flanks of the front lines. The ground selected for this movement was the only portion of the whole field over which so many men could have been rushed in line. It was the broad stretch of open meadow ground extending to the southwest of the village of Gettysburg, perhaps a mile and a half in length and varying from half a mile to a mile in width between the confronting ridges. It sloped gently, for most of the distance, from the crests occupied by Lee's batteries, for half the way across, and then rose with like gentle incline to the crest of Cemetery Ridge.

The advance of Pickett's veterans was magnificently steady. Preceded by their skirmishers the long gray lines came down the slope at quick step. As the Confederate skirmishers struck the pickets of the Sixteenth Vermont, the latter fell back to the main body of the regiment. The enemy's right at this time seemed to be aiming squarely upon the position of the Fourteenth regiment, and an order was sent to Colonel Nichols, by General Stannard, to hold his fire till the enemy was close upon him, then to give him a volley, and after that the bayonet. A sudden and unexpected movement of the enemy rendered the full execution of this order impracticable. At the instant that the regiment rose the enemy's lines suddenly changed direction and marched by the flank to the north across its front for some sixty rods, when, again fronting, they came in upon the line of the Second Corps, to the right, held by Harrow's, Hall's and Webb's brigades. This side movement on the part of the enemy appeared from the position occupied by the Second Vermont brigade, to be participated in by the whole attacking force, and to have been caused by the sud-

den appearance of a body of troops in firm line, much nearer to them than they expected, and on ground from which they supposed all opposing forces had been swept away by their artillery. It was in part, however, due to the fact that in the advance a gap had opened between their right and left and the right was obliged to oblique to the left to close the interval. It was a costly movement for the enemy. The Fourteenth regiment, upon its commencement, at once opened fire, at about sixty rods' distance, and continued it with very great effect. The Thirteenth, which had moved several rods to the front, joined its fire with that of the Fourteenth, with equal effect, and a long line of Confederate dead soon marked the line of their march across the front of the Vermont brigade. As the brigades of Pickett's division fronted after they had closed the interval, their lines lapped and presented to the Vermonters the appearance of a heavy column massed by regiments, and the force is so described in Stannard's report.

With a wild yell which rose above the sound of cannon and musketry, the enemy now came in upon the charge. The Second Corps met them in front with a destructive musketry fire, and the batteries on the slope, firing grape and canister, opened cruel gaps in the serried lines. But they still came on. The front line reached the stone wall in front of Webb, pushed through the bayonets behind it, and General Armistead and a hundred or two of his Virginians actually stood among the Union guns.

The momentum of the mass of Pickett's column was as yet unchecked when a sudden assault on his right changed the aspect of affairs. The opportunity for a flank attack had been noticed by Stannard and was acted on with a decision and promptitude which did him infinite credit. Without hesitation he ordered the Thirteenth and Sixteenth regiments out upon the enemy's flank. The Thirteenth moved first, in column of fours, for thirty or forty rods toward the enemy,

when the order to "change front forward on first company" was given, and the regiment swung out squarely upon Pickett's flank.[1] Under a fire now opened from the enemy's rear lines the extreme left of the regiment seemed to falter for a moment; but the men who were hanging back were faced into line by one of Stannard's aids who had taken to Randall the order to change front and had staid to see the movement accomplished, and a line of fire ran down the front of the regiment as it opened at half pistol range on the crowding mass in front.

The Sixteenth soon joined the Thirteenth. The regiment had been collected by Veazey in the low ground in front of the Fourteenth and, its own front having been cleared by Pickett's divergence to his left, it had an opportunity to fire obliquely into the enemy's lines, and the men were improving it when the regiment was recalled by General Stannard, and ordered to join the Thirteenth in the flank attack. Veazey thereupon drew out from his position, passing behind the Fourteenth, and the regiment, after moving by the flank to the right for some fifty rods, made an oblique change of front and moved up to the left of the Thirteenth and opened fire. The advance of the Sixteenth after its change of front took it across the line of march of part of Pickett's division and over ground covered with Confederate dead and wounded; but the men had eyes only for what was before them. Soon they opened a savage fire. The front of the two regiments was hardly a dozen rods from the enemy's flank, and they advanced while firing, so that that distance was considerably lessened. At this short range the Thirteenth fired 10 or 12 rounds, and the Sixteenth perhaps half that number, into a mass of men on which every bullet took effect, and many doubtless found two or three

[1] As the regiment turned on First Sergeant James B. Scully of company A, he may be said to have been the pivot of the pivotal movement of the pivotal battle of the war.

victims. The effect upon the Confederate mass was instantaneous. Its progress ceased. For a few moments the gray lines crowded together, falling meanwhile like wheat before the reaper; then breaking into a disorderly mob, they fled in all directions. On their right and centre the larger portion dropped their arms and rushed within our lines as prisoners. On their left, the larger portion of Pettigrew's division retreated whence they came. Their dead and wounded and small arms by thousands strewed the ground over which they charged.

What share of the 3,500 prisoners taken at this time actually surrendered to the Vermont regiments, cannot be stated. Colonel Randall states that large numbers of the enemy came in to the rear of his regiment for shelter, and that he had more prisoners to take care of than there were men in his command. One body of about 250 were sent to the rear in charge of two companies of the Thirteenth. As the left of the Sixteenth regiment extended beyond the rear line of the enemy, it undoubtedly prevented the retreat of a large number of them, and many surrendered to the Sixteenth. Lieutenant Spafford with a squad of men brought in a number of Confederates who were scattered among the trees of the orchard near Codori's house; and still larger numbers threw down their arms closer to the Union front. The prisoners taken by the Sixteenth were passed to the rear, without counting, when the regiment started on its second charge. In the thickest of the assault on Pickett's flank, the colors of the Eighth Virginia, of Garnett's brigade, fell with the fall of the standard bearer, and were captured by private P O. Harris of company E of the Sixteenth.

A description of the appearance of the Second Vermont brigade as it went into action on the previous day, as seen from the Union side, has been given in previous pages, from the pen of Colonel Meade. As a counterpart to this, a description of this flank attack of the Vermonters on the

third day, as seen from the Confederate side, is interesting. Captain H. T. Owen of the Ninth Virginia, who was in Pickett's column, says:

We were about 400 yards from the foot of Cemetery Hill, when off to the right, there appeared in the open field a line of men at right angles with our own—a long, dark mass, dressed in blue and coming down at a "double quick" upon the unprotected right flank of Pickett's men, with their muskets upon the "right shoulder shift," their battle flags dancing and fluttering in the breeze created by their own rapid motion, and their burnished bayonets glistening above their heads like forest twigs covered with sheets of sparkling ice when shaken by a blast. Garnett galloped along the line, saying: "Faster, men! faster!" and the front line broke forward into a double quick, and rushed toward the stone wall, where forty cannon were belching forth grape and canister twice and thrice a minute. A hundred yards from the stone wall the flanking party on the right, coming down on a heavy run, halted suddenly within fifty yards, and poured a deadly storm of musket balls into Pickett's men. Under this terrible cross-fire the men reeled and staggered between falling comrades, and the right came pressing down upon the centre, crowding the companies into confusion. But all knew the purpose to carry the heights in front, and the mingled mass, from fifteen to thirty deep, rushed toward the stone wall, while a few hundred men, without orders, faced to the right and fought the flanking party there, although fifty to one, and for a time held them at bay Muskets were crossed, as some men faced to the right and others to the front, and the fighting was terrific far beyond all other experience, even of Pickett's men.[1]

The testimony of Confederate eye-witnesses and historians in regard to the effect on Pickett's division of the reception thus given to it is noteworthy. The Confederate historian, Pollard, says: "The havoc in its ranks was appalling. Every brigadier in the division was killed or wounded. Out of twenty-four regimental officers only two escaped unhurt. The colonels of five Virginia regiments were killed. The Ninth Virginia went in 250 strong, and came out with only 38 men, while the equally gallant Nineteenth rivalled the terrible glory of such devoted courage."

[1] Article in Philadelphia *Times*.

General E. P Alexander, Longstreet's chief of artillery, says: "When Pickett's division appeared on the slope of Cemetery Hill, a considerable force of the enemy were thrown out, attacking his unprotected right flank. Meanwhile, too, several batteries were firing on him very heavily. We opened on these troops and batteries with the best we had in the shop, and appeared to do them considerable damage; but, meanwhile, Pickett's division just seemed to melt away in the blue musketry smoke which now covered the hill. Nothing but stragglers came back."[1] Major Peyton of the Nineteenth Virginia, who commanded what was left of Garnett's brigade after the battle, says in his report that the identity of every regiment in that brigade was lost, every regimental commander killed or wounded, and out of 1,420 men in the brigade, 941 were killed, wounded, or missing. General Garnett rode in the rear of his front line and was shot from his horse within twenty-eight paces of the stone wall.[2] General Longstreet himself says: "When the smoke cleared away, Pickett's division was gone—nearly two-thirds of his men lay dead on the field. Mortal man could not have stood that fire."[3] Major John W Daniel, of Virginia, in his oration at the unveiling of the recumbent statue of General Lee, on the 28th of June, 1883, said: "We saw him [General Lee] standing by the roadside, with his bridle-rein over his arm, on the second day after the battle, as the army was withdrawing. Pickett's division filed past him; every general of brigade had fallen, and every field officer of its regiments; a few tat-

[1] Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. IV, p. 108.

Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. III, p. 217.

On the Union side, Generals Hancock, Gibbon, Webb and Stannard were wounded; on the enemy's side, Generals Armistead and Garnett were killed, and Generals Kemper, Pettigrew, Trimble, and Colonel Nye commanding Archer's brigade, were wounded, all within fifteen minutes' time, and within a hundred and fifty yards of a common centre.

Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. V, p. 70.

tered battle-flags and a few hundreds of men were all that was left of the magnificent body, 5,000 strong, who had made the famous charge." The morale of Pickett's division was destroyed; and, though subsequently strengthened, this crack division of the Army of Northern Virginia never after did any successful fighting.

Pickett's charge had failed; but the work on the left centre was not yet ended. In Longstreet's arrangement of his corps for the charge, he placed Wilcox's brigade of Alabama troops and Perry's Florida brigade, both under General Wilcox, upon the right and rear of Pickett, to guard his right flank. Had this force been within effective supporting distance, or had Stannard delayed his attack for ten minutes, the latter's assault on Pickett's flank would probably have been impracticable. Wilcox was a little too slow in moving, and before he crossed the Emmittsburg road Pickett's fate had been decided. The two Vermont regiments were still busy in taking care of the prisoners, when this new force appeared wandering across the field. It did not veer to its left as Pickett's division did; but took direction at an angle which carried it to the left of the Fourteenth Vermont, receiving the fire of that regiment as it came within range. Its repulse and almost destruction was the brilliant work of the Sixteenth Vermont. Colonel Veazey describes this as follows:

While engaged in the flank movement to the right I observed another force of the enemy charging down at double quick away to the left, and apparently aiming toward the position we held before making this flank attack to the right. The direction of this new line, afterwards found to consist of Perry's and Wilcox's brigades, would take them by my left and rear as we were then situated. I immediately conceived that I should change front obliquely to the left and charge the left flank of the new line when it came within striking distance, just as we had charged the right of Pickett's division. I therefore at once called to the men to fall in, as they were then broken into squads, gathering up prisoners, and we had started or were about starting on the new movement when I received an order from General Stannard to

double quick back to our original position and get in front of this new line. This order would take me in the same direction for some rods that I had contemplated going, and we kept on in that direction; but in moving I changed the front of my regiment to the left and so as to face obliquely toward the left flank of this new line. Just then I came upon General Stannard and explained my plan of a charge. He at first opposed it, on the ground that it would be rash and too much to ask of men to go alone so far to the front against so large a force; but he soon yielded and said, "go ahead." At that moment the enemy had reached the bottom of the basin, their left flank being not more than thirty or forty rods distant, and they were crouching behind the low bushes and rocks which afforded some shelter from the artillery and infantry fire in front. The ground from our position toward the enemy was fairly smooth and a little descending; and upon receiving the order to charge the men cheered and rushed forward at a run without firing a shot. They quickly struck the rebel flank and followed it until the whole line had disappeared. The movement was so sudden and rapid that the enemy could not change front to oppose us. A great many prisoners were taken, but I cannot tell the number, as they were sent to the rear without a guard, as I had no men to spare for that purpose, and none were needed as the prisoners were quite willing to get within the shelter of our lines and away from the exposure to which they were then subjected as well as ourselves from the rebel artillery, which followed us with merciless vigor. As fast as they were captured they were told where to go and they went, and without standing on the order of their going. We took two stands of regimental colors and another standard from which the flag had been torn. This was the last effort of the infantry of the enemy. After following down this line as stated until it had substantially disappeared I moved the regiment to the left through and behind the shelter of the bushes and tried to get out of range of the rebel artillery which had gained a destructive range upon us. We had been there but a few moments when I was ordered to move a few rods to the right, and in this movement we were again exposed to a severe artillery fire and lost several men. I consequently moved again farther to the right and rear and got a little out of range, and soon after this, the firing subsided, and there was no more fighting except a little skirmishing far to our left. Our forty rounds of ammunition were mostly used up, but this was mainly done before

our first flank movement to the right and while making it. In the second flank movement but few shots were fired and those were after we struck the enemy. When they became fully aware we were on their flank I could see their line break ahead of us and the men rush to the rear, and thereby many of them escaped being captured. The fire of the Fourteenth was very destructive on Pickett's division to the right, but Colonel Nichols informed me that Perry and Wilcox came down so rapidly, and so quickly got under cover of bushes, that he produced but little effect upon them, and our charge being across his front prevented him from firing after that. Four companies of his regiment were sent down on my left after we passed under shelter of the bushes as above stated. You have our losses in the reports. That they were not larger I attribute to the fact that we were almost constantly moving and that our work consisted mainly of flank charges, which if rapid and successful are usually without great loss. If not successful they are likely to be very disastrous. We were also very much enveloped in the smoke of the battle and were thus obscured from view. I failed to see a single man falter in the least throughout the battle; but every one seemed a host as the orders to charge were given. They made the changes of front first to the right and then to the left with almost the precision of a parade, and as though the fire upon them was from blank cartridges in a sham fight. At the close of the second charge, which was substantially the close of the battle, they were farther to the front than when the battle opened, except when they were upon the skirmish line, and farther than any other regiment on that part of the field within our sight.

The colors taken in this last charge were the regimental flag of the Second Florida, a handsome silk flag, which was taken by Color-Sergeant Charles D. Brink, who bore it off from the field with the colors of the Sixteenth. Another battle-flag was taken by W C. Kingston of company C. It had been torn, probably by a shell, so that but a portion of the flag remained on the standard; and, after carrying it a short distance it was thrown away by Kingston, as it interfered with his use of his musket, and it was subsequently brought in by other troops.[1] General Wilcox's reports would

[1] Sergeant Brink and Private Harris, escorted by company E of the Sixteenth, marched to General Meade's headquarters next day and for-

give the impression that his brigade did not suffer very badly on this occasion; but at the time he did not think so. Colonel Fremantle says that he saw General Wilcox come up to General Lee after his repulse, "and explain, almost crying, the state of his brigade." A condition of his command which brought tears to the eyes of General Cadmus Wilcox could not have been a cheerful one. Perry's brigade, which was first struck by Veazey, lost more heavily than Wilcox's. The two brigades lost 1,232 men killed, wounded and missing in the battle, and the larger part of these casualties were undoubtedly suffered on the third day.

The four right companies (A, F, D and I,) of the Fourteenth, under Lieut. Colonel Rose, were detached to support the Sixteenth and reached the spot in time to take part in the affair. They formed on the left of the Sixteenth, after it halted, and fired several volleys upon a body of Confederates in front of them, who soon threw down their arms. In their excitement some of the men failed to perceive this, and it was with some difficulty that Major Hall, who had followed the detachment, and other officers, induced them to realize that the enemy had surrendered and to stop firing.

When the Sixteenth was ordered back to attend to Wilcox, the Thirteenth was recalled by General Stannard to its place in the line. The enemy's batteries, which had withheld their fire during the charge, now re-opened upon them with redoubled fury and with severe effect; but they completed the movements without disorder or interruption, some of the Confederate reports to the contrary notwithstanding. At sundown the regiments were all back in the original line, and remained there till ten o'clock in the evening, when they were

mally delivered the captured flags to him, and received his thanks, which he accompanied with praise of the gallant service rendered by Stannard's brigade. The flag of the Second Florida, with a record of its capture by the Sixteenth Vermont, was one of the eighteen captured Confederate flags sent by Secretary Stanton to be exhibited at the great fair of the Sanitary Commission in Chicago, in October, 1863.

relieved on the front line by the First brigade of the First division of the Third Corps; and, moving a short distance back, bivouacked for the night on Cemetery Ridge.

During the last sharp shower of grape and shell, with which the enemy strove to cover Wilcox's repulse, General Stannard was wounded in the leg by an iron shrapnel ball, which passed down for three inches into the muscles on the inside of the thigh. His wound was very painful till a surgeon came (which was not for an hour) and removed the ball; but, though urged to do so by his aids and others, he refused to leave the field. He remained in front with his men till his command was relieved from duty in the front line, till his wounded had been removed and arrangements made for burying the dead; when, having done all that could have been asked even of a man whole in flesh, the high spirit and stern purpose which had thus far sustained his body against pain and loss of blood, relaxed, and he sank fainting to the ground. To his perfect coolness, close and constant presence with his men, and to the intuition—almost inspiration—with which he seized the great opportunity of the battle, the glorious success of the day was in large measure due.

INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE.

Major General Hancock, after rallying troops to meet Pickett's charge farther to the right, rode down to speak to General Stannard, and fell, while addressing him, close to the front line, just after the flank attack had been ordered. He was caught, as he sank from his horse, by Lieutenants Hooker and Benedict, of Stannard's staff, and the bleeding from his wound—a singular and very severe one from the joint entrance, at the upper part of the thigh, of a minie ball and a twisted iron nail, carried from his saddle-bow, through which the bullet first passed, into his body—was stopped by their hands.

It is related that as General Doubleday saw the charge of Stannard's brigade, he waved his hat and shouted: "Glory to God, glory to God! See the Vermonters go it!"

As the Thirteenth was returning from the charge on Pickett, a shell tore through the column, striking down two men and blowing a third to pieces. One of his legs and the foot with the shoe on struck Lieut. Colonel Munson in the side with force enough to prostrate and disable him for half an hour or more and to cause his name to be placed in the list of wounded.

Lieutenant Stephen F Brown of the Thirteenth went into and almost through the battle armed only with a camp hatchet! This came about from the circumstance that on the march to Gettysburg, Brown had taken some canteens to a well and filled them with water for some of the men who were almost fainting from thirst, in violation of an order which forbade officers or men to leave the ranks, except during the halts for meals. Brown was thereupon placed in arrest for disobedience of orders. When the regiment reached the field he was released from arrest by General Stannard; but could not have his sword back because it was in one of the wagons. He accordingly armed himself with a hatchet, which he carried till in the repulse of Pickett's charge he received the surrender of a Confederate officer and took his sabre and pistol. On the return from the charge Lieutenant Brown was stunned by the concussion of a shell, but declined to leave the ranks.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PART TAKEN BY THE VERMONT SECOND BRIGADE.

For the Second Vermont brigade it is claimed that its attack on Pickett's flank was the thing which, above all other things, decided the fate of the great Confederate assault, and with it the fate of the battle and of the rebellion. Many

pages might be filled with extracts from the reports of Generals Meade, Hancock, Newton and Doubleday, and from the volumes of Bates, Bachelder, Swinton, Greeley, Doubleday, the Comte de Paris and other historians of this battle, showing the prominence given by them to the service of Stannard's brigade. It was not for these commanders and historians to say what part was the most important among the achievements of so many organizations of brave men, who had a gallant and glorious part in this decisive battle. But the beholders and writers on the Confederate side, having no possible partialities to gratify on the Union side, may be accepted as unprejudiced witnesses, and many of them give unequivocal evidence in support of the proposition stated above.

An account of the charge and its repulse, given in the Richmond *Sentinel* of July 13th, 1863, contains the following passage:

The order was given at three o'clock P. M., and the advance was commenced, the infantry marching at common time across the field, and not firing a musket until within 75 yards of the enemy's works. As Kemper's brigade moved up it swung around to the left and was exposed to the front and flanking fire of the Federals, which was very fatal. This swinging around unmasked a part of the enemy's force, five regiments being pushed out from their left to the attack. Directly after this force was unmasked, our artillery opened on it with terrible precision. Seven Confederate flags were planted on the stone fence, but there not being enough men to support them, they were captured by the advancing Yankee force, and nearly all of our severely wounded were left in the hands of the enemy. The First Virginia carried in 175 men, about 25 having been detailed for ambulance and other duty. They brought out between 30 and 40, many even of them being wounded. There was but one officer of the regiment who was not killed or wounded, and that was Lieutenant Ballou, who now commands it.

Another account, in the same paper, derived from the surviving officer of the First Virginia, says:

When the firing of cannon ceased, the order for the

infantry to advance was given, which was done at common time—no double-quicking or cheering, but solemnly and steadily those veterans directed their steps toward the heavy and compact columns of the enemy. The skirmishers were at once engaged, the enemy having a double line of skirmishers to oppose our single line. The enemy were driven from their position behind a stone fence, over which entrenchments had been thrown up, and our forces occupied their position about twenty minutes. About this time a flanking party of the enemy, marching in column by regiments, was thrown out from the enemy's left on our extreme right, which was held by Kemper's brigade, and by an enfilading fire forced the retirement of our troops. With their repulse the heavy fighting of the day terminated. Our loss here was heavy, and our forces, after the most desperate fighting, were forced to fall back beyond the range of fire.

The correspondent of the Richmond *Enquirer*, in a vivid account of the charge, after stating that Pettigrew's division, on the left, first broke, adds:

Pickett is left alone to contend with the hordes of the enemy pouring in on him on every side. Garnett falls, killed by a minie ball, and Kemper, the brave and chivalrous, reels under a mortal wound, and is taken to the rear. Now the enemy move around strong flanking bodies of infantry, and are rapidly gaining Pickett's rear. The enemy press heavily our retreating line, and many noble spirits, who had passed safely through the advance and charge, now fall on right and left. Armistead is wounded and left in the enemy's hands. The shattered remnant of Wright's Georgia brigade is moved forward to cover their retreat, and the fight closes here.

Colonel William Allan, the Southern historian and reviewer, who was on the field, on General Ewell's staff, and who has made a careful study of the battle, says: "Pickett was overwhelmed, not by the troops in front, but by those on his flanks, especially by those on his right flank."[1]

This unqualified statement probably embodies the candid judgment of the most intelligent officers on the Southern side, who of course knew what hurt them most. The amount of

[1] *Century Magazine*, May, 1887, p. 151.

corroborative testimony on the Union side is too ample to be even indicated here. An order issued from division headquarters, July 4th, returned the thanks of Major General Doubleday to the Second Vermont brigade, "for their gallant conduct in resisting in the front line the main attack of the enemy upon this position, after sustaining a terrific fire from 100 pieces of artillery," and congratulated them "upon contributing so essentially to the glorious victory of yesterday." In General Doubleday's testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, he says, after describing the flank attack: "The prisoners stated that what ruined them was Stannard's brigade on their flank, as they found it impossible to contend with it in that position; and they drew off, all in a huddle, to get away from it." Colonel John B. Bachelder says: "Stannard, whose brigade was at the front, moved it by the right flank, changed front forward on first company, and with his Green Mountain Boys opened a murderous fire upon their (the enemy's) exposed flank. The effect was resistless. The ground lay thickly covered with killed and wounded; hundreds, thousands, threw down their arms; while the broken, shattered mass sought refuge behind the hills from which they had emerged." Swinton gives substantially the same account. It is only necessary to add that *the only troops operating on Pickett's right flank*, were the troops of Stannard's Vermont Brigade.[1]

[1] As General Doubleday, in his report and history, connects the action of the Twentieth New York, Colonel Gates, with that of Stannard's brigade, in a way calculated to lead readers to suppose that they operated together on Pickett's flank, it is necessary to say that such was not the case. Colonel Bachelder's accurate maps of the battle show that the position of the Twentieth New York was some distance to the rear of the Thirteenth Vermont, and that no troops occupied an advanced position in front of the main line of battle, on the left centre, or moved upon Pickett's right flank, but the Second Vermont brigade. The careful reader of Colonel Gates's official report will also see that the movement of his regiment in repulse of the charge was not in front of, but *behind*, the main Union line. His regiment advanced toward, but not in front of, the fence which protected

WHO ORDERED THE FLANK ATTACK?

It was with much surprise that General Stannard and those of his command familiar with the facts, found, when General Hancock's report appeared, several months after the battle, that he claimed that he directed Stannard to strike Pickett.[1] In an interview with General Hancock in his room at Willard's Hotel in Washington, before he had fully recovered from his wound, Lieutenant Benedict, of General Stannard's staff, called General Hancock's attention to this statement. He said that the statement was not made from his own knowledge,—his own recollections of events just at that point of the battle having, as he frankly admitted, been much confused by his wound—but was based on the statements of members of his staff. For his own part, all he remembered, he said, was that he saw a chance for such a flank attack and that he rode down to Stannard's brigade with an idea of ordering it. Before the interview was over, General Hancock expressed himself as satisfied, from matters recalled to his memory, and especially from the circumstance (which he distinctly recollected) that one of the Vermont regiments was in motion to the right when he rode to Stannard's side, that the order to move out on Pickett's flank must have been already given to at least a portion of the Vermont brigade before he got there; and he promised to append to his report a state-

the front of Webb's brigade, and through which the enemy broke. The gallant action of the Twentieth New York was in fact part of the general rush of troops to stop the breach made by Armistead; and there is no apparent reason for connecting it with the charge of Stannard's brigade.

[1] "While the enemy was still in front of Gibbons's division I directed Colonel Stannard to send two regiments of his Vermont brigade, First corps, to a point which would strike the enemy on the right flank. I cannot report on the execution of this order, as Colonel Stannard's report has not passed through my hands; but from the good conduct of these troops during the action I have no doubt the service was promptly performed."—Report of General W. S. Hancock.

ment which should give to Stannard the credit of the order. This promise he subsequently repeated to General Stannard.

It is to be noted that the testimony of members of General Hancock's staff on which he based the portion of his report in question, was of the less value, because no one of them was with General Hancock at the time. When he rode to Stannard's side, he was accompanied only by his bugler, or headquarters color-bearer, Sergeant Thomas M. Wells of the Sixth New York Cavalry. On the other hand General Stannard always stated, from first to last, that he received no order of the kind from General Hancock or any one; but that he ordered the flank attack of his own motion. His description of this portion of the battle, made in his private note book at the time, is as follows:

July 3d, 1863. * * * At this time [when Pickett's charge was coming in] I ordered Colonel Randall to change front forward, and form again on their flank, which was done in good style; also same order to Colonel Veazey, and ordered him to form on the left of the Thirteenth, thereby placing the rebels under flank fire the whole length of their line, closed in mass in column by regiments. I will here state that I intended at first to place my whole command in same position, but seeing the rebels coming in line of battle on my left again, I ordered Colonel Nichols to remain on the original line to protect that. As soon as the Thirteenth and Sixteenth were in position and range, the rebels began to run by scattering individually back across the field. General Hancock was wounded near me while the Sixteenth were getting into line. He had been there some few minutes before. Lieutenant Hooker helped him from his horse, and I cut away his pants and tied my kerchief above the wound, having just about room to cord the limb above the wound. I reported the condition of the fight to him from time to time while he lay there awaiting an ambulance. When the rebels retired, I ordered my two regiments, Thirteenth and Sixteenth, back to the original position. While performing this movement the enemy appeared in force on my left and commenced a forward movement. I ordered Colonel Veazey to move down in our front upon their flank again, on the opposite side, which was done with perfect order and seeming willingness throughout the entire regiment. After being

gone a short time I sent four companies from the Fourteenth regiment to support him. My movement was performed with the least possible delay. I will state that the air was completely filled with missiles of death of all kinds and descriptions that were ever invented to be projected from the cannon's mouth. It beat anything that I ever saw or read of. Colonel Veazey's regiment took three stands of rebel colors and any quantity of prisoners. About this time I received my wound. I should judge it to have been near six o'clock P. M. This closed the conflict and the battle was won. The Vermont brigade has the honor of closing the greatest battle, I think, I ever knew. I then ordered Colonel Veazey and Lieut. Colonel Rose back into their original position. The cannonading continued for a while and with great effect. My troops being very weary, I requested the general to relieve me and allow my men to get some rest, which was promised when it became dark. I staid, although frequently requested to go to the rear, until my command was relieved, and I went off with them. My men at this time had been out of rations for two days, and not a murmur did I hear, thereby showing their true courage and manhood.

The recollections of the members of General Stannard's staff who were present, confirm General Stannard's memoranda on the point in question. The writer of this history was one of these and is able to speak from personal knowledge of the facts.[1] No general officer or mounted man had come to Stannard, or so far as known to his brigade, after Pickett's charge commenced, nor had any order to move upon the enemy's flank been received by Stannard, previous the time when General Hancock rode to his side. At that

[1] NEW YORK, January 17th, 1877.

* * * At the time your book "Vermont at Gettysburg," was published I read it with great interest, and I have since had occasion to consult it in reference to matters connected with that battle. I have especial reasons to remember yourself and Colonel Hooker, on that field, for to you both I am indebted for your kindly aid in assisting me from my horse when I was struck and about to fall to the ground, and that incident is of course indelibly impressed upon my memory.

I am truly yours,

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

To Colonel G. G. Benedict, Burlington, Vt.

time the orders to move out had been taken to Colonels Randall and Veazey, and were in process of execution.

The need of any further testimony on this point, if any is needed, is fortunately obviated by a statement placed on record by General Hancock. In a memorandum on the subject of the battle, made by him several years before his death, and left among his papers, General Hancock wrote: "I had seen the importance of it [the flank attack] and "probably General Stannard had also, and may have given "similar directions. This is quite probable, for General "Stannard was a cool and reliable officer, in whom I had "great confidence, from earlier associations."[1] These words can only mean that General Hancock considered it probable that General Stannard had given directions for the flank attack of the Vermont brigade before he (Hancock) did, since it would be nothing to give such directions after General Hancock had ordered him so to do. With this concession, the subject may be left to the candid judgment of posterity It must be added, however, that it was fortunate for the Union cause that Stannard ordered the flank movement when he did. Every moment then was of supreme importance; and if he had waited till he received directions from Hancock, the flank attack would probably have been a failure. For the honor of directing a movement so brilliant and so famous, it is surprising that there have not been more claimants. But the credit of the order belongs, and must forever remain due, to the brain, nerve and military intuition of a Vermont brigadier.[2]

[1] Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock, by his wife, p. 220.

[2] A statement contained in Colonel F. V Randall's report of the battle to the effect that General Hancock "repeatedly" came to him that afternoon and offered supports to him and Colonel Nichols; and that General Hancock was wounded while sitting on his horse and giving him (Randall) some directions, makes it necessary to say that Colonel Randall's recollection was entirely at fault on these points. General Hancock did not come down to the line of the Vermont brigade repeatedly, nor at any time till

The limits of this volume forbid further description of the scenes of the actual conflict, or of the sights witnessed by the author Thursday night, during the whole of which—a bright, moonlight night—he rode, on a special duty, over the whole region within and to the rear of the lines of the Army of the Potomac, and through fields covered by the acre with wounded, collected around the barns used for hospitals; or of the sickening horrors after the battle, of a field on which lay more than *seven thousand* dead men, *three thousand* dead horses, and tens of thousands of wounded men.

The magnitude and severity of this battle is strongly shown by the losses of general officers, much exceeding such losses in any other battle of the war. Of General Meade's army, Major General Reynolds and Brigadier Generals Weed, Zook, and Farnsworth, and Colonels Vincent and Willard, commanding brigades, were killed; Major Generals Hancock and Sickles, and Brigadier Generals Barlow, Barnes, Gibbon, Graham, Paul, Stannard and Webb were wounded—fifteen in all. On the other side, Generals Armistead, Barksdale, Garnett, Pender and Semmes were killed, while Kemper, shot through the spine, lived but the wreck of a man, and Pettigrew, wounded, survived the great charge, to be slain in the sequel to the battle at Falling Waters; and Generals Anderson, Hampton, Heth, Hood, Johnson, Jenkins, Jones, Kemper, Kimball, Robertson, Scales and Trimble were wounded —*eighteen* in all.

General Meade's casualties, including the skirmishes following the battle, were, as officially stated, 2,834 killed; 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing.

just before he was wounded. Hancock then rode straight to General Stannard's side, and addressed him before he spoke to any member of his brigade. Of course General Hancock would not have given directions to the colonel of a regiment in the presence of his brigade commander. Who the officer could have been who came repeatedly and offered supports to Colonel Randall, and whom he says he assisted from his horse after he had given him (Randall) some directions, it is impossible to say. Certainly it was not General Hancock.

General Lee made no official report of his losses; but over 5,000 of his dead were buried on or near the field; 7,600 of his severely wounded left on the field were registered in the Gettysburg hospitals; the total of Confederate prisoners taken was 13,621. Reliable Confederate historians place his loss at 23,000, not including the casualties in his cavalry.

The casualties in the Second Vermont brigade at Gettysburg were as follows:

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Missing.*
Thirteenth Regiment	11	81	23
Fourteenth "	19	74	20
Sixteenth "	16	85	13
Totals	46	240	56
Aggregate		342	

Most of the men reported missing fell out on the march and came in before the brigade left the field. Of the wounded 19 died of their wounds.

Lieutenant John F Sinnott of the Thirteenth, Lieutenant W H. Hamilton of the Fourteenth, and Lieutenant C. B. Lawton of the Sixteenth were mortally wounded.[1] Among

[1] Lieutenant John T. Sinnott was a native of Ireland. He was a school teacher in East Rutland when the nine months men were called for. He at once enlisted and was chosen first lieutenant of company A. He was a competent officer and showed himself a brave soldier. During the flank attack of July 3d he was struck in the forehead by a piece of a shell, and died a day or two after in hospital, and was buried at Gettysburg. He anticipated his fate, and in his pocket was found a paper written at the close of the first day, giving dircetions for the disposition of his property, and bidding farewell to his betrothed. His remains were subsequently removed to and interred in the Catholic cemetery in West Rutland, Vt.

Lieutenant Cyrus B. Lawton was a native of Wilmington. He spent his boyhood on his father's farm, and was employed as a clerk in a store when he enlisted, at the age of 23, in the Sixteenth. He showed especial aptitude as a soldier, was promoted from the ranks in January, 1863 to be sergeant major of the regiment, and a few weeks later was commissioned as second lieutenant of his company. He was a young man of much promise. His remains were finally interred in his native town.

Lieutenant William H. Hamilton was born in Montgomery. When

the less severely wounded were Captain M. B. Williams and Lieutenant Frank Kenfield of the Thirteenth, Lieutenant Julius H. Bosworth of the Fourteenth, and Captains H. A. Eaton and Lyman E. Knapp of the Sixteenth.

The casualties among the rank and file were as follows:

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Sergeant Major H. H. Smith; company A, Thomas Blake, Michael McEnery and Patrick Corey; company B, James H. Wilson; company D, Octave Marcell and William March; company E, Orson S. Carr; company F, Corporal Henry C. Russell; company G, Jude Newcity; company K, Corporal William Church.

Wounded—Company A, Corporal T. W. Sibley, Martin Maloy, John Hamlin, A. Guinnetts, Patrick Mangan and Michael Moylan; company B, Corporals John Dolph and D. S. Stoddard, C. Carpenter, A. H. Chase, Lester K. Dow, S. J. Dana, S. Keyes, Otis G. Miles, Dexter Parker and J. W. Richardson; company C, Color-Sergeant D. A. Marble, J. C. Ballou, S. W. Benjamin, J. S. Caswell, H. H. Martin, H. A. Miles, Alanson Nye, Samuel Pratt, Joseph Simons, W. C. Snow, H. Wakefield and C. A. Watson; company D, Sergeants J. F. Densmore and James Harmon, Corporals A. J. Beeman and R. J. Griffin, L. M. Bentley, J. M. Cary, William Crosby, John Johnson, G. W. Lee, Myron P. Scullin and H. Tomlinson; company E, Corporals E. D. Butler, J. M. Chaplin and A. C. Wolcott, C. R. Butts, J. W. Daniels, D. M. Dickinson, John P. Hull, S. C. Sanborn, L. J. Seely, S. O. Wells and C. W Whitney*; company F, Corporal George L. Baldwin*, J. Ellsworth, Lawrence Kelley and Byron D. Matthews; company G, Sergeant A. T. Kingsley, Corporals John Combs and George E. Cutting, H. D. Blaisdell, H. R. Heath, Thomas Snell, John Tague and J. W. Warner; company H, Corporal J. L. Martin, Nelson Cataract, A. E. Osgood*, William Roaks and Jos. Wilson; company I, W. L. Blanchard, M. E. French, F. Jangraw, C. E. Scaver and B. N. Wright*; company K, Sergeant James Halloway, C. H. Butterfield, John Elliott, O. Parigo, E. H. Richardson. Twelve others were slightly wounded.

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the war broke out he was a school teacher in Queens County, Long Island. He at once enlisted in the First New York Volunteers, and was commissioned as first lieutenant. In May, 1862, he resigned and soon after enlisted in the Fourteenth Vermont, preferring service as a private in a Vermont regiment to a commission offered him in a New York battery. He was appointed first sergeant of company F and in January, 1863, was promoted to be first lieutenant of company I. He had the fullest confidence of his superior officers, as a faithful and competent officer. He received his mortal wound in the afternoon of July 3d, and died that night. His remains were temporarily buried near the field and subsequently were removed to the National cemetery at Gettysburg.

* Died of wounds.

FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Company B, Sergeant Henry H. Vaughan and George S. Baker; company C, Sergeant John Vaughan and Thomas Burns; company D, Dyer Rogers, G. L. Roseboom and Albert A. Walker; company E, Corporal Wesley C. Sturdivant, John Brunelle and Thomas Dutton; company F, George Merling; company G, Sergeant Theophile Bissonette, Corporal Charles E. Mead, William E. Green and Charles W Ross; company I, Sergeant Myron A. Clark and James W. Dalliston; company K, Sergeants Elisha F. Swett and John Cain.

Wounded—Company B, Richard C. Archer* and William Carnes*; company C, Corporal W. J. Sheldon, John Leonard, Thomas Sheridan, Edward Stone and H. Sykes; company D, F. C. Howe and Eugene S. Lee; company E, Sergeant D. J. Brown, W H. Olmstead, H. R. Perry, N. P. Sherman and Pliny F. White*; company F, P Humphrey, Aaron Jones*, Andrew Marnes, J. D. Perkins, F. W. Smith*, Elton E. Ward and D. M. Ware; company G, Corporal H. W Frazer, E. W Baldwin, Michael Calihan, Michael Furlong, L. M. Kent, Joseph Lavigne, Keiron Melainliff, H. H. Spooner and Henry Steinor; company H, Sergeant Stillman C. White, L. L. Baird*, Albert Bassett, Peter Cheisen, William O. Doubleday*, Gilbert Hanley, L. E. Manley, Albert Noyes and Carlos E. Snow; company I, Sergeants Lyman Dickerman and James Gregory, Corporal S. M. Southard, H. B. Allen, Antoine Dachno, U. D. Jacobs, William H. Merrill, Frank Pasno. Edward Tatro, G. N. Wright and C. Yattaw; company K, Loyal Allen, Thomas Barry, John Beaumont, John Bowen, Stephen Cary, Luke B. Gray, Seth Geer, Michael Ryan, Henry Schrader, James Tifft, Isaac O. Titus and Alamander Wheeler;—and twelve others less severely.

Edward L. Farmer of company H, died in Andersonville prison, May, 1864.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Killed—Company A, Ira Emery, Jr., Chester F Larned and Charles Morse, Jr.; company C, Sergeant Moses P Baldwin, Joseph Ashly, J. R. Spaulding and S. A. Winship; company D, M. J. Cook, John Dyer and J. M. Martin; company E, Corporal R. H. Tarbell and W. M. Tyrrell; company H, E. P. Davis and C. P. Stevens; company I, J. F. Cook and W. M. Pierce.

Wounded—Company A, Sergeants E. E. Eaton and L. S. Emery, Corporal M. A. Moody, J. H. Abbott, A. G. Barnes, W. F. Bennett, William D. Conant, J. H. Fowler, William H. Gee, R. S. Hibbard, Philip Howard*, C. A. Goldthwait, Amos Leavitt, Jr., H. J. Russ and W. Waldo; company B, Sergeants Jason Mann and W W Ranney*, Corporal D. B. Stedman, H. B. Cobb, G. A. Jacobs*, J. M. Joy and H. H. Miller; company C, Corporals H. Fletcher and V. N. Earle, M. J. Bixby, H. H. Carlisle, D. Johnson, J. C. Johnson, George C. Kingston, Z. C. Lamb*, L. D. Minor, A. T. Moore, J. W. Pierce and A. Rowell; company D, Corporal A. F. Wilder,

* Died of wounds.

J. C. Butters, P. A. Chapman, L. Cook, W J. Howe, P. D. Holbrook, A. W. Parks and A. J. Stearns*; company E, Orin Rice, W. H. Rogers, A. L. Thompson, W. W. Walker, B. E. White and H. C. White*; company F, C. A. Barker, W H. Barrett, C. C. Bemis, A. S. Bugbee, D. P. Chandler*, Thomas Miner, F. N. Morse, A. W Pike, Alfred Reed, and E. P. Thompson; company G, J. C. Keith, H. E. King and C. S. Gardner; company H, Sergeant F. A. R. Packard, T. J. Benjamin, John Carlisle, A. J. Ellis and James Monday; company K, E. H. Dudley, H. H. Hadley, M. H. Graves and Michael Kelley; and nineteen others.

Samuel B. Lincoln of company I was captured July 3d, 1863, and died in Richmond, November 20th, 1863.

General Stannard was removed from the farm house to which he was taken at the close of the battle, to Baltimore, on the Sunday following, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Colonel Randall.

The term of service of the Twelfth regiment expired July 4th, and the next day it left Westminster for Baltimore, acting as guard thither of a long train of Confederate prisoners. From Baltimore it proceeded home and arrived at Brattleboro on the 9th. The field-officers and 200 men volunteered to return to New York on the 13th, to help suppress the draft riots in that city and tendered their services to Governor Holbrook for that purpose.[1] The governor, however, did not deem it best to send them without some urgent call from the military authorities at New York, which was not received, and the regiment was furloughed for a few days, previous to final muster out.

The regiments at Gettysburg marched thence on the 6th to Emmittsburg, with the First Corps. The next day the brigade started at four A. M. and marching until late at night, crossed the Catoctin mountains, and halted on the west side, near the foot, having made some 25 miles that day. Next day it moved to Middletown, Md. Here the Thirteenth regiment, whose term expired on the 10th, received orders to start for home and bidding farewell to their com-

* Died of wounds.

[1] Company C, Captain Page, with two officers and 65 muskets, volunteered to a man, to go back and fight the rioters.

panions in arms, marched to Monocacy Junction, meeting on the way near Frederick City, the First Vermont brigade just starting for Hagerstown. At Monocacy Junction they took train for Baltimore. Leaving there on the 11th they went home by way of Jersey City and New Haven, and arrived in the evening of the 13th at Brattleboro, where they were met by the Twelfth regiment with torch lights and escorted to their barracks.

The Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments, under command of Colonel Veazey, left Middletown July 8th, and marched to South Mountain, where they remained through the next day. On the morning of the 10th they marched through Boonesboro. Here the fighting at Funkstown, two miles in front, was distinctly heard. The brigade halted with the division and made ready for battle, hoping that Lee had been brought to bay. The brigade moved three miles toward Funkstown, and halted, threw up rifle-pits and lay there through the 11th. On the 12th it passed through Funkstown, which had been occupied by the enemy till within two hours previous, and crossing Antietam Creek, halted and formed again, not far from Hagerstown, nearly opposite the centre of the fortified semi-circle which Lee had drawn around Williamsport. Here on the 13th the last fighting of the brigade was done by a picket detail of 150 men of the Sixteenth, under Lieut. Colonel Grout of the Fifteenth as field-officer of the day, in a skirmish with the enemy's pickets, in which two men of the Sixteenth were wounded. That night Lee put the Potomac between him and his pursuers.

On the 14th the brigade marched to Williamsport with the First Corps, and on the 15th started toward Harper's Ferry, passing the battlefield of Antietam in the afternoon and halting at Rohrersville, after an exhausting march of nearly twenty-five miles. Next day the regiments crossed the South Mountain again through Thornton's Gap, and

bivouacked at Petersville, two miles from Berlin, where the army halted in a pouring rain till ponton bridges could be laid across the river.

As but a week now remained of the term of service of the three regiments, and the campaign was practically ended, it was not considered worth while longer to retain the brigade, and the regiments were relieved. On the 18th they bade farewell to the Army of the Potomac; marched to Berlin, and took train for Baltimore. On the 20th they reached New York, and bivouacked on the battery. The draft riots in that city had been raging for four days and had been barely checked. The ruins of the orphan asylums, store-houses and elevators burned by the mob were still smoking, and considerable portions of the city were still at the mercy of the over-awed but hardly subdued mob. General Canby, commanding the few troops in the city, asked the Vermont colonels to hold their regiments in the city till the other troops which had been sent for should arrive. Colonel Nichols accordingly called the Fourteenth regiment together, and in an earnest speech asked the men to volunteer to remain a few days. But the faces of the men were set toward home, and they could not see that they were needed enough to make it their duty to stay. At nine o'clock that evening the Fourteenth took boat for New Haven, and at 5 o'clock P. M. of the 21st arrived at Brattleboro.

Colonels Proctor and Veazey, to whose regiments two or three days of their terms of service still remained, did not put any questions to vote, but informed their commands that they would remain in the city till further orders, and the men of course acquiesced. The officers were entertained at the Union League Club that evening, and the presence of the regiments contributed materially to the restoration of order. Next day troops enough arrived to make the city secure, and the regiments, after two days' stay on the Battery, were sent on the way to Vermont, with the thanks of Generals Dix and

Canby. They went by way of New Haven to Brattleboro, when the men were furloughed for a few days, returning to Brattleboro for their final muster out. This took place on the following dates: The Twelfth, July 14th; the Thirteenth, July 21st; the Fourteenth, July 30th; the Fifteenth, August 5th; and the Sixteenth. August 10th.

The final statements of the regiments of the Second Vermont brigade are as follows:

TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 959; total	996

GAINS.

Promotion from other regiments, com. officers, 1; recruits, com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 6; total	8
Aggregate	1004

LOSSES.

Died of disease—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 60; total	62
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 8, disability, 1; enlisted men, disability, 64; total	73
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps and the Navy—enlisted men	2
Deserted	4
Total loss	141
Mustered out—com. officers, 40; enlisted men, 823; total	863
Aggregate	1004

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 919; total..... 955

GAINS.

Promotion from other regiments, com. officers, 2; recruits, appointed com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 9; total..... 12

Aggregate..... 967

LOSSES.

Death, killed in action—enlisted men..... 11
Died of wounds—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 5; total..... 6
Died of disease—com. officers, 4; enlisted men, 47; total..... 51

Total of deaths..... 68
Discharge, resignation—com. officers, 10; for disability, enlisted men, 63; for wounds, enlisted men, 3; total..... 76
Deserted, 7; not finally accounted for, 2; total..... 9

Total loss..... 153
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 777; total..... 814

Aggregate..... 967
Total wounded..... 81

FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 922; total..... 959

GAINS.

Recruits, 3; transfers from other regiments, 1; total..... 4

Aggregate..... 963

LOSSES.

Killed in action—enlisted men..... 19
Died of wounds—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 7; total..... 8
Died of disease—enlisted men..... 39
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 1; from accident, 1; total. 2

Total of deaths..... 68
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 4; for wounds and disability, com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 58; total..... 3

Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, enlisted men..... 1
Unaccounted for.....
Total loss..... 133
Mustered out—com. officers, 39; enlisted men, 791; total..... 830

Aggreagte..... 963
Total wounded..... 47

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 38; enlisted men, 901; total..... 939

GAINS.

Recruits, enlisted men..... 1

Aggregate..... 940

LOSSES.

Transfer to other regiments, enlisted men..... 1
Died of disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 77; total..... 78
Died from accident—enlisted men..... 1
Discharge, resignation—com. officers, 11; disability, enlisted men, 55; total..... 66
Deserted..... 1

Total loss..... 147
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 756; total..... 793

Aggregate..... 940

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 36; enlisted men, 924; total..... 960

GAINS.

Promotion, from other regiments—com. officers..... 2
Recruits, appointed com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 3; total..... 4

Aggregate..... 966

LOSSES.

Promotion and transfer to U. S. army—enlisted men..... 2
Death, killed in action—enlisted men..... 16
From wounds in action—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 7; total..... 8
Disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 47; total..... 48
Prisoners—enlisted men..... 1

Total of deaths..... 73
Discharged—com. officers, resigned, 13; disability, enlisted men, 41; total..... 54
Deserted..... 3

Total loss..... 132
Mustered out—com. officers, 37; enlisted men, 797; total..... 834

Aggregate..... 966
Total wounded..... 85

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Organization - Departure for the Field—Assigned to the Ninth Army Corps—The Wilderness—Spottsylvania—Tolopotomoy—Cold Harbor—Petersburg—Battle of the Mine and Death of Major Reynolds—Poplar Spring Church and Death of Lieut. Colonel Cummings—Winter Quarters in Fort Davis—Final Assault on the Defenses of Petersburg—Pursuit of Lee—Muster out and Return Home.

The Seventeenth and last of the infantry regiments of Vermont had a brief and bloody history. It took the field before its ranks were filled or its regimental organization completed. It marched from the mustering ground into the carnage of the Wilderness; held its third battalion drill on the field of battle; placed the name of a bloody battle-field on its colors for every month of its service, and was under almost constant fire till Richmond fell. With the smallest aggregate of numbers, its list of killed and wounded in battle exceeded that of some of the largest regiments.

The order under which recruiting for the regiment began, was issued by Governor Holbrook, August 3d, 1863. The nine-months regiments had just been mustered out and it was confidently expected that this and still another infantry regiment would be filled by the re-enlistment of the nine-months men, and enlistments for the regiment were at first confined to men who had received an honorable discharge after nine months' service. But the nine-months troops in Vermont were chiefly men whose business or other relations in life made it especially difficult for them to enter the army for any longer period; and as the belief was general after the fall of Vicksburg and the victory of Gettysburg that the troops in the field would be able soon to end the war, enlisting made little progress for several months. The

restriction confining the bounties offered to men who had seen service was removed in September; but as the bounty for recruits for the new regiments was but $100, while thrice that sum was offered to those enlisting in the old regiments, most of the recruits went to the latter. The War Department finally, December 31st, authorized the same bounty to be paid to recruits for the new regiments as that paid to those for the old; but it was not till the 5th of January, 1864, that the first company for the Seventeenth was filled. This organized at Burlington, with 90 men, as company A, Captain Stephen F. Brown.

Early in March, company B, Captain Andrew J. Davis, was mustered in with 83 officers and men; company C, Captain Frank Kenfield, with 86 officers and men; and company D, Captain Henry A. Eaton, with 83 officers and men. On the 12th of April, company E, Captain George S. Robinson; company F, Captain Lyman E. Knapp; and company G, Captain Eldin J. Hartshorn, were mustered in, each with 83 officers and men. The companies rendezvoused at Burlington on the Fair Ground north of the city.

The colonel and lieutenant colonel of the regiment were selected in February, in the persons of Colonel Francis V. Randall, of Montpelier, late colonel of the Thirteenth Vermont, and Lieut. Colonel Charles Cummings, late lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth Vermont. Colonel Randall was active in promoting the work of recruiting; but as the rules of the War Department did not permit a colonel to be mustered for a battalion of seven companies, he did not at once assume the command, and the battalion left the State under the command of Lieut. Colonel Cummings. Its organization was completed in April by the appointment of Captain William B. Reynolds, of Milton, of the Sixth Vermont, as major; of Lieutenant James S. Peck, of Montpelier, late adjutant of the Thirteenth, as adjutant; of Buel J. Derby, of Huntington, late commissary sergeant of the Twelfth, as quartermas-

ter; of P O. M. Edson, of Chester, assistant surgeon of the First Vermont Cavalry, as surgeon; and of Henry Spohn, of Brattleboro, as assistant surgeon. The field officers and company commanders had thus all seen service in the field. Several of the lieutenants and most of the non-commissioned officers had served in the Second brigade.

The battalion left the State on the 18th of April; arrived at Alexandria April 22d, and was assigned to the Second brigade of the Second division of the Ninth Army Corps. The other regiments of the brigade were the Sixth, Ninth. and Eleventh New Hampshire and Thirty-first and Thirty-second Maine. The New Hampshire regiments had all seen plenty of fighting. The two Maine regiments, like the Seventeenth, were new troops. The brigade commander was Colonel Simon G. Griffin of the Sixth New Hampshire. He had been appointed from civil life; had been two years in the service, and was a brave, resolute and capable commander. The division commander was Brigadier General Robert B. Potter of New York, son of Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania, and grandson of President Nott of Union College, a brave and spirited officer. The corps commander was the always chivalrous and often unlucky Burnside, who, having commanded the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Ohio, had returned to the command of the Ninth Corps, which he originally organized and led. The corps had been doing duty in Tennessee; had been brought east after the raising of the siege of Knoxville; had been re-organized at Annapolis, and now formed a body of 25,000 men, including a division of colored troops—the first body of such troops that formed a part of the Army of the Potomac. At this time it was marching to the front, to co-operate with the army under Grant, in his overland campaign against Richmond.

THE WILDERNESS AND SPOTTSYLVANIA.

The Seventeenth joined the brigade in Alexandria, on the 25th, and started forward with it on the 27th of April.

marching that day to Fairfax Station; the next to Bristoe's; thence on the 4th of May to Bealton Station. On the 5th it crossed the Rappahannock at Rappahannock Station, and the Rapidan at Germanna Ford. These marches were long and hard; most of the men of the Seventeenth were wholly unused to marching, many of them were coming down with measles, and nearly a fourth of their number gave out on the march. The remainder, about 400 in number, halted on the night of the 5th on the tangled field of the Wilderness, in the rear of the Sixth Corps. The carnage of the first day's battle had just ceased; night had fallen on the field; and scarce realizing that they were in the lines of the Army of the Potomac, on one of the bloodiest battle-fields of the war, and knowing little of the events of the day, the exhausted men dropped for a few hours' rest. They were roused soon after midnight, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 6th led the advance of the brigade and division along the Germanna Plank Road, and thence to the higher ground toward Chewing's house, at the centre of the Union lines, where the division was placed, in preparation for the general assault to take place at daybreak. Though Burnside did not get his corps into position in time to attack at the hour fixed, Griffin's brigade was in line of battle at sunrise, the Seventeenth Vermont having the right of the brigade, and advanced through successive belts of wood and across open fields toward Parker's store, till the skirmishers came upon a line of the enemy [1] and were driven back to the edge of the woods. At nine A. M. the Seventeenth advanced through pine thickets so dense that the men had at times to crawl upon their hands and knees; drove the opposing line from its position behind a rail fence, and occupied its place. The regiment was without connection or support on its right; but maintained its position during the forenoon, and until after the regiment on its left had

[1] Probably of Ramseur's brigade.

fallen back. While in this exposed situation it repulsed, with loss, an attack of the enemy upon both flanks, and held its ground till noon. In this fighting Captain Brown of company A received a wound which cost him his arm, and a number of men were wounded.

At noon the brigade was moved with the division a mile to the left, toward Tapp's, and went into position half a mile or more to the right of the ground on which the First Vermont brigade made its fight that day. About one o'clock the regiment was the right of the line of Potter's division, which was formed in the rear of some troops of Hancock's corps, which had been holding the ground, but at that time were making no effort to advance. It here came under a sharp musketry fire, and Lieut. Colonel Cummings received a scalp wound He was taken to the rear and the command of the regiment devolved on Major Reynolds, who moved it under partial cover. Captain Kenfield of company C, and Lieutenant Martin of company E, were also wounded at this time. At two P. M. General Burnside ordered Griffin to attack the enemy, whose line was behind some log breastworks in a wood beyond a swampy ravine.[1] The brigade advanced promptly. Stepping over some troops lying on the ground in front,[2] it charged and drove back the opposing line for some distance. "In this charge," says Major Reynolds, "no colors were advanced before those of this regiment." Colonel Griffin's testimony is that "the Seventeenth Vermont did nobly, though it was their first baptism of fire." As the brigade moved forward the troops in the lines behind, which should have kept their place, animated by the steady advance of Griffin's brigade, rose without orders, and advanced with them. This caused

[1] "This appears to have been the line held by Perry's brigade of Anderson's division, and Law's brigade of Field's division."—General A. A. Humphreys, Virginia Campaign of 1864, p. 46.

[2] Hartranft's and Bliss's brigades of the Ninth Corps.

some confusion, but the advance was maintained, and 199 prisoners, including seven officers, were taken behind their breastworks. After a while the enemy, having been reinforced, attacked the unsupported left flank of the brigade and it was driven back to the line from which it started. Here it halted, intrenched its line and held its position during the night. The Seventeenth did more than its share of the fighting of the brigade this day, and the courage and coolness shown by the men, both surprised and delighted their officers. The losses of the regiment considerably exceeded those of any other regiment in the brigade. It took but 313 muskets into line, owing to the causes before mentioned, and its casualties were 10 killed, 64 wounded, 10 of whom died of their wounds, and six missing—a total of 80.[1] Captains Brown and Kenfield both received bullets through the left arm. The former suffered amputation and his injury occasioned his honorable discharge three months after. Lieutenant Martin received a severe wound in the leg. Lieut. Colonel Cummings's wound was not serious, and he returned to duty a few days later.

The next afternoon the corps was withdrawn and during the night moved to Chancellorsville, and thence toward Spottsylvania Court House, by the Fredericksburg road. The regiment crossed the Ny river with the division on the 10th, and took position to support Wilcox's division of the Ninth Corps, which was then engaged. The corps moved back across the Ny on the afternoon of the 11th, and two hours later was

[1] The killed were Samuel T. Ballard of company A; John Kelly and Joseph Sorrell of company B; George E. Whitfield of company C; Austin Pleud and Don L. Willis of company D; Corporal Charles H. Carson of company E; Levi A Cross and Ebenezer Saulsbury of company F, and Sergeant Erastus M. Dunbar of company G. Those who died of their wounds were: Joseph Bissett, Henry M. Carley and Patrick Carroll of company A; Corporal Lucian H. Bingham, William H. Bassett and Byron A. Batchelder of company C; Carlos C. Sherman of company D; William Biscomer of company E; Lucius Ingalls and Langdon O. Morse of company G.

ordered back to its former position in front of the Confederate right, now intrenched just north of Spottsylvania Court House. For three days the other army corps had been engaged in sanguinary but indecisive fighting and the Sixth Corps was mourning the loss of General Sedgwick, killed two days before. Orders were issued the night of the 11th for an assault next morning in which the Ninth Corps was to support Hancock in his famous assault upon the historic salient. Potter's division accordingly advanced at four A. M., Griffin's brigade leading and moving to the right through the woods, to connect with the left of Hancock's corps. The brigade soon met the enemy's pickets and drove them back on their main line which opened fire on the left of Griffin's line. To meet this he changed direction to the left, and moved to the edge of an open field in front of and quite near to the enemy's works, along the eastern face of the salient, which had been carried by Hancock with the aid of the First Vermont brigade. But Gordon had driven Hancock's left out of the works, and as Griffin emerged from the woods, the portion of Birney's division so driven out was falling back through the open ground, closely followed by the enemy. The retreating troops swept back upon and past the right of Griffin's brigade, carrying with them the Ninth New Hampshire, which was on the right of the brigade line. The rest of Griffin's line stood firm and received the enemy with a fire on the flank which covered the ground with their dead and wounded, and effectually checked Gordon's progress. This action of Griffin's brigade doubtless saved the Second Corps from serious disaster. The opposing lines maintained their positions during most of the day, neither being able to dislodge the other; and the position secured by Griffin was permanently held. In this important service, which gave Colonel Griffin the star of a brigadier, the Seventeenth Vermont had a prominent part. This was described as follows by Major

Reynolds, who commanded the regiment, Lieut. Colonel Cummings being still unfit for duty:

At four A. M. on the 12th, I was ordered to advance and attack the enemy, having the Sixth New Hampshire Volunteers on my right, and the Thirty-first Maine Volunteers on my left, in line, our brigade being first on the left of the Second Army Corps. The enemy's skirmishers were soon met, and driven in about one mile, upon their main lines. At five A. M. we met the enemy in line of battle, outside of his entrenchments, and immediately opened fire. The enemy being in a ravine, we were compelled to occupy the crest of the low ridge in his front, distant perhaps thirty rods from his line of battle. Notwithstanding the apparent advantage which the enemy at first held, his position finally proved his ruin, as he was unable either to withdraw into his entrenchments or to drive us from his front. At seven A. M., having exhausted our ammunition, (forty rounds per man), as well as all that could be procured from the dead and wounded, we were relieved by the Forty-eighth regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, and withdrew about twenty paces, where we remained with fixed bayonets, while ammunition was brought forward. During the cessation of fire, while my regiment was being relieved, about fifty of the Twenty-sixth Georgia Volunteers who had been in our front, availed themselves of the moment and came within our lines as prisoners of war. The few survivors of the regiment made good their escape from the ravine, leaving in our hands a very large number of dead and wounded, including one field officer. Many of the wounded were brought within our lines at night.[1]

At eleven A. M. I was ordered to support the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers in an advance upon the enemy's works, having to move across an open field, about one hundred and fifty yards, under fire from the enemy in his entrenchments. Having gained the shelter of a wooded knoll on my left, a few yards from the enemy, and finding that the attacking force on my right had been repulsed, I withdrew without attacking, and with slight loss, to the position previously occupied. The Forty-eighth Pennsylvania

[1] "On the 12th, the Seventeenth drove a portion of a Confederate regiment into a ravine from which it could not escape, and held them for two hours, when a Pennsylvania regiment came down on their flank and took them prisoners, without having made a charge or fired a gun! General Griffin said they were justly the prisoners of the Seventeenth."—Letter of Lieut. Colonel Cummings to General Washburn.

regiment formed in my rear, as a support, during the remainder of the day. The enemy made several attempts during the day to dislodge us, with shell, grape and canister, from a battery distant about four hundred yards from our front. In every attempt he met a very decided repulse, his gunners being shot down at their guns and his battery finally silenced. Our position was made secure at night by erecting a rough parapet of rails, logs and earth, and this position we occupied, constantly under fire, without relief, and with only such rest as men catch who rest upon their arms, until two A. M. yesterday, 19th instant, when we were withdrawn to our present position, about three miles further to the left.

The regiment lost 12 killed, 58 wounded, of whom seven died of their wounds, and two missing, one of whom, Andrew J. Sprout of company F, died in prison at Andersonville, Sept. 4th, 1864. Among the wounded were Captain Lyman E. Knapp of company F, and Lieutenant Henry Gilmore, company A. Captain Knapp was struck by a ball, which glanced from his skull, rendering him temporarily insensible, but he remained in the line till sent by Major Reynolds to the rear. After two days he returned to the command of his company. Lieutenant Gilmore's wound was a severe one, occasioning his final discharge a year later, after prolonged disability and suffering. Lieutenant George W Kingsbury of company F was severely wounded while on picket on the night of May 15th, by a soldier of the Sixth New Hampshire, who mistook him for a rebel; and was discharged on account of his wound in October following.

In the assault made by the Second, Sixth and Ninth Corps on Lee's left at Spottsylvania, on the 18th of May, the

[1] The killed were: Company A, Franklin Buskey and Isaac Mitchell; company B, Moody L. Haskell; company C, Corporal Luman M. Davis, James A. Hodgeman and Samuel J. Allen; company E, Sergeant Charles E. Gould; company F. Sergeant James H. Newton, Edwin R. Allard and Henry Cotta; company G, George C. Cargill and Peter E. Dupont.

Those who died of their wounds were: Company A, Sergeant Warren Corse, Michael Cannon and Amherst C. Phillips; company B. Albert Whitcomb; company C, Frank Stearns: company D, Benjamin Edwards; company E, Martin Andrews.

regiment was again engaged. In the course of this battle the troops of the Second Corps on the right of Griffin's brigade were repulsed, and came obliquely into the lines of the latter, but rallied, and advanced again with Griffin's brigade. The latter carried a wooded knoll in its front, but could not dislodge the enemy from his works beyond, and Griffin was soon attacked in turn. The troops on the left again gave way, and two of Griffin's regiments, intermingled with them, joined them in their retreat; but the rest of the brigade, including the Seventeenth Vermont, stood firm, and the others soon rallied and assisted in holding the advanced ground.

In the movement to the North Anna the regiment moved with the brigade in the evening of May 20th, in advance of the corps, to the crossing of the Po near Stannard's Mill, whence it moved with the corps to Guinea Station. Lieut.-Colonel Cummings resumed command on the 23d.

On the 24th, the regiment crossed the river with Potter's division, which was sent to support Hancock. On the 25th the Ninth Corps, which had been thus far a separate organization, was formally incorporated with the Army of the Potomac, General Burnside waiving his superiority to General Meade in rank. On the 26th the regiment rejoined the corps on the north side of the river, and marching easterly crossed the Pamunkey at Dabney's Ferry near Hanover Town, on the night of the 28th. On the 30th it advanced to a position on Totopotomoy Creek, and in the afternoon of the 31st, in the feeling of the enemy's lines which was in progress all along the front, the regiment advanced with the brigade and drove the enemy in front from their works, sending them flying across the fields beyond. In this affair one man was killed and four were fatally wounded.[1]

[1] Killed—John Minor of company A.

Died of wounds—Rodman Bessey, Hubbell Lee and John W. Tweeddale of company A, and William Marshall of company E.

The position near the Totopotomoy was held for two days, when the Ninth Corps began to withdraw, in the movement of the army to Cold Harbor. While this withdrawal was in progress, the rear of the corps was attacked by Rodes's and Heth's divisions, and was in serious danger until Wilcox's and Potter's divisions got into position near Bethesda Church and repulsed the enemy. In the withdrawal of Griffin's brigade, the picket line in front, under command of Captain Knapp, was left to hold back the enemy. The skirmishers, ignorant that their supports had moved away, resisted for several hours the pressure of the enemy's skirmishers, repulsing three vigorous advances of the latter. By a fourth assault in stronger force Knapp's line was driven in. He fell back with his men through some ravines leading to the rear, found that the brigade had gone, and, directed by a staff officer who had been sent to withdraw the pickets, joined the brigade. At four P. M. the enemy attacked the rear of the division and was repulsed and held back, chiefly by Griffin's brigade, which took position behind the scarp of some old earthworks thrown up in former operations at that point, till after dark.

In the arrangement of the lines of the army for the battle of Cold Harbor, next day, June 3d, Griffin's brigade being the right of the Ninth Corps, held the extreme right of the army, near Bethesda Church. The brigade did not take active part in the general assault of the early morning. Potter's division, however, was advanced, and established itself close upon the enemy's main line, there held by Early's corps. In the afternoon Griffin's brigade was ordered to support the First brigade in an assault on the enemy's entrenchments. The Seventeenth was on the extreme right, and was moved out into an open field, at right angles with the line of the brigade. Here it came under an enfilading fire from the enemy's skirmishers, whereupon Lieut. Colonel Cummings detached the two right companies, and sent them farther to

the right, where they soon silenced the opposing fire. At this time the general order for a suspension of offensive operations was received, and the regiment and brigade withdrew.

The loss of the regiment at Cold Harbor, June 3d, was one killed and 17 wounded, five of whom died of their wounds.[1] Captain A. J. Davis, company B, one of the most active and reliable officers in the regiment, was wounded in the leg, and died a few days after. Lieutenant Gardner W Gibson of company D was also wounded, and died in the general hospital at Washington on the 14th. On the 7th and 8th of June the regiment was under fire, and on the 8th had two men wounded, both of whom died of their wounds.[2]

On the 8th of June, company H, Captain Charles H. Corey, with 57 effective men, joined the regiment, which before its arrival numbered but 178 muskets. Next day Burnside's corps was drawn nearer to Cold Harbor, extending along Matadequin Creek toward Allen's mill-pond. Here the regiment remained, with the corps, till the 12th of June. Burnside's lines were not pressed as closely against the enemy as those of some of the other corps, and the experiences of the men of the Seventeenth were less trying than those which have been described of the Vermont troops in the Sixth Corps; but on the 8th of June, Lieut. Colonel Cummings writes: "During the last fifteen days we have been under fire every day but three, and two of those days we were on the march."

[1] Killed—Sergeant Charles N. Rood, company D.

Fatally wounded—Silas J. Moulton, company C; Corp. Henry J. Russ, company D; and Francis Curtis, company F.

Corporal Scott of company F, a brave young soldier who left Middlebury college to enlist, was struck by a shell which took off his foot at the ankle He received this injury without groan or remark, except to say, in a low voice, as he grasped the bleeding stump: "Captain, you don't know how that hurt!"—Incident narrated by Captain L. E. Knapp.

[2] Seymour F. Wells, company B, and Andrew J. Marvin, company D.

IN FRONT OF PETERSBURG.

In the movement of the army to the James the Seventeenth Vermont, starting with the brigade June 12th, arrived at the river on the night of the 14th, having had but four hours' sleep in forty-eight hours; crossed at Wilcox's Landing at eleven P. M. of the 15th, and at noon of the next day reached the front of Petersburg, after a march of 22 miles, with ranks thinned by hard marching on short rations. There was little rest for the tired men, however, for before sundown they were in line of battle, to support the left of the Second Corps in an assault upon the defenses of Petersburg. After this had ended in the capture of two redans, a fresh assault was arranged to be made at daylight by General Griffin with his own and Curtin's brigades of Potter's division.

"I spent the entire night," says General Griffin, "moving my troops through the felled timber, getting them in proper position. I placed my brigade at the left of the Second Corps in a ravine immediately in front of the Shand house * * * with Curtin on my left, and a little further to the rear, I formed my brigade in two lines. * * My orders were not to fire a shot, but to depend wholly on the bayonet. * * * We swept their line for a mile from where my right rested, gathering in prisoners and abandoned arms and equipments, all the way; four pieces of artillery with caissons and horses, a stand of colors, six hundred prisoners and 1,500 stand of arms fell into our hands." [1]

Had the other troops which were to follow up this attack advanced promptly, Petersburg would probably have been taken that morning.

The stand of colors, two of the guns, and many of the prisoners thus captured were taken by the Seventeenth Vermont. The regiment, with the Ninth New Hampshire and

[1] Paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Thirty-second Maine, assaulted the northerly face of the earthworks at the Shand house. The line was formed for the assault, with the Seventeenth on the right, in a ravine within a hundred yards of the enemy's works. The utmost silence was enjoined, and the canteens were placed in the haversacks to prevent rattling. At the earliest dawn, the command "forward" was passed along in whispers, and the troops moved noiselessly to and over the works in front, and bayonetted all who attempted resistance.[1]

The colors taken by the Seventeenth were those of the Seventeenth Tennessee, of Fulton's brigade, of Buckner's corps. The adjutant and 70 men of that regiment were captured at the same time. The Vermont regiment then moved along the enemy's line for some distance, and assisted in the captures made by the other regiments of the brigade. In such a brilliant manner did the regiment celebrate the anniversary of Bunker Hill[2] and it was entitled to a large share of the praise accorded to the division by General Meade, who wrote to Burnside: "It affords me great satisfaction to congratulate you and your gallant corps on the successful assault on the morning of the 17th. Knowing the wearied condition of your men, from a night march of over twenty-two miles and the continued movement during the night of the 16th, their persistence and success is highly creditable."

The losses of the regiment on the 17th were six killed[3]

[1] "It is said that bayonet wounds are seldom known; but I can vouch for many that were made that early morning."—Captain L. E. Knapp.

[2] "I cannot refrain from noticing the coincidence, that on the anniversary of the 17th of June the Seventeenth Vermont captured the colors of the Seventeenth Tennessee, together with guns and prisoners numbering more than half their own number."—Lieut. Colonel Cummings's report.

The regiment took 135 muskets into the charge.

[3] Killed—Solomon Bingham of company B; Ralph E. Dwinell of company C; Sergeant Samuel B. Norton and Charles E. Boyd of company F; and Marshall Mercy of company H. Those who died of their wounds

and 20 wounded, of whom seven died of their wounds. Among the killed was Lieutenant Guy H. Guyer of company C, one of the bravest officers in the regiment, who fell early in the charge, shot through the left breast. The regiment was engaged on the skirmish line on the 18th, and had four men wounded, two of whom died of their wounds[1]; and on the 19th had three men killed in the trenches and two wounded, one of whom died of his wounds.[2]

A period of several weeks of almost constant fighting along the picket lines and artillery duels followed; and from the 20th of June to the 29th of July the regiment was almost constantly under fire in the trenches. It suffered losses nearly every day. The fact that the division of colored troops had now joined the corps, made the enemy especially spiteful, and the picket firing was incessant along the front of the Ninth Corps, though suspended by mutual understanding along the fronts of other corps. The casualties during this time were seven killed and 27 wounded, four of whom died of their wounds.[3] The heat was oppressive, and disease and exhaustion did their part in thinning the ranks of the regiment. On the 20th of June, Colonel Cummings, in a private letter to Adjutant General Washburn, said: "I

were: Corporal Daniel P. Fox of company A; Warren B. Whitcomb of company B; Corporal William W. Bugbee, George W Eldred, Albert L. Merchant and Joseph Smith of company F; and Sergeant Uriah T. Jacobs of company H.

[1] James Glines of company C, and Franklin Carter of company G.

[2] Killed—Abram Bissett of company A, Nelson Arnold of company D, and Nelson Bully of company F

Nelson Ladabosh of company A died of his wounds.

[3] The killed were: Ebenezer Smith, company A; John H. Hall, company C; Henry A. Day and William M. Holsapple, company F; Corporal Harvey P. Wiley, company G; and Henry H. Aldin and Josiah Rose, company H.

Those who died of wounds were: Corporal Henry M. Dudley, John Gaborie, Henry Mora and Larhett Wescott of company H.

am writing where balls go through my shelter, six inches above my head. * * * I am safe in saying that the Seventeenth has a reputation for doing its full duty, conceded by all the regiments in the division. Our pickets have never been driven in as yet. This cannot be said of any other regiment in the division, even within the last month. On the morning of the 17th, the little Seventeenth stood alone in an advanced position when Frank's entire brigade on our right and rear ran pell-mell. All the officers I have for duty are Captains Knapp, Hartshorn and Corey; First Lieutenants Brigham, Hicks and Needham; and Second Lieutenants Pierce and Converse. Eaton is brigade commissary. Companies E and B have no commissioned officers." On the 25th of June there were but 250 men present, all told. On the 21st of July, Colonel Cummings reported but 150 men present for duty. Of the 24 line officers who went out with their companies, but eight were now with the regiment—four having been killed, four disabled by wounds one resigned, and the other seven being absent.

BATTLE OF THE MINE.

In the permanent investment of Petersburg, the Ninth Corps held the portion of the Union lines extending from the Hare house, due east of Petersburg and about a mile from the city, for two miles to the south. Its lines were pressed pretty closely up to the enemy's. From the 17th of June to the 30th of July nothing of especial note occurred. Then the arduous routine of picket duty and service in the trenches was broken by the ill-fated affair of the Mine. This project was the special property of the corps, suggested by Colonel Pleasants, who commanded a regiment of Pennsylvania miners; adopted by General Potter; approved by General Burnside, and assented to reluctantly by General Meade, and more willingly by General Grant. The work involved the

running of an underground gallery, 500 feet long, to a point directly under a Confederate redan, known as Elliott's Salient, held by Elliott's brigade of Bushrod Johnson's division. Under this, transverse galleries were run, and charged with 8,000 pounds of powder. The work of preparation of the mine occupied a month. The explosion was arranged to take place just before daylight of the 30th, and was to be the signal for a general assault, to be made by the Ninth Corps, supported on left and right by the Fifth and Eighteenth Corps, and by the Second Corps, if needed. The Ninth Corps was to advance at once to the crest beyond, along which was the enemy's inside line of works. As these commanded the city, the seizure of them would involve the fall of Petersburg. The artillery of all kinds along Burnside's front was to take part and keep down the fire of the enemy's artillery upon the ground over which the Union columns were to charge.

Burnside first selected Ferrero's division of colored troops to lead the assault, for the reasons that they were willing and anxious to undertake the duty, that he was glad to give them an opportunity to show their fighting quality, and that they were comparatively fresh troops, while constant marching, fighting and skirmishing in the trenches and on picket had well-nigh exhausted the men of the other divisions. The selection was disapproved by General Meade, because the task was one requiring troops of tried worth, while Ferrero's division was as yet untried; and, because, if the assault proved a failure, it would be charged that the colored troops were shoved in on a forlorn hope, because their lives were regarded as of small account. The colored division being thus ruled out, General Burnside, instead of selecting the best man and division, foolishly decided between his three white divisions by lot. The lot fell upon General Ledlie—a New York man (originally colonel of the Third New York Light Artillery) who was first brought into prominence

by this affair, after which he disappeared from public view.[1]

Burnside's battle order accordingly directed Ledlie to lead the charge, and Generals Potter and Wilcox were to follow with their divisions, bearing respectively to the right and left, to protect Ledlie's flanks till the first line of works was passed, when they were to diverge—Potter moving to Cemetery Hill and Wilcox to the enemy's second line of works on the Jerusalem plank road. A defect in the fuse delayed for an hour the firing of the mine. At twenty minutes before five it exploded, blowing into the air a six-gun battery and 250 men of the Eighteenth and Twenty-third South Carolina regiments, and leaving a crater two hundred feet long, fifty wide and twenty-five deep. The Union artillery at once opened a terrific cannonade from over 100 guns and mortars, and the troops advanced. Ledlie's division soon filled the crater with a mass of troops, but did not advance beyond it, till the enemy began to recover from his surprise, and Elliott got troops enough into position, with artillery, to effectively resist the attempts to advance which followed later. Potter and Wilcox carried a portion of the intrenchments north and south of the crater. But two brigades of Mahone's division were soon upon the ground, followed by other troops, and so far from assaulting the second line of works, the troops of the Ninth Corps soon had all that they could do to hold the portion which they had carried. The colored troops, 6,000 in number, advanced later; but did not get outside of the Union trenches till eight o'clock. Then they charged, cheering. One brigade got beyond the crater and took 200 prisoners. The other two brigades crowded into the crater. Here organizations became wholly lost, and white and black mingled in a huddle, which prevented any effective

[1] "General Ledlie, an officer whose total unfitness for such a duty ought to have been known to General Burnside, though it is not possible that it could have been. It was not known to General Meade."—General A. A. Humphreys.

fighting except on the part of two or three regiments whose commanders made out to disentangle their men. Ledlie and Ferrero did not accompany their troops, and of course did nothing in the way of remedying the confusion.[1] Seven hours of a hot forenoon were spent at first in unavailing efforts to push forward the various columns to the enemy's second line and then in attempts to extricate the troops. The crater became an amphitheatre of slaughter. The supporting divisions fell back, and the Ninth Corps finally withdrew in disorganized masses, through a deadly fire, with a loss of four thousand men killed, wounded and captured. The Eighteenth Corps lost several hundred men.

The only division commander who escaped censure by the Military Court of Enquiry which investigated this affair was General Potter.[2] The movement of his division was led by Griffin's brigade, which struck the enemy's line to the right of the crater, pushed through the abatis and obstructions, and took 200 yards of rifle-pits. Two of his regiments advanced for one or two hundred yards beyond. But the works on Cemetery Hill were too strongly manned by the time the advance was made, to be assaulted with success. The division fell back under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, and finally returned to the Union trenches with a loss of half of its number. Of the seven regimental commanders of Griffin's brigade not one returned unhurt. Three of them were killed, three wounded and one captured, and the losses of the rank and file were fearful.

The Seventeenth Vermont was commanded in this battle by Major Reynolds. It mustered for the assault eight

[1] The Court of Enquiry on this disaster, after hearing much contradictory testimony, reported that both these officers were in a bomb proof, inside the Union works, when they should have been directing the operations in front.

[2] General Burnside received leave of absence a few days after, and Ledlie was soon relieved of his command. Neither of them returned to the army.

commissioned officers and 120 men.[1] About 2 o'clock A. M., the regiment moved with the brigade to the point where it was to await the explosion of the mine. After hours of waiting, the dusk brightened into daylight and the sharpshooters' rifles had begun to crack upon the enemy's lines, when a tremble of the ground heralded the muffled thunder of the explosion, and a column of smoke and sand, mingled with caissons, camp equipage and bodies of men, leaped into the air in front. The smoke had hardly cleared from the crater when Ledlie's column started and Griffin at once ordered his brigade forward. Preceded by skirmishers and pioneers with axes, it moved out to the crater. Beyond this was a labyrinth of traverses, rifle-pits and bomb-proofs, held in greater or less force by the enemy, who was already rallying with spirit. Ledlie's troops were making no advance beyond the crater. Griffin's brigade, however, cleared the enemy from a portion of the rifle-pits and of a covered way extending back and to the right, and occupied them for some time.

General Griffin, in a letter to the writer of this history, thus describes the action of his brigade:

Ledlie's division, having the lead, formed close up under our breastworks, and filled nearly all the space back to the deep ravine which ran along their rear—our crooked line of works dipping down into it in some places. My regiments were formed wherever we could find standing room—in the traverses and covered ways in the ravine, and one or two close up under our breastworks, to the right of Ledlie. I think the Seventeenth Vermont was one of these, and near the head of the column, such as it was. I gave each commander of regiment general directions as to his movements, and to my senior colonel, Colonel White of the Thirty-first Maine, the general direction of the head of my column. We moved left in front because I was to follow Ledlie, keeping

[1] Lieut. Colonel Cummings, Adjutant Peck and Captains Hartshorn and Robinson were on the sick list, and Captains Eaton and Knapp were on detached service, Eaton being brigade commissary, and Knapp judge advocate of a court martial at division headquarters.

my left up to his right. My orders were to go through the opening caused by the explosion, following Ledlie, then turn or face to the right, double up the enemy's line, but keeping along with Ledlie to support and protect his right flank, and all were to push directly for Cemetery Hill and hold that position. Other troops were to follow me and continue to roll up their flank, and protect my flank in the same way. I took a position to watch the explosion, and saw it, while most of my men could not see it.

At first a heavy column of earth, dust and smoke rose in the air to an estimated height of eighty feet or more. Then came a dull, heavy thud, which I should say might have been heard, or felt, or both, for miles around, if the conditions were favorable. The troops moved at once, but Ledlie's men plunged into the crater and there they stuck. They packed it full, in one solid mass, as thick as they could stand. They would not go through, and were powerless to do anything where they were. The enemy quickly gathered their wits and turned all their fire upon that spot. Ledlie's men refused to leave that excellent cover, and my troops could not get through or over that mass of humanity, nor could any others, as none could pass on either side, for the enemy's lines to the right and left were still intact, protected by abatis, and as tenaciously held as ever by their troops. My men made gallant and desperate attempts to push forward in all directions on our side, got through their abatis and over their works, into their traverses and covered ways, and succeeded in getting farther to the front than any other troops,—the Seventeenth Vermont as far as any—but the difficulties were so great, and the fire so destructive it was impossible to make much headway in that desultory manner, without regular formations.[1]

I worked my way through the crater, climbed to the top of the bank beyond, and did my best to rally the troops out of the crater and form a line up there, but Ledlie's men would not come up; my own men could not get there, and by that time they had turned such a furious fire of artillery and musketry upon us, that no line could be formed there. The first half hour having been lost, all was lost.

[1] "Our advance was checked by a murderous fire from the enemy on each flank, and from a battery in our front, shielded by a house, through the broad hall of which, running through from side to side, a gun throwing grape and canister raked the crest of the crater and trenches in front."—Statement of Lieutenant Worthington Pierce.

The men of the Seventeenth for the most part sought shelter in a covered way, where they lay for hours, while various abortive attempts to advance from the crater were made by the other troops, white and black. The advances, however, all lacked unity and force. The enemy's fire grew hotter, as his artillery and musketry were concentrated; and to advance or retreat was almost equally hazardous. About noon Major Reynolds, while encouraging his men to repulse an attack of the enemy upon the right of the regiment, was struck by a musket ball in the left breast. He staggered against Lieutenant W Pierce, who was near him, saying: "Pierce, I am shot! Can you get me out of this?" He was placed on a rubber blanket and carried into the crater where he expired in a few minutes. He had been conspicuous by his coolness and courage amid the trying scenes of the day, and had taken part in some hand-to-hand fighting in the trenches just before he fell. His death had a sadly disheartening effect on the men; but the regiment did its share in holding the enemy in check, till the trenches and covered way became so packed with men, that it was impossible to use their arms. About one o clock the order to withdraw—long before given by General Meade—reached General Griffin. About the same time three brigades of Mahone's division, advanced through a ravine to the right, swept down upon the troops in and near the crater. Griffin gave the order to retreat; the enemy enforced it by a volley from the brink of the covered way, and all of the Seventeenth who could get out, started for the Union lines. Some did not start quick enough and Captain Kenfield, Lieutenant Pierce and several men were captured in the works to the right and front of the crater, by troops of Saunders's Alabama brigade. The troops in the crater, after hundreds had been killed and wounded by shells dropped in among them, by musket bullets, and by muskets hurled with bayonets fixed from the edge of the chasm, at last raised a white flag and the battle of the mine ended.

Of the Seventeenth, one officer and he seriously wounded, and a little over half of the men returned. Of the line officers Lieutenant Martin was killed about the same time as Major Reynolds by a canister shot through his head. Lieutenants Hicks, Bingham and Converse fell early in the action. The loss of the battalion in killed and wounded exceeded in proportion to its numbers, that of any other Vermont organization in any one battle, that of the Fifth regiment at Savage's Station alone excepted. The casualties were 10 killed, 46 wounded and 18 missing. Of the men captured, seven died in Confederate prisons.[1]

The loss of Major Reynolds, who was one of the best soldiers that entered the service from Vermont, was a heavy blow to the regiment, and he and his brother officers who shared his fate that day were deeply mourned.[2]

[1] The rank and file killed were Michael Sheehy of company B; Henry A. Luce and Mark B. Slayton of company C; Edward S. Wills of company D, and Stephen H. Fuller of company G. Those who died of their wounds were Sergeant Peter Traver of company A; Joseph Devineau of company B; Corporal Thompson Stoddard of company C; Sergeant James Clark and Frank F. Parmenter of company E; Marquis D. Smith of company F; Charles Archer of company G, and William F. Scarborough of company H. Of these, Traver and Stoddard were captured, and died in the enemy's hands.

Daniel Brown and Philo Dean of company A; Edward D. Carter of company C; Henry H. Wakefield of company E, and George B. Wilson of company G also died in the enemy's hands.

[2] Major William B. Reynolds though a young man, was a veteran soldier. He was a native of Milton, Vt. At the opening of the war he was studying law in the office of Hon. George F. Edmunds, in Burlington. He left his studies to enter the army, and in October, 1861, was commissioned assecond lieutenant of company I of the Sixth Vermont. In January 1862, he was promoted to the captaincy of his company. He was captured at Savage's Station in June, 1862, being then sick in hospital, but was exchanged in time to rejoin his regiment at Antietam. He shared the subsequent fortunes of the First brigade, till in April, 1864, he was appointed major of the Seventeenth. Major Reynolds was a man of scholarly tastes and training. Beneath a quiet and unobtrusive demeanor he concealed a remarkable degree of courage, firmness, power of quick decision, and coolness in danger. Vermont sent no more worthy son or better soldier to the

Among the wounded was First Lieutenant Henry M. Needham of company H, the only officer of the Seventeenth who returned from the crater. He was wounded in the breast, slightly it was at first supposed, but he died a week after, August 6th.

The prisoners taken in this battle were roughly used by their captors, who were infuriated by a report circulated among them that if the Union assault had been successful Petersburg would have been handed over to the negro troops for rapine. The officers were marched through the streets of Petersburg next day, in a column formed of white officers and negro privates in alternate ranks, and of the enlisted men of the Seventeenth some were wounded by their guards

war. In the words of Surgeon Edson: "he died as he lived, the accomplished gentleman, the genial friend, the faithful soldier, the careful, brave, high-minded commander, the pure-minded patriot and the true christian man." He was shot through the body and died almost instantly, only calling for water in a whisper, and pointing to a ring on his finger and to the papers in his pocket. The enemy buried his body within their lines.

Lieutenant John R. Converse, of Panton, was a graduate of Middlebury College of the class of 1862. He enlisted in company I, of the Fourteenth regiment, soon after leaving College; showed especial aptitude as a soldier; fought with noticeable coolness and courage at Gettysburg, and was promoted to be second lieutenant in that regiment. He re-enlisted in May 1864, in company H, of the Seventeenth, of which he was chosen second lieutenant: joined the battalion early in June, and six weeks later fell and was buried within the enemy's lines.

Lieutenant William R. Martin, of Marshfield, was first lieutenant of company C, of the Thirteenth regiment, and fought at Gettysburg. He re-enlisted in the Seventeenth and was sevcrely wounded in the leg in the battle of the Wilderness; and had rejoined the regiment after his recovery only the day before he fell.

Lieutenant Hicks, of company F, a noble young man, and Lieutenant Bingham, of company G, were both reported missing, and were supposed to have been captured, and it was not till months after that it was learned that they were both killed in the crater. Meantime Lieutenant Hicks had been brevetted as captain for gallant and meritorious conduct in the assault of June 17th, and he was subsequently commissioned as captain; his record thus offering the anomaly of the promotion of a man three months after his death.

in the streets of the city.[1] Captain Kenfield and Lieutenant Pierce were taken to Danville, Va., and thence later to Columbia, S. C. They spent seven months in captivity and were finally exchanged on the 28th of February following.

It was a little band of sad-faced men that gathered in the regimental camp next day. The regiment was reduced to the number of a company, and companies to corporal's guards, commanded by sergeants. Of the field and staff officers, the only ones on duty were the surgeons and Adjutant Peck, who, though unwell, took command of the regiment. Of the line officers surviving, most were sick and absent. Less than 100 effective men were actually present for duty. The spirit of the survivors was expressed in the words of Quartermaster Derby, in a letter written from the camp that day: "One more fight, and goodbye the Seventeenth; * * * but send us more men and we are all right yet."

A few more men were then about starting from Vermont, for the regiment. August 13th company I, Captain Daniel Conway, numbering 87 men, joined the command; and on the 1st of September 233 officers and men were reported present for duty. Captains Eaton and Knapp were released from detached service in order that the regiment might not be without commissioned officers. Captain Eaton was promoted to be major, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Major Reynolds; and gradually, by accession, promotion and return of officers from the hospitals, the battalion was again supplied with officers. Lieut. Colonel Cummings having gone to Vermont on account of his health, the regiment was commanded by Major Eaton.

[1] "Edwin Norton of company C received a bayonet wound in the side in the streets of Petersburg because he could not keep up. A man of company G, name unknown, was cut down with a sabre stroke across the back and several others were knocked down with the butt ends of muskets while they were being marched about Petersburg. Most of the badly wounded died, as their wounds were not dressed by the rebels."—Statement of Corporal O. S. Atherton of company C.

On the 18th of August the Fifth Corps, which had been holding the lines to the left of the Ninth, was marched to the left to seize the Weldon Railroad, and the Ninth Corps, now commanded by General Parke, was moved into the trenches vacated by the Fifth Corps. On the 19th Potter's division was sent with two other divisions of the Ninth Corps to support General Warren, who had been attacked by Lee. With their aid Warren held his position on the railroad, and gained valuable ground which was entrenched and added to the Union lines. On the 21st Lee made another persistent effort to dislodge the Fifth Corps from the railroad. Potter's division participated in the fighting, and the Seventeenth was under arms, but, for once, was not put in.[1]

The month of September brought a period of comparative rest from the incessant marching, fighting and digging, which for ten weeks had been the daily and nightly experience of the regiment, though the men still had more or less fatigue duty on the works to the left of the Jerusalem Plank Road.

PEEBLES'S FARM OR POPLAR SPRING CHURCH.

In the latter part of September, General Grant arranged for another movement to his left to secure the junction of the Squirrel Level and Poplar Spring Church roads, for a basis for a further advance against the Boydton Plank Road, still farther to the Union left. The junction of the roads named was at Peebles's farm, about five miles southwest of Petersburg. Here a line of Confederate rifle-pits, ending in a redoubt, guarded the position and formed an advanced line, a mile in front of Lee's main line. The movement was to be made by General Warren with two divisions of the Fifth Corps, supported by General Parke with the Second and Third divisions of the Ninth Corps.

[1] This is probably the action referred under the title of "Weldon R. R., Aug. 26th," in Adjt. General Washburn's list. It does not appear that any action took place on the Weldon road upon that date.

At eight o'clock in the morning of Sept. 30th, Warren assaulted and carried the redoubt and rifle-pits. General Parke supported him on his left, and in the afternoon advanced toward the enemy's main line covering the Boydton Plank Road. He had reached a point about half a mile from this when he was met by Heth's and Wilcox's divisions of Hill's corps. Potter's division became engaged about three P. M. At that hour Griffin, whose brigade was the extreme right of Parke's lines, emerging from a wood, found the enemy in his front, drove in the skirmishers to and beyond the Jones house, and took a position along a crest in front of that house, expecting troops of the Fifth Corps to advance and protect his flank. The Fifth Corps did not come up, however, and Griffin was soon savagely attacked in front and on the right flank and driven back in disorder. The First brigade was next struck, and Potter's whole line was swept back for a mile, with a loss of a thousand men captured. A brigade of the Third division shared in the disorder; but a new line was established by General Parke at the Pegram house with the rest of that division; and with the aid of the First division of the Fifth Corps the enemy's advance was checked at nightfall and the line permanently held.

This action, styled "Poplar Grove Church" in Adjutant General Washburn's reports, occupies comparatively little space in the histories, though nearly a thousand men were killed and wounded in it, on the two sides.[1] In it it fell to the lot of the Seventeenth to occupy a position of extreme danger, and again to suffer heavily. It was the right regiment of Griffin's line. In the absence of the supports he had expected, he refused his brigade line on the right to protect that flank. In this position the Vermonters took the brunt of the assault of Wilcox's division. This, in vastly superior force, came suddenly out of some thin

[1] The Union loss, the larger part of which fell on the Ninth Corps, was 661 killed and wounded, and 1,350 missing.

woods upon the right, and opened a fire by which Lieut. Colonel Cummings, Major Eaton, Lieutenant Tobin and several men were killed, and a number of enlisted men were wounded. The line of the brigade became broken and the Seventeenth was swept back with it, leaving its dead and wounded on the ground. "Save the colors, boys," was Colonel Cummings's last order, after he was stricken down.[1] They were saved, and twice served as a rallying point for the regiment. Adjutant James S. Peck, taking command after the fall of the field officers, halted the battalion to support a section of Jones's battery from which the supports had retreated, and checked the advance of the enemy till the guns were withdrawn. Half a mile farther back, he again halted and again checked the enemy's advance, and he held this last position through that rainy October night, and till the lines were readjusted behind him. The redoubt afterward known as Fort Welch was built upon that spot to

[1] Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cummings when the war broke out was the editor of the Brattleboro *Phœnix*, and the popular clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives. His tastes were not military; but moved by earnest patriotism he enlisted as a private in the Brattleboro company of the Eleventh regiment, in the summer of 1862, and was chosen first lieutenant of the company. A few days after that regiment took the field he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth regiment, with which he served during its term of service. After a short period of rest in the summer of 1863, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Seventeenth, and commanded the battalion through most of its service up to this time. He was left bleeding upon the field, and in the first returns of casualties, he, with Major Eaton and Lieutenant Tobin, were reported as "wounded and missing." Two days after information came through the enemy's pickets that he died on the field and had been buried where he fell. A few days later, through the kind offices of members of the Masonic fraternity, of which order he was a prominent member, his remains were disinterred and delivered to his men, by whom they were sent to Vermont. They were finally interred October 26th, at Brattleboro, with Masonic honors and especial marks of respect.

Major Eaton and Lieutenant Tobin were supposed to be prisoners in the enemy's hands for some time after, and Eaton—a brave young officer—was appointed to the vacant Lieutenant-colonelcy, his commission bearing date of the day after his death.

command an important salient of the Union line.[1] In this last stand of the regiment Lieutenant Lucia, commanding company I, received a wound from a musket ball which cost him his left arm, and several men were killed and wounded. Of seven officers and 165 men who marched out with the colors that morning, but three officers, Captains Knapp and Conway and Lieutenant Norton, and 90 men, answered to the roll-call that night.

The losses of the regiment this day were eight killed, 40 wounded, of whom two died of their wounds, and 27 missing, nine of whom died in the enemy's hands,—a total of 75.[2]

After the battle of the 30th, the Confederate works near the Peebles house were reversed and strengthened, and a strong work erected on the Squirrel Level road, half a mile southwest of Poplar Spring Church, was named Fort Cummings, after Lieut. Colonel Cummings. Here, near the confiscated mansion of General John Pegram, then commanding a division in the opposing lines, the regiment remained for a month.

For a while after the battle of Peebles's Farm, the condition of the regiment was melancholy in the extreme. Adjutant Peck and Captain Conway were in hospital. The other line officers, with a single exception, were either

[1] "During nearly all the time he was holding this post Adjutant Peck was exposed without shelter and almost without food amid a steadily falling rain. Worn by fatigue and excitement, chilled by the October rain, already suffering from the pain of incipient pneumonia, he was with difficulty forced by his surgeon to leave his command. He returned to duty long before he was fit for it and so fastened upon himself the disease that followed him to his death."—Letter of Surgeon Edson.

[2] The men killed were William Martin and Stephen T. Russ of company D; Oliver M. Green of company G; Joseph Casavant and James S. Collins of company I. George D. Stannard of company F, and Sergeant Salmon K. Gates of company I, died of their wounds.

Those who died in the enemy's hands were William Barber and Thomas Geary of company A; Corporal Loren S. Mallory of company B; Lyman Godfrey, Arthur H. Townsend and Amos Truell of company C; Horace Bacon and Marshall C. Goff of company D, and John Horrigan of company H.

wounded, sick or absent. Surgeon Edson and Captain Knapp were the only officers on duty for twenty-five days; and during this period Captain Knapp commanded the regiment, with non-commissioned officers as company commanders. On the 8th of October the organization and muster in of the tenth company—company K, Captain Yale, with 95 officers and men, took place in Vermont. The regiment being thus complete, Colonel Francis V Randall, who had been appointed colonel eight months before, could at last be mustered as colonel, and he was so mustered on the 17th of October. He at once left Vermont with the tenth company for the field, joining the regiment at its camp near the Pegram house on the 27th of October. This arrival more than doubled the effective force of the regiment. The losses of the regiment in killed and wounded since it crossed the Rapidan had been about 400—100 more than it numbered in its first battle. But additions of recruits and return of convalescents again swelled the ranks, and on the 15th of November 316 officers and men were reported present for duty.

On the 27th of October the regiment participated in the unsuccessful movement made by the Ninth, Second and Fifth Corps against the enemy's entrenchments on Hatcher's Run. That night the troops did some entrenching and skirmishing and next day marched back to their former lines, halting once on the way and forming line of battle to oppose the enemy, who followed to within a mile of the camps. In this operation the weight of the fighting fell to the other two corps, and the Seventeenth suffered no loss.

Soon after this the Ninth Corps was transferred to the extreme right of the army, and was placed in the trenches extending from the Appomattox to Fort Hays on the left of the Jerusalem Plank Road. Griffin's brigade held the left of this line, and Colonel Randall was placed in command of Fort Davis, having under him in addition to his own regiment, the Thirty-first Maine and Fifty-sixth Massachusetts

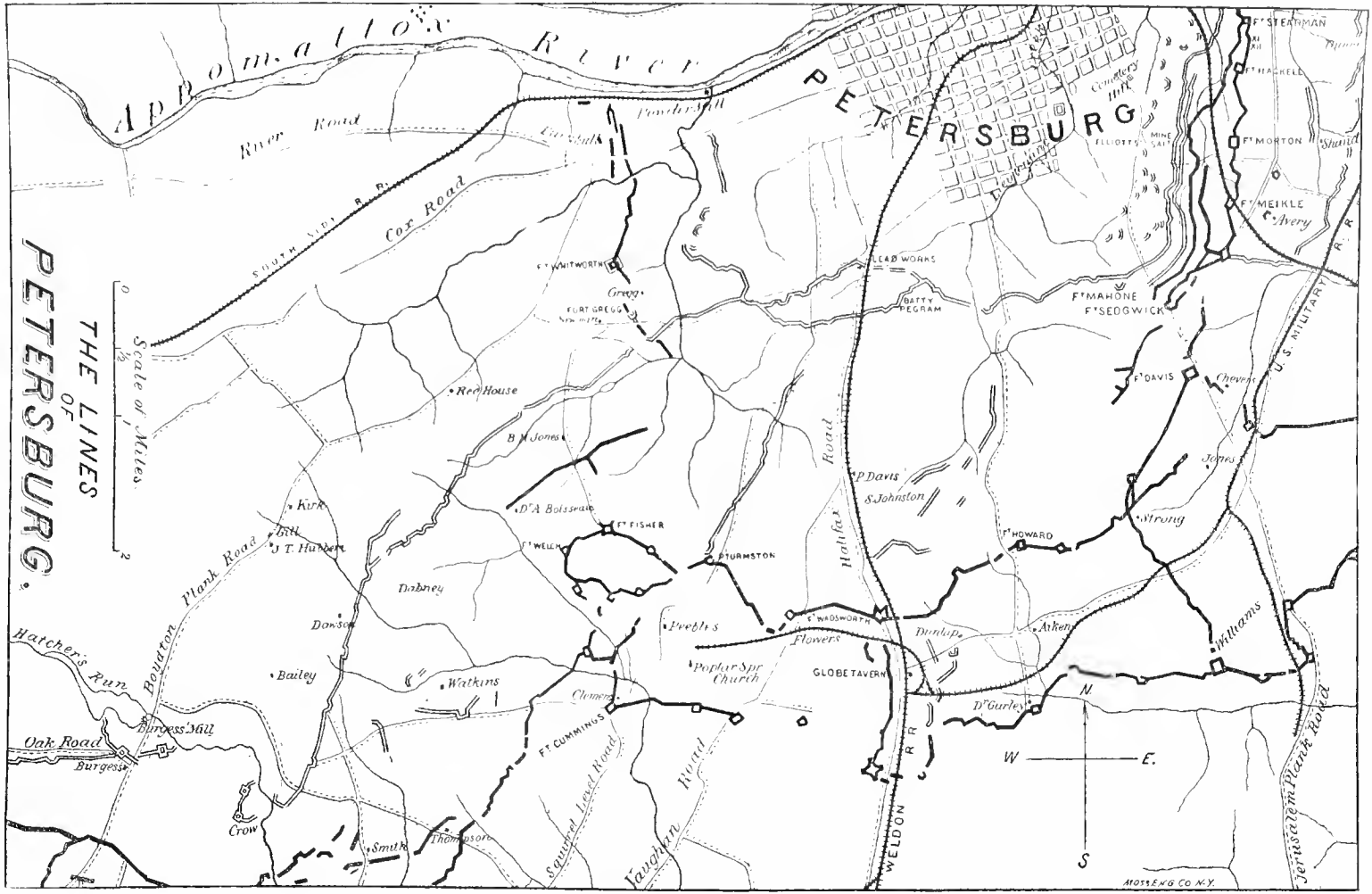
and two batteries of artillery. The Seventeenth remained here for three months. In November Captain Knapp was appointed major and a month later was promoted to be lieutenant colonel, when Eaton's death became known. Dr. S. W Langdon was taken from the ranks of the Fifth Vermont and appointed second assistant surgeon. Lieutenant Henry Gilmore of company A was promoted captain, vice Brown discharged for wounds. Lieutenant W Pierce, though still a prisoner, was promoted captain of company D, and First Sergeant Hollis O. Claflin was commissioned as first lieutenant, and commanded that company. Second Lieutenant Charles D. Brainerd of company G was promoted first lieutenant of company F, and commanded that company. In February Surgeon Edson resigned and left the regiment, to the regret of all. He was succeeded by Assistant Surgeon Rutherford of the Tenth Vermont who was promoted to the vacant surgeoncy.

The regiment occupied Fort Davis until the 11th of February, when it moved about a mile to the left. During the winter there was almost daily skirmishing on the picket lines, and artillery duels between the forts, and four or five men of the Seventeenth were wounded during this time. Much of the time of the regiment was now occupied in drill, for which there had hitherto been but little opportunity.

On the 23d of March the regiment lost its quartermaster's tents and a large amount of camp equipage by a fire which broke out in the camp of the Sixth Corps, and extended into that of the Ninth.

FINAL ASSAULT ON PETERSBURG.

In the final grand assault of April 2d upon the lines of Petersburg, the Seventeenth had an honorable part. The task assigned to Potter's division was to attack the enemy's line on the (Union) left of the Jerusalem Plank Road, and


THE LINES OF PETERSBURG.
Scale of Miles
0 ½ 1 2
Appomattox River
PETERSBURG
River Road
Cox Road
SOUTH SIDE R.R.
Powder Mill
Cemetery Hill
ELLIOTTS
MINE SALT
Ft STEARMAN
Ft HACKELL
Ft MORTON
Ft MEIKLE
Avery
Shand
Ft WHITWORTH
Gregg
FORT GREGG
LEAD WORKS
BATTY PEGRAM
Ft MAHONE
Ft SEDGWICK
U.S. MILITARY R.R.
Ft DAVIS
Chevers
Jones
Strong
Ft HOWARD
Red House
B M Jones
Dr A Boisseau
Ft FISHER
Ft WELCH
Ft TURMSTON
Halifax Road
P Davis
S Johnston
Kirk
Gill
J T. Hubbert
Boydton Plank Road
Dabney
Dawson
Bailey
Watkins
Hatcher's Run
Burgess Mill
Oak Road
Burgess
Crow
Smith
Thompson
Squirrel Level Road
Vaughan Road
Clement
Ft CUMMINGS
Peebles
Poplar Spr Church
Ft WADSWORTH
Flowers
GLOBE TAVERN
Dunlap
Aiken
Williams
Dr Gurley
WELDON R.R.
N.
W
E.
S
Jerusalem Plank Road
MOSS ENG CO N.Y.

Griffin's brigade led the assault. At ten o'clock of the evening previous the troops were moved into position. Shortly before midnight General Grant, fearing lest Lee might abandon his lines after the Union victory of Five Forks, and fall upon Sheridan, directed the corps commanders to feel of the enemy's lines at several points. In obedience to these directions, Griffin was ordered to move out at once and attack the enemy's line in his front without waiting for daylight. He accordingly advanced with his brigade, in two lines, the Seventeenth Vermont, as usual, being in the front line, and assaulted and carried over half a mile of the enemy's picket line in front of Fort Mahone, capturing 249 prisoners. He was preparing for a further advance, when orders came to suspend operations for the night and to resume the plan for a general assault at daylight next morning. He accordingly withdrew and formed his brigade in the small hours of the night, in column by battalion, in the rear of his picket line to the left of Fort Sedgwick. At daybreak the signal to advance was given and the column moved forward, keeping pace with a similar column of Hartranft's division on its right. Nowhere were the opposing works stronger than here, and the enemy opened a tremendous fire as the columns moved forward, but they advanced steadily, drove in the enemy's picket line, and reaching the breastworks beyond, the pioneers cut away the abatis and in face of heavy musketry and mortar fire, the brigade rushed over the works, taking hundreds of prisoners and several pieces of artillery. Turning then to the left, and supported by Curtin's brigade, Griffin occupied the enemy's line for some distance, but was brought to a stand by some formidable traverses, in which the enemy was strongly posted. In front of the works taken, the enemy was driven back for a quarter of a mile to a strong interior line of works. In assaulting these General Potter was severely wounded, and the division was repulsed with serious loss. Griffin then succeeded to the command

of the division, and resisted with success the attempts made by General Gordon to retake the captured works. Four of the regimental commanders of his brigade were wounded, one mortally, and the loss of the brigade was over 400 killed and wounded.

Colonel Randall being in Vermont upon leave of absence, the Seventeenth was efficiently commanded in this battle by Major Knapp. The regiment had about 300 officers and men in line. In the first advance of the day it charged the works at the right of Fort Mahone. The enemy was everywhere fully prepared to receive the assailants and after several ineffectual efforts the regiment fell back to some rifle-pits which had been dug in front of Fort Sedgwick to protect an advanced picket line. In one of these pits Major Knapp, Lieutenant Brainerd and a dozen or fifteen other Vermonters had taken shelter from the heavy artillery fire, when a bomb from a mortar dropped among them and exploded, wounding eight men, some of them severely.[1] The regiment was soon after collected and sent a short distance to the right, and again participated in the active work of the assault, in a manner which won the praise of its superior officers.

The regiment's losses in this its last battle were 10 killed and 39 wounded, five of whom died of their wounds. Among the killed was Second Lieutenant J. Edwin Henry of company K.[2] Among the wounded were Major Knapp,

[1] Corporal R. C. Jenne of company I, was here wounded in both legs and suffered amputation of one of them.

[2] Lieutenant Henry was a son of the late James M. Henry of Waterbury, and a brother of Colonel William W. Henry of the Tenth regiment. Though a youth of but 19 years, he had already shown himself to be a capable and gallant officer. He was one of the foremost in the charge on the enemy's works. His body was taken home to Waterbury, in charge of Colonel Henry, and was buried in that village, April 30th, with especial honors.

The rank and file killed were: Guernsey R. Jordan of company B; John Dunham of company D; Corporal Moses Whitehill, Stephen B.

Captain George S. Robinson, and Lieutenants Cassius W Ellsworth, Henry Cull, and Hollis O. Claflin. Lieutenant Ellsworth's wound (in the leg) proved fatal a fortnight afterward. General Griffin issued an order expressing his pride and satisfaction in the gallant conduct of the officers and soldiers of his brigade, and recommended a number of them for promotion. The list comprised Major Knapp, to be brevet lieutenant colonel; Captain C. W Corey, to be brevet major; and Lieutenants A. C. Fay, C. D. Brainerd, and H. O. Claflin, to be captains by brevet.

The firing lasted into the night of the 2d. At four o'clock on the morning of the 3d the works in front were found to be evacuated; and Petersburg was soon after formally surrendered to Colonel Ely, whose brigade, of the Ninth Corps, was the first in the city. The third division of the corps garrisoned the city, and General Parke with the other two divisions followed the Sixth Corps in pursuit of Lee. The Seventeenth marched with the brigade and division in the afternoon, and bivouacked that night near Sutherland Station on the south side railroad, ten miles west of the city of Petersburg.

The regiment marched with the brigade the next morning in the pursuit of Lee, and bivouacked the night of the 4th at Ford's Station; on the 5th at Wellsville, and on the 6th at Nottoway Court House. The 8th found them at Burkesville. The Seventeenth was here detached from the brigade and remained at Burkesville guarding the town and a large number of Confederate prisoners. Here Colonel Randall, after a month's absence at home, returned and took command. The regiment joined the brigade in the vicinity of

Capron and Horatio S. Lockwood of company G; Frank C. Thompson and Horace E. Needham of company H, and Sidney T. Dolloff and Andrew Godfrey of company I.

Those who died of wounds were: Franklin Taylor of company E; Royal Wallace of company D: John Moody of company H, and Chester J. Johnson and Ziba S. Lyons of company I.

Farmville on the 9th, whence, after the surrender of Lee, it went to City Point, where it embarked for Alexandria. General Parke was placed in command of the district of Alexandria, and the regiment was occupied in guard and patrol duty. It took part in the grand review of May 23d, and remained in camp near Washington till the 14th of July. On the 20th of June the recruits whose term would expire before October 1st were mustered out. The rest remained till the 14th of July, when they were mustered out and sent to Vermont.

They arrived at Burlington on the morning of the 18th of July; were received by the citizens and welcomed to the city by Mr. Lucius Bigelow. Colonel Randall responded. After a substantial breakfast prepared and served by the ladies in the City Hall, the men marched to their quarters at the Marine Hospital, where they were paid off on the 24th, and dispersed to their homes.

The officers so returning were Colonel F V Randall, Lieut. Colonel Lyman E. Knapp, Major James S. Peck, Quartermaster Buel J Derby, Surgeon J. C. Rutherford, Assistant Surgeon S. W Langdon, Captain and Brevet Major Charles W Corey, Captains Henry D. Jordan, Benjamin F Giddings, Albert C. Raymond, George S. Robinson, Charles D. Brainerd, Eldin J. Hartshorn, Daniel Conway and John L. Yale; Lieutenants and Brevet Captains Arnold C. Fay and Hollis O. Claflin; Lieutenants William B. Burbank, John J. Dale, Josiah B. Carpenter, Joel H. Lucia, William H. Smith, J. W Townshend, James C. Lamb, Henry Cull, A. C. Inman, Daniel H. Lane, William Cronan, Carlos Bugbee, George E. Austin, Charles A. Watson, Frank Keith, Dennis E. May, George H. Corey, George W Bacon and Wilbur E. Henry. Only eight of the original officers of the regiment were with it on its return. Fourteen of their number had been killed in battle or died of wounds.

To the good character of the Seventeenth and the value

of its service, its brigade commander, General Griffin, bears testimony as follows: "The Seventeenth Vermont bore an active and honorable part in Grant's campaign through the Wilderness and in the siege of Petersburg and the capture of Lee. It was composed of the best material, and was one of the regiments upon which I could always rely with perfect confidence, however difficult or dangerous the duty to be performed. It was a regiment which reflected great credit upon the State, and one of which the people of Vermont have a right to be proud." [1]

The following men of the Seventeenth died in Confederate prisons, in addition to those already mentioned:

Company A, Albert E. Jurden, Andersonville, July 24th, 1864; Olivei L. Kezer, Salisbury, N. C., January 27th, 1865; Joseph Ladabosh, Andersonville, September 5th, 1864; Oscar J. Pixley, Salisbury, January 15th, 1865. Company D, Joseph Perrault, Andersonville, July 12th, 1864; Kendrick Trow, Andersonville, August 24th, 1864. Company E, Hezekiah D. Howland, Salisbury, January 12th, 1865. Company G, Ansel Foster, Jr., Andersonville, August 17th, 1864. Company I, Felix Valley, Salisbury, January 15th, 1865; Edwin Rowell, Salisbury, December 8th, 1864; Abner M. Buckman, January 5th, 1865.

The official record of battles in which the Seventeenth was engaged is as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE SEVENTEENTH VERMONT.

Wilderness,	May 6 to 9, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 12 to 15, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 18, 1864.
North Anna,	May 25 and 26, 1864.
Totopotomoy,	May 31, 1864.
Bethesda Church,	June 3, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 7 and 8, 1864.
Petersburg	June 17, 1864.
Petersburg Mine	July 30, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	Aug. 21, 1864.
Poplar Spring Church,	Sept. 30, 1864.
Hatcher's Run,	Oct. 27 and 28, 1864.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.

[1] In a public address at Burlington, General Griffin said: "A better regiment than the Seventeenth Vermont never shouldered arms. I do not say this as a compliment. It is the simple truth."

The final statement of the Seventeenth Vermont is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 34; enlisted men, 835; total	869
GAINS.	
Promotion from other regiments—com. officers	4
Transfer from other regiments—enlisted men	1
Recruits—enlisted men	244
Total gain	249
Aggregate	1118
LOSSES.	
Killed in action—com. officers, 10; enlisted men, 60; total	70
Died of wounds—com. officers, 4; enlisted men, 57; total	61
Died of disease—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 56; total	57
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 32; from accident, 4; total.	36
Total of deaths	224
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned, 3; for wounds and disability, com. officers, 6; enlisted men, 83; total	92
Dishonorably discharged—enlisted men	4
Total discharged	96
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—enlisted men	2
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, etc.—enlisted men	46
Deserted, 196; not finally accounted for, 8	204
Total loss	572
Mustered out—com. officers, 38; enlisted men, 508; total	546
Aggregate	1118
Total wounded	279

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FIRST CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Organization—Departure for Washington—At Annapolis—Under Banks in the Valley—Death of Colonel Holliday—Skirmishes at Mount Jackson and McGaheysville—Colonel Tompkins assumes command—Banks's retreat—Middletown and Winchester—Campaign under Pope—Orange Court House—Second Bull Run—Resignation of Colonel Tompkins—Major Sawyer promoted Colonel—Ashby's Gap—Outpost duty and troubles with Mosby—The Gettysburg Campaign—Hanover—Gettysburg—Hagerstown and Boonsboro—Return to Virginia—Fighting Stuart at Culpeper, Brandy Station and Buckland Mills—Kilpatrick's Raid—Lieut. Colonel Preston appointed Colonel—The Wilderness Campaign—Craig's Church and Spottsylvania—Sheridan's Raid—Yellow Tavern—At the door of Richmond—Back to the Army—Ashland—Hawes's Shop and death of Colonel Preston—Major Wells appointed Colonel—Wilson's Raid—Stony Creek and Ream's Station—In the Shenandoah Valley—The Opequon—Columbia Furnace—Tom's Brook—Cedar Creek—Expiration of Three Years' term—Skirmishes in Shenandoah Valley—Spring campaign of 1865—Waynesboro—Five Forks—Appomattox—Ordered to North Carolina—Back to Washington—Return home and muster out—The Frontier Cavalry—Final statement.

Vermont sent one regiment of cavalry to the war. It was the first full regiment of mounted men raised in New England, and was the largest regiment but one sent from Vermont, comprising from first to last 2,297 officers and men. It had a notable history. All the previous Vermont regiments had been recruited by the State authorities. The cavalry regiment was raised under the direct authority of the United States. A proposal to raise such a regiment was made to Governor Fairbanks in the summer of 1861 by Lemuel B. Platt, of Colchester; but as no State law authorized the recruiting of cavalry, the Governor declined the offer and Mr. Platt turned to the National Government. Accompanied by Senator Foot, he laid the matter before the Secretary of War. Mr. Cameron had heard of Vermont

horses—whose fame had crossed the Atlantic and brought orders to the Green Mountains from Louis Napoleon for animals for the imperial stables—as well as of Vermont troops, and he promptly commissioned Mr. Platt as a colonel, with authority to raise and equip a cavalry regiment. Colonel Platt was at that time a well-to-do farmer, 50 years old, of tall and powerful frame, of marked energy, and of considerable prominence in local politics. He was wholly without military training, and frankly told the Secretary, when he inquired concerning his military experience, that it consisted of three days spent at a militia muster when he was a young man, two of which he passed in the guard-house. But he could raise a regiment, though he did not consider himself qualified to drill and command it; and he would undertake to do it in forty days.

In forty-two days from that date the regiment was in camp, the uniforms provided, and the horses on the ground. The recruiting officers were as follows: George B. Kellogg, Brattleboro; John D. Bartlett, Montpelier; George P Conger, St. Albans; Frank A. Platt, Burlington; George T. Roberts, Rutland; James B. Wood, Dorset; Franklin Moore, Shoreham; Reed Bascom, Windsor; Edward B. Sawyer, Hyde Park; Salmon B. Hebard, Chelsea.

The companies organized at the several recruiting stations between the 4th and 15th of October, and rendezvoused at Burlington, and by the 16th all were in camp on the fair ground, designated as "Camp Ethan Allen," in honor of the revolutionary hero whose grave was near the spot. The men were quartered for three weeks in the wooden buildings of the Chittenden County Agricultural Society, till the tents, of the conical "Sibley" pattern, arrived, when they were transferred to these, six tents covering a company, with about fifteen men in each tent. The horses arrived as soon as the men; were inspected on the ground; were purchased (at an average price of $110) by

Quartermaster G. S. Blodgett; and were branded with the familiar "U. S." on the fore-foot and fore-shoulder. They were between 15 and 16 hands high, as required by the government standard, and between five and nine years old, sound, well knit and serviceable, though as untrained as the men. They were originally assorted by colors, each company having horses of one color; but the vicissitudes of the service soon disturbed this arrangement, and the attempt to maintain any uniformity of colors was abandoned.

The men were almost wholly native Vermonters. In the words of Surgeon Edson, "they had enlisted in companies by counties; and had, by election, generously given into the hands of men entirely their equals in lack of military training and in many cases in no way their superiors in courage, patriotism or intelligence, the superior positions, honor and pay of company officers. These officers they recognized and obeyed by a tacit compact, springing from the same good nature that elected them, and from a recognition of the necessity for organization and subordination. But in so doing they by no means surrendered their right of independent judgment and the consequent expression of their opinions. 'Fraternity, equality, liberty' Americanized indeed, expressed their mental and moral relations toward the officers they had themselves created. The true relation of officer and soldier they had not in the slightest degree comprehended; nor did they, for a long time, nearly attain any condition of discipline that would not have driven a regular officer to madness. The company officers were but counterparts of the men, bred in the same school. It was one of their functions to participate in company caucuses, and to hold mass meetings with brother officers of the line. Such were the units of the organization. The field and staff officers were but privates raised through the company grades, alike inexperienced and ignorant of their duties, except those appertaining to the regimental town meeting that seemed to be always in session."

The field and staff officers were commissioned by the governor upon the recommendation of the colonel—the selection of the chaplain, however, being determined by an informal ballot, taken by the line officers.

The lieutenant colonel was George B. Kellogg, a lawyer of Brattleboro, 36 years old, of a well-known family high in social standing, a son of Hon. Daniel Kellogg, for many years judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont. Lieut. Colonel Kellogg was a man of education, genial temperament and convivial habits. He had held the State office of adjutant and inspector general. He recruited the Windham county company, was elected as its captain and then was at once appointed lieutenant colonel.

The senior major, William D. Collins of Bennington, was an Englishman, and the only officer in the regiment who had seen any mounted service. He had been a sergeant in a battery of light artillery in the British army. This experience, magnified by common report into command of a light battery in her majesty's service, together with his showy appearance on horse-back, gave him great distinction, and he was for a time the recognized military authority in the regiment.

The junior major was John D. Bartlett of Montpelier, a tall and fine looking young Vermonter, who had recruited the Washington County company, had been elected its captain, and was then promoted to the majority.

The adjutant, Edgar Pitkin of Burlington, had seen three months' service as a sergeant in company H of the First Vermont regiment. He was young, enthusiastic and brave, and he gave his life to the national cause before the war ended.

The quartermaster, Archibald S. Dewey, was a Burlington merchant, a man of 50 years, of superior intelligence, of strong patriotism, and of a dry humor which made him an entertaining companion. The surgeon, Dr. George S.

Gale of Bridport, was a well-known, thoroughly educated and successful physician of Addison county. He was one of the older officers, being now nearly 50, a man of marked character, earnest and blunt of speech, and devoted to the regiment. The assistant surgeon, Dr. P O'M. Edson of Chester, was a young physician of high promise and professional ability, a graduate of both the academical and medical departments of the University of Vermont, patriotic, high-minded and always deservedly a favorite in the command. The chaplain, Rev. John H. Woodward of Westford, was a Congregational clergyman of marked earnestness and devotion, of intense patriotism and of a personal courage which took him often to the front and gave him the name of "the fighting chaplain." He was a State senator when appointed, and left his seat in the Senate Chamber to enter upon his duties as chaplain.

The first organization of the regiment was as follows:

Colonel—Lemuel B. Platt.
Majors—William D. Collins and John D. Bartlett.
Adjutant—Edgar Pitkin.
Quartermaster—A. S. Dewey.
Surgeon—George S. Gale.
Assistant Surgeon—P. O'M. Edson.
Chaplain—John H. Woodward.
Sergeant Major—A. H. Danforth.
Q. M. Sergeant—C. V H. Sabin.
Hospital Steward—J. H. Fiske.
Commissary Sergeant—Mark H. Wooster.
Chief Buglers—Cyrus Green and F. A. Prouty.
Veterinary Surgeon—Hosea Stone.

Company A, Chittenden County—Captain, Frank A. Platt; first lieutenant, Joel B. Erhardt; second lieutenant, Ellis B. Edwards; orderly sergeant, Warren Gibbs.

Company B, Franklin County—Captain, George P. Conger; first lieutenant, William M. Beman; second lieutenant, Jed P. Clark; orderly sergeant, John Sawyer, Jr.

Company C, Washington County—Captain, William Wells; first lieutenant, H. M. Paige; second lieutenant, Eli Holden; orderly sergeant, Chauncey Bennett.

Company D, Orange and Caledonia Counties—Captain, A. W. Preston;

first lieutenant, John W. Bennett; second lieutenant, William G. Cummings; orderly sergeant, Jacob Trussel.

Company E, Windsor County—Captain Samuel P. Rundlett; first lieutenant, A. J. Grover; second lieutenant, John C. Holmes; orderly sergeant, A. H. Chandler.

Company F, Windham County—Captain, Josiah Hall; first lieutenant, Robert Schofield; second lieutenant, Nathaniel Haywood; orderly sergeant, S. A. Clark.

Company G, Bennington County—Captain, James A. Sheldon; first lieutenant, George H. Bean; second lieutenant, D. M. Blackmer; orderly sergeant, Frank Ray.

Company H, Rutland County—Captain, S. G. Perkins; first lieutenant, F. T Huntoon; second lieutenant, Charles A. Adams; orderly sergeant, C. A. Barrows.

Company I, Lamoille and Orleans Counties—Captain, E. B. Sawyer; first lieutenant, H. C. Flint; second lieutenant, Josiah Grout, Jr.; orderly sergeant, C. A. Woodbury.

Company K, Addison County—Captain, Franklin Moore; first lieutenant, John S. Ward; second lieutenant, John Williamson; orderly sergeant, E. H. Higley.

The uniforms of the rank and file consisted of dark blue jackets trimmed with yellow braid, with brass scales on the shoulders, trousers of light blue, hats of black felt, turned up at one side, top boots, and overcoats of brown cloth. No arms were obtainable for the men at first, and for a month the camp sentinels did guard duty armed with clubs, the weight of which was felt by some of the officers who tested the vigilance of the sentries. Sabres were distributed later. The men were first drilled on foot in infantry tactics. There was the customary run of measles in camp, and one man died therefrom in the camp hospital.[1] The Legislature voted to the privates the seven dollars a month State pay, which had been given to the infantry regiments, and visited the camp in a body, one fine November day, taking dinner in camp, as the guests of the regiment, and witnessing a mounted parade. The ladies of Burlington and vicinity knit woolen socks and mittens for such of the boys as were not supplied therewith, and the citizens of Burlington procured the colors—a State flag of heavy blue silk, richly embroid-

[1] A. F. Harris of Vernon, of company F.

ered (not painted) with the coat of arms of the State; a United States flag of silk, and four guidons of red and white silk. These were formally presented December 12th by Governor Holbrook and Lieut. Governor Underwood.

The regiment was mustered into the United States service by Lieutenant J. W Jones, Twelfth United States Infantry, on the 19th of November, with 966 officers and men. December 14th the regiment broke camp, under orders to report at Washington, and started thither by rail. The men were loaded in the freight cars with the horses, passenger cars being added for the officers. The regiment filled *one hundred and fifty-three* cars, which left, in five separate trains, at intervals of an hour each. The sick men filled three cars, before they reached Washington. Twenty-five sick men were left at Burlington.

A day and a night on the rail brought the regiment to New York, where the men were quartered in the "Empire Works" on 24th street and in the stables of a street car company. On the way down a man fell from a car, in the night, and was cut to pieces by the wheels.[1] Another man fell from the top of a freight car and had an arm broken; and another man, starting up from sleep in the night, sprang through the open door of a car while the train was in rapid motion, but somehow escaped serious injury.

Next morning the regiment marched down Broadway, escorted by a delegation of the "Sons of Vermont," of New York city. The pavements were slippery with rain and slime, and some good riders got falls before they reached the Battery; but on the whole the regiment appeared well, and was highly praised by the thousands of spectators and by the press of the city. At Jersey City, after a lunch supplied by the ladies, the regiment mounted and marched twelve miles

[1] James Hogan of company E.

over dusty roads, through Newark[1] to Elizabethport, N. J., where it took cars for Washington by way of Harrisburg and Baltimore. The ride from the latter city to Washington occupied a long and chilly night. In the morning twilight the regiment was piloted to an abandoned cemetery on Capitol Hill, where, jaded, hungry and nearly frozen, they stumbled into graves recently emptied of their former occupants, and camped without straw, wood or rations.[2] These were supplied in time, and though 21 horses died of hardship and lung fever during the five days at Washington, the regiment as a whole was able to make a very fair appearance, and was pronounced "the best cavalry mount that had been seen at the Capital."[3]

On the 22d the regiment paraded, and was addressed by Senator Foot in a stirring speech.

On the 24th, Colonel Platt received orders to take his regiment to Annapolis, to be drilled; and on the morning of Christmas day it started, expecting to make the thirty-five miles march thither that day But the roads were narrow and sandy, and nightfall found the regiment hardly half way to Annapolis, at Marlboro, Md., where it made its first bivouac in a pine grove outside of the village. Lieutenant Wheeler, then a corporal in the ranks, thus describes the

[1] "The Green Mountain Boys arrived about four o'clock and marched up Market street amid the liveliest tokens of enthusiasm. The men are of a superior class, with the true Yankee grit blazing from their eyes. The horses are small, compact and sinewy, and evidently capable of great endurance. It was the general remark that so splendid a body of animals had never been seen together in this city."—*Newark Advertiser*, Dec. 17, '61.

[2] "In others' grief we sometimes find solace for our own. The only thing that saved the regiment from utter despair was the consternation of the wagoners when they saw the transportation furnished by the Quartermaster's Department—nondescript wagons, broken-down horses and mules, saddles and 'yea-a' lines—for men who had visions of four-horse teams with reins, and whips with silk snappers. This joke on the teamsters was food and fuel for the men."—Dr. Edson.

[3] Major Ben Perley Poore. to the *Boston Journal.*

march: "Our appearance must have been picturesque. In "addition to our equipments of sabre, pistol, haversack, can- "teen, lariat rope and pin, feed-bag and blankets, we had "cups, plates, frying-pans, coffee-pots, shawls, mattresses, "pillows, valises, satchels, brushes, and other things too "numerous to mention—all in some unaccountable way "attached to our horses and ourselves, so that we had, when "mounted, breastworks in our front and bulwarks in our "rear. With horses unused to marching, and riders unused "to riding, and officers unused to everything in the service, "we went most of the way at a pace little short of a charge. "The little Maryland village where we stopped did not ex- "tend to us an enthusiastic welcome. We were tired and "lame, sore and hungry; the slaves were having a holiday, "and the sulky whites were neither willing nor able to do "anything for our comfort. This was not to us a merry "Christmas, and in all our subsequent experience there were "few marches that seemed more severe than this first march."

Nightfall of the next day brought the regiment to Annapolis, where it went into camp in a large tobacco field, about two miles southwest of the city, by the side of the Fifth New York Cavalry, which had been there a few days. The two regiments were often side by side, in camp, in the field and in battle, in subsequent years, and formed a fast friendship which outlasted the war.

Annapolis was just now full of men and military bustle, for 11,000 infantry were there, making ready for Burnside's expedition against Roanoke Island; but they soon departed, and the city resumed in a measure its normal stagnancy. The two cavalry regiments, with a battalion of the First Massachusetts Cavalry which was soon sent to Hilton Head, were here brigaded under General John P Hatch, a New Yorker and West Point graduate, who had seen service in the Mexican war, and was now a captain in the Third U. S. Cavalry and brigadier general of volunteers. Experienced,

methodical, precise in his requirements, and concise in speech, he gave officers and men their first ideas of discipline, and they began to learn to care for themselves and their horses.[1]

Here, at "Camp Harris," so named by the Fifth New York, who were otherwise known as the "Ira Harris Cavalry," the regiment went into winter quarters. The men stockaded and floored their tents, and surrounded them with pine branches to make them warmer; built long sheds for the horses between the rows of tents; and dug wells, water not being abundant. The armament of the regiment was here completed by the distribution of self-cocking revolvers, which proved more dangerous to the men than to the enemy. Ten men in each company were armed with Sharpe's carbines. The officers were schooled in the tactics and the men were drilled in the manual and sabre exercise, and a regimental band was organized.

Having accomplished his task, Colonel Platt now tendered his resignation to General Stoneman, chief of cavalry, who designated Captain Jonas P. Holliday of the Second United States cavalry as his successor. Captain Holliday was accordingly commissioned as colonel on the 14th of February, and on the 22d joined his command.[2]

The new commander was a New York man and a graduate of West Point, of the class of 1850. He was 33 years old, tall, slender, grave, a thorough disciplinarian and a spirited and sensitive gentleman. The regiment gave him a cordial welcome and their entire confidence. Colonel Hol-

[1] "General Hatch insisted upon company officers attending to stable duty, though buckwheat cakes grew cold."—Surgeon Edson.

"We now came down to camp discipline under General Hatch, and as we came down our horses went up, in importance."—Lieutenant Wheeler.

[2] In accepting Colonel Platt's resignation General Stoneman said, in writing: "Allow me to express the wish that your success through life may equal your success in raising, mounting and bringing into service, one of the very best regiments of cavalry which has been brought to my notice."

liday rearranged the squadrons.[1] He gave careful attention to discipline and drill, did dress parade with full ceremony, and spared no pains to make soldiers of his men. Two weeks had been so spent when on the 7th of March, he received an unexpected order to report at Washington with his command. The regiment was ordered forward to join the forces guarding the line of the Potomac above Washington, to take the place of some cavalry which had been sent to General Banks. The regiment left Annapolis March 9th, bivouacked at night at Buena Vista, Md., and arrived next day at Washington, going into a dirty camp on East Capitol Hill, just vacated by the Sixth United States cavalry. On the 12th, it marched to Rockville, and next day went on through the tented villages which dotted the left bank of the Potomac, to Poolesville, and went into camp about three miles from Edwards Ferry, companies D and I being stationed in the village. Among the incidents of the march was the reclamation by their masters of some fugitive slaves who had hid themselves in the baggage wagons, but were found and taken away, to the great indignation of the men.

Active operations were now in progress in the Shenandoah Valley. Stonewall Jackson had attacked General Banks's advance under General Shields, at Kernstown, had been repulsed with serious loss, and had fallen back ten or fifteen miles up the valley. General Banks had followed him to Strasburg, and wanted more cavalry with which to press his advantage. Accordingly the Vermont cavalry was sent to him. The men were excited by the news of the fighting in the valley, and eager for active duty, and the regiment broke camp on the 28th, with a cheerfulness not shared by its colonel, who was depressed both by personal

[1] The new order was as follows: *First* squadron A and G companies, Captain Platt; *Second*, B and H companies, Captain Conger; *Third*, D and I companies, Captain Preston; *Fourth*, F and C companies, Captain Hall; *Fifth*, E and K companies, Captain Rundlett.

troubles and by his official responsibility. The regiment arrived at Harper's Ferry on the 29th, and was quartered in the deserted houses in the village.[1]

On the 31st the regiment started for the front, marching through Charlestown and on up the valley turnpike, and camping at night in the pine woods, five miles from Winchester. Next day, April 1st, it marched to Middletown, passing the battle-ground of Kernstown, and seeing all along the way the marks of war, in houses filled with wounded men, new-made graves, dead horses and wrecks of army wagons. After four days at Hupp's Hill, between Middletown and Strasburg, and of picket duty along Cedar Creek, the regiment moved on to Woodstock, where General Banks now had his headquarters. This day, April 5th, was a gloomy one for the regiment, for on it, it lost, by his own hand, the commander on whom it placed its chief reliance. Colonel Holliday had been for weeks in an unsound condition of both mind and body He brooded over the fact that his command was not in what he considered a proper condition to take the field, and his depression deepened as the days went on.[2] On the morning of the 5th, when the regiment was passing Fisher's Hill, Colonel Holliday left the column and went back to Strasburg, on some business with the provost marshal. Returning, accompanied by his bugler and orderly, at the stone bridge across Tumbling Run he drew bridle, and sent the bugler forward to tell Adjutant

[1] "In the house where I am writing (March 30th), the basement is used for culinary purposes and horse stalls. On the first floor, up a flight of eight steps, some thirty horses are stabled. My horse, with four others, is in the front parlor."—Army letter.

[2] "The death of Colonel Holliday was very sudden and very sad. He appeared greatly depressed about the condition of his regiment. He spoke upon no other subject while here. His officers say he had been insane for three weeks and attribute his depression of spirits to personal disappointment not connected with his profession. I do not know how this may be."—Banks to McClellan, April 6th, 1862.

Pitkin that he wished to see him. Five minutes later he sent the orderly after the bugler. A soldier in the rear saw him, after they left him, turn from the pike into a by-road leading to the Shenandoah. The adjutant came, in obedience to the message, was directed by the soldier to the by-path, and following it came upon the colonel's horse hitched to a bush upon the bank of the river. Close by, in the water, lay the body of Colonel Holliday. A pistol ball, fired by his own hand, had pierced the centre of his forehead, and his face and beard were dripping with blood. His body was borne to the camp near Woodstock, and a court of inquiry, consisting of Major Collins and Captains Perkins and Moore, with Lieutenant Erhardt as judge advocate, pronounced it a case of suicide. His body was sent, in charge of Captain Sawyer, to his home in Central New York. He had been but six weeks with the regiment; but long enough to win the respect and attachment of all. That night a group of officers, who had gathered, stunned by the suddenness of the blow, feeling themselves without a head in the face of the enemy, were electrified by the hot words of Surgeon Gale: "Gentlemen, our duty is with the living and not the dead. There is material enough in this regiment to save it." "The wise doctor," says Surgeon Edson, who tells the story, "knew what he was saying."

Among the mournful incidents attending Colonel Holliday's death, was the accidental shooting of Thomas McCullough, a young man of company A, who was one of the number detailed to escort the colonel's remains to Winchester. While stooping his pistol fell from the holster and exploded, the ball entering his breast and killing him instantly.[1]

The spirits of the men revived somewhat, on the arrival, a day or two later, of General Hatch, who was assigned to

[1] McCullough's body was taken to Vermont and interred at Burlington, with military honors.

the command of the cavalry brigade. This comprised the First Michigan, First Maine and First Vermont cavalry, and, a few days later, the Fifth New York cavalry. Jackson was now near Mount Jackson, twelve miles south of Woodstock, with six or seven thousand infantry and Turner Ashby's cavalry. The opposing forces picketed the opposite banks of Stony Creek, half way between the respective headquarters. The first sight of the enemy obtained by any men of the First Vermont, was on the 8th of April, when Captain Preston, with 55 men of D company and a company of the First Michigan cavalry, went out after forage. They came upon one of Ashby's outposts at Columbia Furnace, and shots were exchanged which emptied a confederate saddle. The spirits of the command were elated by one or two such trifling encounters, and the reports of citizens, refugees and deserters from Jackson's army bringing the news, "important if true," that the rebellion was everywhere caving in, gave assurance that the war was to be as short as it would be glorious for the defenders of the flag.[1]

The regiment was now for a week scattered in detachments along the pike from Middletown to Edinburg, the third squadron being at Middletown and the fourth at Strasburg, guarding the telegraph lines and watching the mountain passes. The left wing of the regiment was at Woodstock. At this time General Banks decided to move up the valley after Jackson, who was preparing to fall back to Harrisonburg. The cavalry were to lead the Union column, and on the evening of the 16th the cavalry brigade was concentrated at Edinburg. The infantry and artillery were in motion, amid the stir and excitement of a forward movement of a column

[1] Captain Strother, better known to many as "Porte Crayon," who was on General Banks's staff, says in his "Personal Recolleetions" "Our eavalry had been strengthened by the arrival of the Vermont regiment. The spirit and diseipline of this new foree gave us entire predominanee over the enemy in our front. Ashby's vagabonds were beaten whenever eneountered."

of fifteen thousand men. At midnight the column moved forward, the Vermont cavalry in advance, under whispered commands, though the tramp of hoofs and rumble of artillery must have announced to all around that a heavy force was in motion. Before daylight the skies in front, reddened by the light of burning bridges, showed that the enemy was fully aware of the advance. At daybreak the head of the column passed through the lower village of Mount Jackson. The main village, a mile and a half beyond, was the terminus of the finished portion of the Manassas Gap Railroad, and was full of engines, trains and railroad property, brought thither by the enemy from along the line. Ashby's cavalry was in the village and was busily engaged in firing the station houses and cars and the bridges across Mill Creek. Columns of smoke rose high over the scene of destruction, and from beyond a sound of artillery, with which the enemy was warning the skirmishers to keep their distance, indicated the possibility of serious resistance. The column halted. The position of the hostile guns was visible on the heights beyond the village. General officers came forward to observe the position. A battery was ordered forward and opened fire. Things began to look like business, and it was without surprise that the First Vermont cavalry here received its first fighting order, to "make ready for a charge."[1] In preparation for this the carbineers in the regiment were placed in the rear, and various other things were done in ways quite different from the methods in subsequent use. Lieut. Colonel Kellogg was directed to charge through the village and clear the enemy from it. The order was executed by a dash of a mile and a half along the turnpike, in close column of fours. As the regiment moved forward on the trot the cannonading grew brisker. The men pulled their caps tightly

[1] "As the cavalry were filing past the column of infantry, the men of an Indiana regiment called out: 'Let the Green Mountain Boys go at them. They are all sons of Ethan Allen, and will show the Michigan boys something new!'"—Surgeon Edson.

over their heads, saw that their sword knots were about their wrists and grasped their sabres firmly. The bugle sounded the charge, horses shared the excitement of the troops as the gallop began, and with lifted sabres glistening in the morning sunlight, and clatter of thousands of hoofs on the hard turnpike, and clanging of scabbards, and the Union cheers ringing high over all, the long column dashed into the village, from which a party of Confederate cavalry beat a hasty retreat. The bridge over the creek was in flames and Kellogg ordered a halt; but the head of the column, consisting of company A, commanded by Lieutenant Erhardt, company B, Captain Conger, and a part of company D, under Lieutenant Cummings, not hearing or not heeding the recall, dashed into and forded the stream, and followed the retreating enemy a mile farther, nearly to the bridge over the North Fork of the Shenandoah. Here the river runs from west to east, and the ground on the south bank rises sharply to the eminence of Rude's Hill, over which the turnpike passes. On these heights Jackson had been in camp for two or three weeks with his main army, but he had fallen back to Harrisonburg, leaving Ashby, with a battery, to delay the Union advance. The river, not being fordable, would be a formidable obstacle if the bridge were destroyed, and Ashby remained in person to make sure of its destruction. The fuel was piled to fire it, but he delayed to apply the torch till his rear guard should come up from Mount Jackson. When they came in sight, with the Vermonters upon their heels, Ashby at once fired the combustibles in the bridge. The smoke was rising from it when Lieutenant Erhardt reached the brow of the hill above the river, and he at once ordered his men to charge, and led them down the hill and into the bridge. At the entrance of it they struck a dozen of Ashby's troopers and passed through it pell-mell, capturing two men in the bridge and making a prisoner of Ashby's adjutant, a tall Confederate lieutenant, who was taken by Corporal John Chase of company D, beyond the

bridge. This officer was supposed at the time to be the redoubtable Ashby himself, but the mistake was corrected by Captain Strother of General Banks's staff, who was personally acquainted with Ashby. Strother states in his "Reminiscences" that Ashby was in the melee, and had his white horse shot under him. Some more of the Vermont cavalrymen were brought forward by Chaplain Woodward, whose eagerness to take a hand in any fighting had brought him considerably in advance of the position commonly occupied by army chaplains,[1] and while some put out the fire in the bridge with water brought in the horses' nose-bags, others pursued Ashby's men beyond the river, till his artillery opened from the hill, when they returned to the bridge. This was held, under a fire of artillery from the hill and of small arms from the meadow where some of Ashby's troopers had halted, till a Union battery came up, when Ashby's artillery limbered up and he retired. Though a shell exploded in the bridge while half a dozen men were in it the only casualties among the Vermonters in this their first actual collision with the enemy were some bruises received by one or two men whose horses fell with them.[2]

[1] "The Vermont chaplain evidently has some of the spirit of Peter Muhlenberg, the old revolutionary minister of Woodstock, Va., who, after preaching to his flock, called them out into the churchyard, and said: 'There is a time to pray, and a time to preach, and a time to fight, and the time to fight has now come,' and then led them on to the fight."—Correspondence of the New York *World*.

[2] "Perhaps the nearest approach to a life being lost, was that of one of the prisoners, a boy of about 18, who, after his surrender, struck at one of our men. The latter, who was dismounted, went up close to the young man, cocked his carbine, and pulled trigger. The cap only snapped. He was putting another cap on the nipple, when perceiving that he was so excited that he did not know what he was about, I covered him with my revolver and told him if he shot that boy I would blow his own brains out. It seemed to dawn on his mind that he was committing murder, and he lowered his carbine. After giving the young man the advice not to raise hands against his captors while he was a prisoner, I sent him to the rear. He, too, realized what had been done, and thanked me earnestly. I do not know what became of him; but he probably remembers the incident if he remembers anything, for the gates of the next world were swinging open before him."—Statement of Captain Erhardt.

The skirmish made no little stir at the time, and Erhardt, Conger, Cummings, the chaplain, and the men engaged, were the heroes of the hour. The New York and Richmond papers published extended descriptions of the affair, and Ashby said to some of the Vermont cavalry taken prisoners a few days later: "That was a desperate charge made by your men at the bridge."

Banks's army crossed the bridge that afternoon. The Vermont Cavalry was sent in the afternoon to join a column of 5,000 infantry, which was pushed up the valley by a back road to cut off Jackson's retreat. As he had a straight line of march to Harrisonburg, this of course was not accomplished. The flanking column reached a ford west of New Market about sundown, and began crossing, each cavalryman taking an infantry soldier behind him on his horse. The river ran breast-high and the operation proved so difficult that the few who got across without a ducking were ordered back, and the column camped for the night on the west side of the North Fork. Next morning they crossed the river at a better ford and joined the main body at New Market.[1]

General Banks remained at New Market for nine days, and the regiment went into camp in sheds of rails. The regiment was here paid off, in part in gold—the last of that commodity seen by the men during their term of service. In a foraging expedition on the 19th, three men were captured by a Confederate scouting party, and two days later two men were captured while on picket.[2]

Jackson continued his retreat to the neighborhood of

[1] "We arrived [at New Market] about four P. M.; found the infantry all there and reading the daily papers;—and when we asked them what was the news, they said that "Banks had taken New Market."—Capt. Ide.

[2] These were: J. H. Abell, John Brown and A. E. Miller of company B, and Christopher Caffrey and James Moore of company G. They were paroled a month later, and according to the record, were at once mustered out of the service—why is not explained. Miller subsequently re-enlisted in the same company.

Swift Run Gap; and on the 24th the regiment started with the cavalry brigade, under General Hatch, for Harrisonburg and Staunton, where Hatch was to meet General Milroy, who was coming from the west with the advance brigade of Fremont's army. Hatch camped near Harrisonburg that night, and next day moved on to Mount Crawford. Finding the bridge there burned and the river unfordable, he returned to Harrisonburg.

On the 25th, the resignation of Major Bartlett, who had gone home on leave, on account of the sickness of his wife and child, was accepted, and Captain E. B. Sawyer of company I was appointed major, over seven captains whose commissions antedated his.

On the 27th, General Hatch, with companies A, D and K of the Vermont cavalry, a squadron of Ohio cavalry and a section of Cothran's battery, started on a reconnoissance round the south end of the Massanutten mountain. After marching twelve miles from camp, and at a point near the little hamlet of McGaheysville, company A of the First Vermont, which was in advance, ran on to some Confederate videttes, and chased them back to their reserve, which came swarming out of the woods in such force that the boys of company A thought best to halt and then to fall back to their supports. After some shots had been exchanged between the two bodies, General Hatch ordered a charge, which was led by company D. The Confederate troopers turned and fled, and the Vermont boys pursued them for a mile, till they disappeared in some woods beyond a hollow. General Hatch brought forward his artillery and shelled the woods, and then sent company K under Lieutenant Ward forward to reconnoitre. They went up the road for a mile or more and found that the enemy had disappeared. In the first part of this skirmish Private Stephen Morse of company A had his horse shot under him and fell into the enemy's hands. In the second charge, Corporal John Chase of com-

pany D received a ball in the hip, which passed into his bowels. He nevertheless kept on and overtook and captured one of the enemy, and was bringing him in when he fainted and fell from his horse. He was taken back to the camp and died next day—the first man of the regiment to fall by a hostile bullet. He was a Danville man, and one of the best soldiers in the regiment, and his death caused a deep sensation among his comrades. His body was sent home to Vermont. General Hatch returned to Harrisonburg that evening, with three prisoners. This is the skirmish entitled "Port Republic" in Adjutant General Washburn's list of cavalry engagements, Port Republic being the nearest place of any size to the scene.

Finding his lines of communication uncomfortably long, and learning that Jackson had been reinforced by Ewell's division, General Banks withdrew his army from Harrisonburg to New Market, May 5th. The cavalry broke camp that day, pressing some farm wagons into the service, to supplement the twenty-three army wagons allowed to the regiment for the tents and baggage. The regiment saw the time in later years, when eight pack-mules took the place of all this wagon train. The cavalry brought up the rear, Ashby following closely, till admonished to keep a respectful distance by a squadron of the Fifth New York cavalry, which turned and charged his advance, killing three men, wounding five and taking seven prisoners, with a loss of one killed and one wounded.

The regiment went into camp at New Market, on the ground previously occupied by it, and was occupied in reconnoissances and foraging. Here news of the evacuation of Yorktown was received. The regimental bands serenaded the generals in honor of this event and there was much rejoicing. The first and second squadrons—companies A, G, B and H—were detached and sent, under Major Collins, to report to General J. C. Sullivan, who with an infantry

brigade was stationed at Columbia Bridge on the South Fork of the Shenandoah, seven miles southeast of New Market. Here they shared in a somewhat exciting experience on the 7th. Ewell, who had been left by Jackson to threaten Banks while Jackson crossed the mountain to strike Milroy, was making his presence known, and in the forenoon of that day some of his men drove in the videttes stationed several miles to the south of Columbia Bridge General Sullivan thereupon sent the Thirteenth Indiana, Colonel Foster, to drive back the intruders. Foster in the afternoon came upon the Confederate force, consisting of an infantry battalion and two companies of Ashby's cavalry, with a field-piece, and drove them back to and through the hamlet of Somerville. Near here he was joined by Captain Conger with 40 men of company B, who had been sent from the cavalry camp at Honeyville, a little south of the bridge, to report to Colonel Foster. The latter, under orders not to pursue the enemy, drew in his skirmishers early in the afternoon and started back to camp, ordering Conger to follow at a short distance and cover his rear. Unwilling, however, to return without a sight of the enemy, and having, as he says, orders from headquarters to go up the river and burn a foundry where the enemy were making shot and shell, Conger went forward instead of back. From the top of a hill he soon discovered a company of Confederate cavalry, retiring at a moderate pace, a mile away. He at once pursued them and before they discovered him was within pistol shot. They did not wait to be attacked, however, but fled in haste and Conger pursued them for a mile.

In the course of the chase Chaplain Woodward, who had accompanied the detachment, captured two Confederate prisoners. The chaplain thus narrates this occurrence: "The horses of the captain and chaplain being the fleetest, they were some distance in advance, and drew so near to the retreating foe as to give them several shots. Coming to a

road that turned to the left, two of the flying rebels leaped from their horses and fled into a house a little way from the corner. I followed them. On entering the house an elderly lady broke out in an unearthly screaming: 'O dear, O dear, the Yankees have come!' I opened a door into a bedroom, and seeing two feet protruding from under the counterpane, raised it and said: 'Jonathan, come out! I want you!' He came out, and proved to be the son of the woman, who was now entirely beside herself. I tried to calm her, telling her that the terrible Yankees would not hurt her or her son if they behaved themselves. By this time our men had come up, and I delivered the prisoner to them, and going into another room found the other man. Two of our men took the prisoners on behind them, on their horses, and we started back."

About this time sharp firing to the north indicated that the infantry were engaged, and company B, which had turned back, soon met a dozen flying infantry-men, who reported that their regiment had been struck on its return by Ewell's infantry, which had come round upon them by a cross-road from the east, and that they alone had escaped. Proceeding a short distance toward the scene of action, Conger found the enemy's infantry filling the road in front between the river on one hand and a precipitous bluff on the other. Conger's first impulse was to attempt to cut his way through; but wiser counsels prevailed; and turning back to a favorable spot the company made their escape by swimming the river, taking with them the Indianians, but without the prisoners, who escaped in the confusion. Returning to the bridge in the dusk of the evening, the company was mistaken for a party of the enemy and was fired on by an infantry picket reserve, in spite of the protestations of the chaplain, who, riding in advance, had reached the Union line shortly before, and tried in vain to prevent the firing. Surprised at this reception, the cavalry-men wheeled and retreated; but were

soon overtaken by the chaplain, who explained the mistake; and the company returned to camp without further trouble, and without loss, with the exception of a horse shot by the Union pickets, and were received with much rejoicing by their comrades, who supposed that they had been cut off and captured. The Indiana regiment lost three men killed, five wounded and a few missing.

The Third squadron, companies D and I, was sent from New Market on the 8th, on a foraging expedition, and secured 60 head of cattle.

While the regiment lay at New Market, Captain Preston was appointed provost marshal of that post, and 20 men of D company were detailed as provost guard. The principal excitements were the bushwhacking of Union pickets by the guerrillas, and rumors of the approach of Stonewall Jackson. This energetic officer had attacked Schenck and Milroy at McDowell, and after a sharp fight, in which they had the advantage, losing 256 men to Jackson's 461, Schenck and Milroy fell back to Franklin, while Jackson returned to Harrisonburg and began preparations to drive Banks out of the Shenandoah Valley.

On the 12th General Banks withdrew his headquarters and most of his army thirty miles down the valley, from New Market to Strasburg. The cavalry under General Hatch followed on the 13th, acting as the rear guard, and camped that night at Narrow Passage Creek, between Edinburg and Woodstock, where the regiment remained the next day, and on the next moved with the cavalry brigade to Tom's Brook, three miles south of Strasburg. The companies which had been on detached service now joined the regiment, and it was all together for the first time in five weeks. The regiment remained here on Fisher's Hill for eight days, and was occupied in picket duty and in scouting. On the 23rd the regiment was joined by its new Colonel—the third in six months. This was Colonel Charles H. Tompkins. He was

a native of Virginia, who had been six years in the regular army and had risen from the ranks to a lieutenantcy in the Second U. S. cavalry. He was not unknown to fame, having commanded a Union troop in the first skirmish of the war on the soil of Virginia. This was on the 1st of June 1861, when with his company he made a dash through the village of Fairfax Court House, then occupied in force by the Confederate infantry, winning both praise for his gallantry and blame for his rashness. In November, 1861, he had been transferred to the quartermaster's department with the rank of captain and A. Q. M. He had been highly commended to Governor Holbrook, as a suitable successor to Colonel Holliday, and he was appointed colonel of the First Vermont Cavalry, April 24th, 1862. He was 31 years old, and thoroughly familiar with the duties of his arm of the service, and the regiment was glad to have again at its head a "regular" who knew his business. As Major Sawyer, who was absent in Vermont at the time of his promotion, had now returned, the regiment was once more equipped with field officers.

BANKS'S RETREAT.

The situation in the Valley at this time was as follows. General Banks was at Strasburg, near the foot of the mountain chain which divides the Shenandoah valley into the upper Shenandoah and Luray valleys. His command, Shield's division having departed, numbered about 9,000 men. He had at Strasburg 4,700 infantry, 1,600 cavalry and two batteries. At Front Royal and along the Manassas Gap Railroad between that point and Strasburg he had 2,500 infantry, 300 cavalry and a battery.

Stonewall Jackson was at Harrisonburg with his division of three brigades, and Johnson's Division. General Ewell was near Swift Run Gap, at the head of the Luray Valley,

with his division. General Banks had been industriously fortifying his position at Strasburg, expecting Jackson to advance upon him by the Valley turnpike. But instead of marching direct upon Strasburg, General Jackson moved to the east and through the Luray valley, adding Ewell's division to his own, on the way. The two made an army of nine brigades, numbering 20,000 men. Jackson had two bayonets to Banks's one, as many sabres as Banks had, and three times as many guns, his light batteries being eleven in number. Marching from New Market via Luray on the 23rd, he struck and overwhelmed the First (Union) Maryland regiment, Colonel Kenly, and two companies of the fifth New York cavalry, at Front Royal. He thus turned Banks's flank and the roads were open to him to Middletown and Winchester. By occupying these points he would cut Banks's line of supply, and expected to effect his destruction. On the 24th Jackson marched with the main body of his army on Middletown, while Ewell with a brigade pushed for Winchester, thirteen miles farther down the valley. No warning of this movement reached General Banks. A scouting party of two squadrons of the First Vermont cavalry and a squadron of the First Maine, under Major Sawyer, galloped through Woodstock on the 23d, but of course saw no signs of any enemy. Jackson's cavalry intercepted all direct communication with Strasburg, and it was late that evening when news of the disaster to Kenly and that the enemy was moving in force on Winchester reached Banks by telegraph from Winchester. Unable to believe that events of such consequence could have occurred that day within eight miles of his headquarters, without his knowledge, Banks took only precautionary measures that night. Next morning ample confirmation of the intelligence showed the necessity for prompt action. Knowing that he was vastly outnumbered, he did not dare to await attack where he was. Retreat to the west over the mountains would probably involve the

abandonment of his supply train. If he should promptly fall back to the north by the valley turnpike, he might pass Winchester before Jackson reached that point, and make good his retreat to the Potomac. He decided on the latter course. It was not an easy operation. He had at Strasburg and elsewhere in the valley great quantities of army stores. In addition to his own sick he had to care for nearly a thousand invalids left behind by General Shields. His supply train numbered five hundred wagons, and with the ambulance train, sutlers' wagons and vehicles laden with refugees filled about seven miles of highway.

It was hurrying times at Strasburg that morning. By eight o'clock the trains were in motion. The main column of infantry followed, leaving General Hatch with most of the cavalry to follow and cover the rear. At Middletown Jackson's cavalry, preceding his infantry, attacked the train, but the way was cleared by Donelly's brigade; and a battalion of cavalry (comprising two companies of the First Vermont) was sent out by General Banks toward Front Royal to reconnoitre. This force was driven in by Jackson's infantry and artillery, which then occupied Middletown, cutting off Hatch and the cavalry, with a portion of the train and a battery, from the main column. After a vain attempt to force a passage, Hatch's force became divided. One body made a detour to the west and joined the infantry at Newtown, half way between Middletown and Winchester, where Gordon's brigade was holding Jackson's advance in check, and went on in the evening to Winchester with the main column. The rest fell back toward Strasburg, made a stand at Hupp's Hill, and there divided again into two bodies, one of which under Colonel Tompkins, by a detour of greater length, joined the infantry about midnight at Winchester. The third body, under Colonel De Forest of the Fifth New York, crossed the mountains to the west, and thence got across the Potomac into Maryland. Each of these three bodies comprised a

portion of the First Vermont cavalry, whose varied experiences will be related in detail. General Banks effected his retreat across the Potomac at Williamsport on the 26th, with a loss of 200 men killed and wounded and 700 missing, in his running fight of sixty miles, besides the Maryland regiment captured at Front Royal. He lost also two field-pieces and 55 wagons—a surprisingly small loss under all the circumstances.

Returning to describe the details of these operations with reference to the Vermont cavalry, the regiment was in camp at Tom's Brook, when, shortly after midnight Saturday morning, May 24th, Colonel Tompkins received orders from General Hatch to send the baggage to the rear, and hold his regiment ready to march at a moment's notice, with a day's rations. Before daylight the baggage train of 19 wagons and two ambulances, started in charge of Quartermaster Dewey, and moved through Strasburg and on past Cedar Creek to the ridge south of Middletown, where it halted by the side of the pike.

At daybreak, Major Collins, with the first squadron, reported to General Hatch at Strasburg, and was thence sent with five companies of the First Maine cavalry, under Lieut. Colonel Douty of the latter regiment, via. Middletown, to reconnoitre out upon the road to Front Royal. With the rest of the regiment, Colonel Tompkins, starting at five A. M., made a reconnoissance to and beyond Woodstock. Finding no enemy at that point he returned to camp at nine A. M. An hour later companies F, C and I, under command of Captain Hall, were detached to report to General Hatch for immediate service. At noon, Tompkins, with the remaining half of the regiment, (companies B, H, D, I and K), moved to Strasburg, intending to destroy the stores that could not be loaded, and to bring up the rear of the army, now in full motion down the valley. At Strasburg he received orders to hurry forward and join General Hatch, who had been sent for in

haste by General Banks when the latter found that the enemy's cavalry had struck his trains. Hatch thereupon started on, ordering Tompkins to follow, leaving DeForest to destroy the stores and bring up the rear. Before Hatch reached Middletown, Banks's infantry had brushed away the intruding cavalry and had gone on, the enemy closing in behind him as he left Middletown, thus cutting off from the main column the larger part of Hatch's cavalry, Hampton's (Pennsylvania) battery of four guns, and a zouave infantry company (which had been Banks's headquarters guard), left to burn the bridge at Cedar Creek; together with the wagon trains of the battery and Vermont cavalry and a train of wagons loaded with army stores.

The Confederate force which broke through Banks's column at Middletown consisted of "Dick" Taylor's brigade, with Ashby's cavalry and two batteries. These had been kept back for over an hour on the Front Royal road by the detachment of Maine and Vermont cavalry sent out to reconnoitre, or they would have made more trouble for the rear of the Union column. They made trouble enough as it was for the cavalry battalion opposed to them, whose experience will now be related. This, comprising companies A and G, under Collins, had gone out four miles or more toward Cedarville, on the road to Front Royal, when it met Jackson's advance of cavalry pushing toward Middletown. Douty and Collins deployed, and held it back till the enemy's infantry and artillery came up, and then fell back slowly, at times under artillery fire, to Middletown. They halted about noon in the side street of the village, east of the pike; and there learned that Banks with his main body had passed on toward Winchester. But as General Hatch was still back toward Strasburg, they decided to wait for him. About two o'clock Hatch appeared in sight. Almost at the same time the enemy's infantry appeared in the northern outskirts of Middletown and opened a scattering fire, while a battery which

had come up on the southern edge of the village opened from a ridge 400 yards away. After several men had been wounded, the battalion moved to the pike, which runs through the centre of the village. Outside of the village the pike was filled with army wagons, cut off from the main body of the train, and dust clouds obscured the outlook. Here Collins's squadron was joined by company E, Captain Rundlett, who had been sent forward by General Hatch; but before the two cavalry battalions effected a junction. General Hatch, discovering that the passage through Middletown was blocked, concluded to turn off from the pike to the west, and to make his way round to the main column by the side roads. Douty received no order to follow him, and was awaiting orders, when his command, by whose order does not very clearly appear, started down the pike in the direction of the enemy. It went on at full speed till the head of the column was suddenly stopped by a blockade of wagons. Douty, with about half of his battalion, then fell back to the centre of the village, was fired on by a party of Confederate infantry which appeared at the head of a cross street, and then struck into the fields, and following Hatch, overtook him about two miles from Middletown. Three days later Douty reported 125 of his men missing. Collins was even more unfortunate. In the dust and confusion attending the first stoppage by the wagons, the Vermont companies became separated from the column; and, when for a moment the cloud of dust lifted, they found themselves alone. Supposing, as he says, that Douty had cut his way through the enemy, and that the rear of Banks's main column was probably but a short distance ahead, Collins gave the order to charge. This was to charge into a *cul de sac*. The turnpike was fenced with stone walls. A quarter of a mile in front a jam of army wagons filled the road; in front and on the right and left of this was a battalion of Ashby's cavalry, with two field-pieces. There could

be but one outcome of an attempt to force a passage through such obstacles. The Vermonters—most of them having little idea where they were going—charged squarely up to the wagons. As they reached them, two discharges of canister tore through the ranks. Down went the horses and men of several files, and those behind, unable to halt, became piled up upon them in a mass of struggling, kicking humanity and horseflesh, from which it was a wonder that any escaped alive.[1]

Major Collins was hurt in the knee by a fragment of a shell which wounded two men close by him, and soon after was struck from his horse by a blow on the head, and captured. Captain Platt and Lieutenant Edwards leaped the stone fence with a dozen of their men, got out across the fields to the middle road, and reached Winchester that night. Captain Bean was captured. Lieutenant Danforth was wounded in the face and captured, but made his escape. One man (Henry Lynde of company A) was killed. A dozen men were wounded and scores were unhorsed and captured. The rest scattered into the woods and made their escape. Some followed General Hatch to Winchester. Others pushed direct for the Potomac. Some joined Colonel DeForest and made their way across the mountain. That more were not killed and wounded was due in part to the fact that the enemy was considerably demoralized by the audacity of the charge, and in part to the fact, mentioned by Colonel Crutchfield, chief of Jackson's artillery, that his ammunition was defective, many shells bursting within 50 feet of the guns.

Jackson now occupied the village, sent his cavalry down the pike after Banks, and despatched some infantry of Taylor's brigade to seize the cavalry wagon train, in sight on the ridge, and to meet Tompkins, who with half of his regiment

[1] "The road was literally obstructed with the mingled and confused mass of struggling and dying horses and riders."—Report of General T. J. Jackson.

and two guns of Hampton's battery was approaching from Strasburg. Hampton's guns went into battery on the ridge near by, before the enemy reached the wagons, and checked their advance for half an hour, when, threatened by flanking parties, Tompkins and the artillery went back across Cedar Creek. The wagons and train-guard—a detail of 20 men of company D under Lieutenant Cummings—followed, closely pursued by the Confederate skirmishers, who swarmed around within pistol-range and shot down wagoners and horses. Four wagons and an ambulance succeeded in crossing the creek. Then the ford became obstructed by fallen horses; a jam of wagons took place; the train was abandoned; and Tompkins fell back to Hupp's Hill, north of Strasburg, where he was joined by DeForest and the Fifth New York cavalry. After a hasty consultation, it was decided that their best course was to strike for Winchester by a detour to the west. Tompkins accordingly led off in that direction, after burning the wagons which had been thus far saved, and all with varying fortunes made good their escape.

This experience of the rear guard near Middletown is thus described by Captain H. K. Ide, who was then a sergeant in company D:

"The portion of the regiment left in camp having received orders to come forward in haste, we left the camp ground and moved at a trot through Strasburg, where we

[1] The statement in Colonel Tompkins's report that "the entire baggage train of the regiment was abandoned and fired and rendered entirely worthless to the enemy," is somewhat misleading. The larger part of the train was captured, and the Confederates had high times overhauling the officers' valises and ransacking the commissary stores. The ambulance, containing two sick cavalry-men, followed the battalion, and was brought safely through to Maryland by its driver, L. W. Young of company D. Quartermaster Dewey said of his wagoners: "Not a man left his seat while his horses kept their legs. When a horse fell, another was cut loose; the driver would mount and be off. In this way 17 out of 73 horses were saved." One of the wagons burned contained the regimental colors, which had been placed in it by the adjutant, and they were burned with the headquarters baggage.

passed quite a number of sick and disabled men of Banks's and Shields's commands, who had been left to their fate. We proceeded north from Strasburg two miles and crossing Cedar Creek by the ford, went up the hill on the pike, and found the wagon train at a halt. Before us along the pike as far as the eye could reach arose a cloud of dust, from the runaway teams and the enemy's cavalry, while in front, in the village of Middletown and to the right, shots sounded. We drew up in line and drew sabres, while two pieces of artillery with us unlimbered and opened fire toward Middletown. Soon after, to the right, the shots came nearer, and out of the woods came Collis's zouaves of General Banks's body guard, falling back before the enemy, and in a minute the bullets were whistling around us. We were not armed or formed to resist infantry, so we countermarched and moved down the hill and across the creek, the chaplain, who had drawn his sabre and taken his place in line, accompanying us. We retired in good order, though assisted by several shells from the rebel artillery. After crossing the creek, we passed up the hill and at the top our artillery opened on them again while some of our carbineers dismounted and checked the rebel skirmishers. When we came back the wagons came also; but one of the foremost got stalled; the rest were unable to get by and the enemy came up and captured them right under our noses. Just then along came Colonel DeForest with part of the Fifth New York. Colonel Tompkins stated the situation and said we could do one of two things—charge through, or try and go around, and he was willing to lead through. But some of company I, knew of a way to the west of the pike, by which we could reach Winchester, so it was decided to try that way. We marched along the middle road, most of the time at a trot, till about midnight, when we struck the pike in the rear of the army, and passing into Winchester bivouacked in the streets for the rest of the night."

During this night march Major Sawyer's horse fell with him, severely bruising one of his legs. He was taken along with the command into Maryland, and then went to Vermont, where his injury kept him on crutches for months.

About 500 officers and men of the regiment thus reached Winchester. A detail was sent out on picket on the pike south of the town, and the rest of the men tied their horses to the fences and slept in the streets, on the sidewalks, or

wherever they could find a soft spot in the gardens. Of their missing comrades, some 300 in number, the larger portion accompanied Colonel DeForest and the Fifth New York, around under the mountain.[1] A few made their way singly or in squads to the Potomac. Major Collins and some 60 men were prisoners. The major and 16 men were taken back to Front Royal that night, where Collins and two wounded men, privates Hoskins and Failey of company E, who could not march, remained for four days under guard, when they were recaptured, together with Adjutant Griffin and a lieutenant of the Fifth New York and other Union prisoners, by Major Nelson of the Rhode Island cavalry, in a dash on Front Royal preceding the advance of Shields's division in the subsequent operations for the expulsion of Jackson from the valley. The other prisoners who were able to march were taken back up the valley with Jackson's army in his retreat and sent to Richmond.

At Winchester Banks was reinforced by a regiment of infantry and five companies of cavalry previously stationed there. All were astir at dawn. During the night Jackson had been hurrying forward his advance in order to occupy at daylight the heights which look down on Winchester, while Banks with his little army of 6,000 men, prepared to make a stand for the protection of his trains. At daylight the artillery opened. The infantry were soon engaged, and for four hours the enemy were held in check, till the trains were well under way toward Martinsburg, when, outnumbered three to one, Banks fell back into Winchester, and moved out thence over the turnpike to the north.

In this engagement, the Vermont cavalry formed at daybreak and moved out to the north of the town, where it waited on the side of the pike while the long wagon trains,

[1] A few of these were men who had been on detached duty at Strasburg; but most of them were men who became scattered in and after the charge at Middletown.

followed by crowds of stragglers and camp followers, streamed by. Shells began to fly by from the enemy's artillery southwest of the town, where Gordon's brigade was holding back Winder's and Taylor's Confederate brigades. Soon the regiment was ordered to move back through the town to assist in checking a flanking movement of the enemy. Formed in column of fours, with drawn sabres, the regiment moved into the main street of the village, still full of stragglers and disabled men. As the head of the regiment passed out of the street it met the infantry falling back, and shrill yells beyond showed that the enemy was close behind them. As Jackson's lines were rapidly moving to encircle the town, the only safety was in prompt retreat. Colonel Tompkins gave the order to "right about wheel," and turning down a side street the regiment moved around to the Martinsburg pike, passing almost through the flames from some large buildings full of army stores which had been fired by General Banks's order. While passing through the street Corporal Meacham of company D was shot through the body, probably by one of the citizens of Winchester—who had been baking bread all the day before for Jackson's army and who fired from the houses into Banks's columns as they passed out of the village.[1] Beyond Winchester the regiment covered the retreat of the main column, and the third squadron, companies D and I, under Captain Preston, with a section of Hampton's battery, formed the rear guard, which halted on every ridge, and by use of the guns held the pursuing force effectually in check. Jackson hung on their rear for two hours, and then practically abandoned the pursuit, though his cavalry followed at a safe distance for twenty-three miles, to Martinsburg.[2] Here the cavalry halted

[1] Meacham was held on his horse for a short distance by two of his comrades, and was then laid down to die by the side of the road.

[2] General Jackson, in his report blames his cavalry for wasting time in pillaging, and attributes to their inefficiency his failure to reap greater fruits of his victory.

during the afternoon, while the rest of the column continued its march twelve miles farther, to the Potomac. Banks effected his crossing at Williamsport that night and the next forenoon, and his famous retreat thus ended.

The First Vermont cavalry forded the river before noon of the 26th and went into camp in a piece of woods two miles from the village of Williamsport. Tents and baggage had been lost, and the men built sheds for shelter. Officers and men were depressed by the supposed loss of nearly 300 of their number; but the loss rapidly lessened as the missing men came in. These, in parties of from six to sixty, some mounted and some on foot, crossed the river at various points between Williamsport and Hancock twenty miles up the river, and 200 of the missing men reported in camp within three days. A nominal list, prepared by Adjutant Pitkin on the 29th, gave the names of five supposed to be killed, eight wounded and 100 missing—a total of 113; but this total was afterwards somewhat reduced. The actual casualties at Middletown and Winchester, as nearly as can be determined, were four killed, 19 wounded, and about 60 captured, 12 or 15 of whom were wounded.[1]

General Banks, in his report, says that the conduct of his cavalry was "equal, if not superior, to the best of the enemy's long-trained mounted troops." General Hatch praises the Vermont cavalry for "steadiness in ranks;" and commends Colonel Tompkins and Lieutenant John W Bennett, the latter for coolness under fire and for gallantry in cutting his way through the cavalry of the enemy on the 24th, in order to carry a message to the commanding general. Colonel Tompkins mentions with "highest praise" the

[1] The killed were: Henry Lynd of company A; Ashbel C. Meacham of company D; M. B. Hebard of company H; and Daniel Wilson of company K.

Captain Ide says that Ralph W Merrill of company D, reported as having deserted May 24th, was sick and in one of the wagons when the train was burned at Cedar Creek that day, and was never heard of afterwards.

services rendered by Adjutant Pitkin and Quartermaster Dewey, and commends to the attention of the brigade commander Captains Preston and Conger, Lieutenants Huntoon, Beman and Adams, and chief wagoner C. P Stone. Of the men he says that they "bore their arduous duty with the courage and steadiness of old and well-tried soldiers, and behaved in a manner to surprise and excite the admiration of their commander."

The regiment remained at Williamsport with the cavalry brigade for a fortnight, during which Jackson slipped back between the armies of Fremont and McDowell which undertook to cut off his retreat. His rear guard of cavalry under Ashby had a fight with Fremont's advance, in which Colonel Percy Wyndham was captured and Ashby was killed, and after a fight at Cross Keys with Fremont and at Port Republic with Shields, Jackson retired up the valley.

At Williamsport a hundred sick men went into the hospitals, most of whom were subsequently discharged for disability. During this period four companies, under Captain Preston, did outpost duty on Antietam Creek; two companies under Captain Hall were on detached duty with General Sigel, at Winchester; and Captain Conger with a squadron made a reconnoissance to Martinsburg, Va., and returned, bringing several prisoners.

On the 11th of June the regiment received new shelter tents and horse equipments, and exchanged their Savage revolvers for a better pistol. Four companies, D, E, I and K, received Sharpe's carbines instead of revolvers. The loss of the regimental colors burned at Cedar Creek, was not long after made good by the citizens of Burlington, who sent a handsome silk flag similar to the colors destroyed.

June 13th, the re-occupation of the valley began, and the cavalry brigade re-crossed the Potomac and camped three miles beyond Martinsburg, Va., and companies C and F of the First Vermont went on a reconnoissance to Wood-

stock. On the 15th, the regiment went into camp at "Camp Hatch," two miles from Winchester, where it remained for ten days, and the men ground sabres. During this time Lieut. Colonel Kellogg went with two squadrons (companies E, F, K and C) on a scout to Snicker's Ferry. On the 24th the brigade was reviewed by Generals Hatch and Williams. On the 25th it moved forward to the vicinity of Middletown, and thence to Cedarville on the 28th.

SERVICE UNDER POPE.

The forces under Generals Fremont, Banks and McDowell were at this time consolidated under Major General John Pope, with the title of the Army of Virginia, of which Banks's command, to which the First Vermont cavalry was attached, constituted the Second Corps. In the concentration of his army, which was General Pope's first business, Banks was ordered to the east side of the Blue Ridge. In preparation for this movement a reconnoissance of two regiments of infantry, ten companies of Vermont, Maine and Michigan cavalry, under Colonel Tompkins, and a battery—all under General Crawford—was sent to Luray, where a Confederate outpost of four cavalry companies was stationed. Starting from Front Royal on the 29th, Crawford camped that night beyond Milford. Next morning Captain Preston commanded the advance guard, and about four miles from Luray captured a cavalry vidette. A second vidette escaped capture, gave the alarm, and the enemy made a hasty retreat to the southwest, pursued closely by Preston with three companies, D, G and I, and a company of the Maine cavalry. Half a mile beyond Luray he overtook the enemy, who turned to fight, and a skirmish ensued in which a Vermonter[1] was shot through the head and killed and a Maine cavalry-man was wounded. Two Confederates were captured and several

[1] Joseph W Gordon of company D. He was buried at Front Royal.

wounded. The battalion returned, with the expedition, to Front Royal, the same day.[2]

July 6th, Banks began to move across the Blue Ridge. The regiment bivouacked that night ten miles south of Front Royal, and the next night companies B and I, sent forward under Captain Conger, charged into Sperryville, from which place a Confederate outpost made a hasty retreat, and the regiment moved to Hedgeman's river near Amissville, where the main body remained for three days. On the 9th a detachment scouted to Snicker's Gap and Front Royal, and on the 10th the regiment made a reconnoissance toward Culpeper.

On the 12th, the regiment started, with the rest of Hatch's brigade, in what was intended by General Pope to be an important raid upon the railroad communications between Richmond and the Shenandoah Valley Hatch was ordered to strike the Orange and Alexandria railroad and destroy it from Gordonsville to Charlottesville. Instead of moving promptly and rapidly with his cavalry, Hatch hampered himself with infantry and artillery, and made such slow progress that Jackson's advance under Ewell reached Gordonsville before he did, and the attempt to cut the road there was abandoned. General Pope then directed Hatch to strike the railroad west of Gordonsville with 1,500 cavalry, and if possible to destroy the track between Charlottesville and Lynchburg. General Hatch commenced this movement, but soon abandoned it; and, disgusted by his want of energy, General Pope relieved him of his command, and sent General John Buford, who was a brave and good soldier, to take his place. In the first of these movements three of the Vermont cavalry were wounded by the enemy's pickets as the column approached Culpeper. Captain Wells with company C,

[2] This is the affair which, under an erroneous date, stands as "Luray Court House, July 2d, 1862," in the official list of engagements in the Adjutant General's reports.

charged into the village of Culpeper, taking several prisoners; and the regiment went into camp near by. General Hatch was nervous and apprehensive, and his troopers had to stand to horse at every alarm.

On the 16th the regiment moved out a short distance toward Raccoon Ford, and the next day marched with the brigade to Robertson's river. Next day it forded the river and halted at Madison Court House, while companies D, E, F and C went out toward Gordonsville, to reconnoitre. Sergeant Ide and Private Durlam of company D, who were in advance, pursued two Confederate troopers with more zeal than discretion and were captured by the enemy's picket reserve.[1]

Learning that the enemy was in force at Liberty Bridge, seven miles south of him, General Hatch on the 19th moved back to Culpeper. About this time Lieut. Colonel Kellogg resigned under a charge of absence without leave, which resulted in his dismissal from the service.

In the second expedition General Hatch took his brigade as far south as Stannardsville, twenty-five miles from Culpeper, and then, in consequence of reports of the presence of hostile cavalry at points beyond, turned to the northwest, crossed the Blue Ridge through Swift Run Gap and returned to Culpeper by way of Sperryville. The regiment reached its old camp between Culpeper and Raccoon Ford on the 27th, with men tired and horses jaded by a ride of 110 miles in hot weather. Hatch brought in a Confederate captain and several other prisoners, captured in the Luray Valley, but otherwise had little to show as results of his expedition.

Next day General Buford assumed command of the brigade, consisting of the First Vermont, Fifth New York, First West Virginia and First Michigan cavalry.

[1] Durlam died on Belle Isle, at Richmond, a few weeks later; Ide was paroled and exchanged in November.

August 21. Buford with the First Vermont and Fifth New York cavalry accompanied Crawford's infantry brigade on a reconnoissance to Orange Court House, and had a lively sabre fight with Robertson's cavalry in the streets of the village. The Fifth New York had the advance, as Buford's command approached the village, with companies D and I of the Vermont regiment, under Captain Flint, in front as skirmishers. A Confederate cavalry outpost was driven in and the column was passing through Main street when the Seventh Virginia cavalry, Colonel Jones, which had been sent thither from Gordonsville, arrived, and charged the Fifth New York by a cross street, striking and scattering Captain Hammond's squadron and crowding back the squadron behind in some disorder. A vigorous counter attack was made by the fourth squadron of the First Vermont, under Captain Wells. The New York cavalry rallied, and the Virginians were driven out of the village and a mile beyond it, where Jones was reinforced by cavalry and artillery, but did not resume the offensive. Buford held the village for an hour or more, destroyed a portion of the railroad track, cut the telegraph wires, secured some valuable information in reference to the concentration of Jackson's army at Gordonsville and Louisa Court House, and then returned to Culpeper. In this affair the First Vermont lost three men wounded and four missing,[1] and the Fifth New York had a few men wounded and half a dozen captured. Colonel Tompkins reported 25 of the enemy killed, two mortally wounded, several severely wounded, and 40 captured. Colonel Jones reported his loss as 10 wounded and 40 missing. Colonel Tompkins commended Captains Hall, Wells and Flint, Adjutant Pitkin, Assistant Surgeon Elson, and Lieutenants Erhardt, Edwards, Grant, Wood-

[1] Wounded—James B. Lee, seriously; Ovid Seymour and John T. Pierce, of company F.

Missing—A. A. Hoyt and J. McLaughlin, of company C; L. A. Barber and Ellis Draper, of company B.

bury, Grover and Cushman. The troops discovered on this occasion that they had a cool and competent commander in General Buford. During the week following, the regiment was engaged in picket service along the river, and outpost duty at Liberty Bridge.

By the 7th of August General Pope had his army of 29,000 men assembled along the pike from Sperryville to Culpeper. Buford's cavalry brigade was in front near Madison Court House. On the 9th Banks's corps moved forward to Cedar Mountain, where it was met by Jackson's army, of three divisions, each as large as Banks's corps, and after an obstinate and sanguinary battle, the latter was driven back to the supports sent forward by Pope, with a loss of over 2,000 men killed, wounded and missing. In this the first battle of Pope's campaign the Vermont cavalry had no part. The regiment was sent that day ten miles north to Woodsville, and knew no more than General Pope did of what was going on in front. On the 10th it was recalled and joined Buford's cavalry in pressing the rear of Jackson, who fell back across the Rapidan on the 11th. Companies A, D, E, and I, under Captain Preston, were in advance and took 20 prisoners, and on the 12th a portion of the First Vermont and First Virginia swam Crooked Run and pursued the flying enemy to Robertson's river, taking a number of wounded rebels, among them Major Andrews, Jackson's chief of artillery. The regiment spent the next week in camp at Mitchell's Station, resting, many of the men being sick and exhausted by the last month's active service, and many of the horses broken down.

The retreat of McClellan from the front of Richmond now left Lee free to operate against Pope, and he proceeded to Gordonsville with a large portion of the army of Northern Virginia. General J. E. B. Stuart was placed in command of his cavalry, comprising the three brigades of Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee and Robertson. Warned by a letter of Lee to

Stuart, found on the person of the latter's adjutant general who was captured near Louisa Court House on the 17th by a party of Union cavalry who came very near capturing Stuart also, General Pope withdrew across the Rappahannock, leaving cavalry to guard the fords. Some sharp skirmishes took place in resisting Longstreet's advance, in which the Vermont cavalry participated. On the 23d the regiment was sent to Waterloo Bridge, where Stuart had crossed the day before upon a raid on General Pope's rear, and took part in a skirmish with confederate infantry in which Corporal B. E. Walker of company I and D. C. Dana of company D were killed, and several others were wounded. In the retirement of Pope's army from the line of the Rappahannock, companies A and I were left on picket at Kelley's Ford, became cut off from the rest of the army, and were for a week supposed to have been captured. They made their retreat, however, by the way of Acquia Creek, with the loss of seven men captured on picket, and rejoined the regiment on the 6th of September.

During the operations preceding and attending the second battle of Bull Run, the regiment was almost constantly in the saddle, night and day. On the 29th it moved from Haymarket to Manassas Junction. During the fighting of the 30th, it was in the rear of the left wing of Pope's infantry, and was occasionally under fire from the shells which came over the latter. Details of the service of the regiment in this campaign are lacking, for the duty was too arduous to permit its members to write letters, and the official record is exceedingly deficient—a bare allusion to the "severe service" of the cavalry in the report of the Adjutant General of Vermont for 1862, and brief reports of the reconoissance to Luray and the skirmish at Orange Court House, constituting the entire official record of the part taken by the Vermont cavalry in Pope's campaign.

At the close of this campaign the regiment went into

camp near Alexandria, and was employed during the remainder of the fall in scouting and outpost duty in and near the defences of Washington. General McClellan had taken General Buford to be chief of cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, and the brigade was now commanded by Colonel R. Butler Price of the Second Pennsylvania cavalry. Being divided into detachments, which accompanied various commands, it received little notice in the reports, though it was represented in many of the skirmishes which stand credited to the Pennsylvania and New York cavalry.

On the 7th, Captain Preston wrote of his company: "I have but 24 men fit for duty. The rest are worn out. We have had scarcely a moment's rest night or day since the battle of Cedar Mountain. Sometimes we have been in front of the enemy, sometimes in his rear. Twice have we marched for miles with one division of the rebel army in our front and another close in our rear, on the same road." The condition of this company was that of the regiment. Not over 400 men were mounted, for want of horses. On the 15th the rapidly lessening number of effective men was increased by the return from Belle Isle of a number of men captured during Banks's retreat, who had been exchanged and now returned, half-starved, ragged and shoeless.

September 9th, Colonel Tompkins resigned, and Major Edward B. Sawyer was promoted to be colonel in his place.[1] Captain Preston was appointed lieutenant colonel, and Lieutenant John W Bennett succeeded him as captain of company D.

[1] Edward Bertrand Sawyer was a son of Joshua Sawyer, of Hyde Park, for sixty years a leading member of the bar in Northern Vermont, and widely known as a lawyer, legislator, scholar and wit. He was of patriotic ancestry, his maternal grandfather, Captain Aaron Keeler, of Norwalk, Conn., having served in the Continental army through the war of the Revolution, after the close of which he came to Vermont and was one of the pioneers of the town of Hyde Park. Others of his ancestors had held commissions in both the army and navy in the Revolutionary war. He studied law in his father's office, and was admitted to the bar in 1849; became

On the 21st of September, Colonel Price, with a force of cavalry consisting of detachments from the First Vermont and other regiments of his brigade, was sent to cut off a supply train known to be on its way to Lee's army, which was then lying near Martinsburg after the close of the Antietam campaign. The column moved by way of Fairfax Court House to Aldie, where some 200 sick and convalescent Confederates who had been there in hospital since the Second Battle of Bull Run were captured and paroled. Thence it passed on, in the forenoon of the 22d, towards Ashby's Gap. Two miles beyond Upperville, Preston, who led the advance of Price's column with three small squadrons of the First Vermont, found the way blocked by the enemy. This was a force of 300 men of the Sixth Virginia cavalry, under Lieut. Colonel John S. Green, who had arranged his command in platoons, filling the road, which ran between stone walls, to await attack. Preston was a mile in advance of the main column, and had fewer men with him than those who disputed the passage; but he did not hesitate. Sending two small parties into the fields on right and left as flankers, with the rest, some 60 or 70 in number, he moved up the road at a trot to within 200 or 300 yards of the opposing force, which stood motionless and without firing a shot. Disconcerted by the firm front and absolute silence of the enemy, the front ranks hesitated and the battalion halted. Ordered forward by Preston, it started on and again halted in a crowded mass, when Preston, making a circuit through the field at the side of the road, suddenly leaped the stone fence

prominent in politics, and was a delegate from Vermont in the National Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln. When the war broke out he was County Clerk of Lamoille County. Moved by patriotic impulse and hatred of human slavery, he at once devoted his energies to the National cause. He was active in recruiting company D of the Fifth regiment, and then recruited company I of the cavalry regiment, of which he was the first captain. He was in the prime of life, now 34 years old, and a good horseman, having been much in the saddle in his youth and riding much with officers of the Royal cavalry during a residence of three years in Canada.

into the road in front of his men, and, waving his sabre and shouting to them to come on, dashed straight at the force in his front. Three of the company commanders, Captains Erhardt, Perkins and Flint, were near the head of the column and spurred to Preston's side. The men followed, and the little column charged at full speed. When it was fifty feet from his front the Confederate commander ordered his men, who were awaiting the onset with levelled revolvers, to fire, and a shower of pistol balls whistled among the Vermonters. But he had reserved his fire too long. The impetus of the charge was too great to be stopped. Preston was wounded. Perkins fell dead, shot through the head. Erhardt's horse was shot under him and fell partly upon him. Lieutenant Adams of company H received a ball in the chest, and six men were wounded; but before the Virginians could fire another volley the Vermonters were upon them, and went through their ranks with a rush. Lieut. Colonel Green was cut down and captured, with some ugly sabre cuts in his head, and four of his men were killed, 13 wounded and 14 captured. The rest broke and retreated through the Gap. Lieut. Colonel Preston had himself a very narrow escape in the melee. In the rush of the charge he passed through the enemy's rear rank, and when they turned in flight they carried him with them, wedged in between two of their number, each of whom drew his pistol on him. He managed to knock up one of the revolvers and disabled its owner with a back-handed blow with the hilt of his sabre. The other's shot passed through his right arm. Another ball grazed his stomach; but he extricated himself and joined his men, and, though faint from loss of blood, retained command till Price came up with the main body.

In his report of this affair Colonel Price says his advance guard was "aided by two companies of the First Vermont." The fact was that the advance guard consisted of the Vermont cavalry, and that they did all the fighting, Colonel

Price and the rest of his command not even being aware that they were engaged, till the affair was over. Colonel Price accorded high praise to Lieut. Colonel Preston, Captains Perkins, Erhardt and Flint, and Lieutenants Adams and Cummings. The loss of the regiment in this skirmish was one killed, seven wounded and one missing.[1] All the wounds received by the Vermonters were by bullets and all those inflicted on the enemy were by the sabre. Green complained that he was sabred after he surrendered; but there was evidence that after firing his revolver—the ball from which killed Captain Perkins, whose sword was lifted over Green's head when he fell—he was drawing his sabre when cut down.

Five wagons were taken here, three of which, containing clothing, were burned. Price proceeded to Paris, at the entrance of the Gap, where learning that the enemy's wagon train had crossed the Blue Ridge, and that the Gap was held by a strong force of infantry, he returned on the 23d to camp.

The vacancy caused by the death of Captain Perkins was filled by the promotion of Lieut. Franklin T. Huntoon to the captaincy.[2]

[1] The rank and file wounded were: Corporal L. Tinkham, B. Scully and Abram Day of company G, and Frank Dragon and A. Fortuna of company B.

An officer relates the following incident of this affair:

"A private of company D was shot through the body; and as the surgeon in charge stated that he could not live more than two hours, he was left by the roadside, well cared for, till we should return. We did not return there; but six weeks afterwards this dead private put in an appearance in camp and demanded his pay. Being informed that the men had been paid in the interval, and that he was marked on the rolls as dead, and figuring it out that it would probably take a year to convince the Department that he was not dead, he intimated, as we supposed jocularly, that he would take the Department at their word. That night he went to Canada, where he is still for all I know."

To whom this can refer does not appear.

Jude Brown, reported missing, turned up later, and was finally reported as missing in the action at Craig's Church, in May, 1864.

[2] Selah G. Perkins was a son of Dr. Perkins, dean of the Castleton Medical College. He was a graduate of Union College and of the Castle-

On the 24th of October, a scouting party of thirty men, under Captain Flint, with fifty of the First Maryland cavalry, were surprised near Manassas Junction by a squadron of 150 Confederate cavalry, but escaped with a loss of nine men, captured.

On the 27th of October the following order was promulgated:

[Extract.]

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, October 27th, 1862.

Special Order, No. 314.

Colonel E. B. Sawyer, First Vermont Cavalry, is hereby mustered out of the service of the United States from September 16th, 1862—the date of his present commission—for inefficiency and neglect of the welfare of his regiment, while a major thereof.

By order of the Secretary of War,
L. THOMAS, Adjutant General.

The controversies which contributed to this action on the part of the Secretary of War do not come within the scope of this history, and may well be allowed to pass into oblivion. The order was subsequently revoked and Colonel Sawyer was restored to his command.

Meantime the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Collins, Lieut. Colonel Preston being in Vermont on leave of absence. November 1st found the headquarters of the regiment at Fort Scott, north of Alexandria, and its morning report of that date showed an aggregate of 951 officers and men, with 713 for duty. The regiment had lost in the first year 319 men by death, discharge and dismissal; but this number had been nearly made good by the addition of a new company—company L, Captain Parsons—recruited

ton Medical School, and was a practicing physician at Castleton when he enlisted, at the age of 34 years. He was elected captain of company H, at its organization, and showed himself a brave and good soldier. One who knew him well says of him. "He was a man of much more than average ability, and superior culture, of elevated character, with earnest feelings, quick and tender sympathies and genial disposition. He entered into the war with enthusiasm and uniformly discharged his duties as an officer with fidelity and zeal."

in Vermont in August and September, and of 200 recruits distributed among the other companies. The regiment had had, in its twelve months of service, four colonels. Lieut. Colonel Kellogg had been dismissed, Major Bartlett had resigned, and Quartermaster Dewey and Adjutant Pitkin had been mustered out (in September) under a general order requiring quartermasters and adjutants to be detailed from among the lieutenants in the line.[1] Dewey had been succeeded by Sergeant C. V H. Sabin, promoted regimental quartermaster; and Clarence D. Gates, who, after some service in an independent cavalry company in Illinois, had recently enlisted in the First Vermont cavalry, had been appointed adjutant. Of the line officers, Captain Perkins had been killed and Captains Platt, Sheldon, Moore, Conger and Ward, and Lieutenants Haywood, Danforth and Clarke, had resigned. Captains Hall and Wells had been promoted to the vacant majorships, and the vacancies in the line were filled by promotions. The condition of the regiment improved somewhat during the closing months of the year. The dismounted men were remounted upon 500 new Vermont horses, and the regiment was armed throughout with carbines, which greatly increased the fighting efficiency of the command.

During November and December detachments of the regiment were stationed at Annandale, Mount Vernon, Dranesville and Jeffersonville, Va., and took part in reconnoissances to Hopewell Gap and Aldie, November 10th and 12th, and to Ashby's Gap and beyond in the Shenandoah Valley, November 16th to December 2d—in the course of which some skirmishing took place with White's cavalry. On the 23d of December Colonel Sawyer returned and resumed command.

[1] Both returned to the service. Lieutenant Dewey was appointed captain and A. Q. M. of volunteers, in November 1862 and Adjutant Pitkin enlisted in the First United States Cavalry and died in Campbell Hospital, Washington, of a wound received in action.

On the 1st of January 1863, the headquarters of the regiment were still near Fort Scott, the camp being practically an invalid camp, all the effective portion of the regiment being engaged in outpost and picket duty upon the outer line of the defenses of Washington. Three companies were at Annandale; two at Lewinsville; and the remainder, under Major Wells, at Dranesville. The men of the outposts erected shanties for shelter during the snowstorms and severe weather of the winter. The partisan Mosby became a constant annoyance during the latter part of the winter and in the spring of 1863. In a scouting expedition February 1st, while attempting to ford Broad Run, Lieutenant Charles H. Pixley, of company B, having spurred his horse into the current to encourage his reluctant men, was swept from the saddle and drowned. His body was recovered two days after.[1] In fording Goose Creek, on the 14th, Private James L. Rush, of company C, was drowned.

During January the twelfth company, M, Captain John W Woodward, recruited chiefly in Chittenden County, joined the regiment, raising its aggregate to 1,034. As spring opened the cavalry service around Washington became more active. It was conducted under a singular system or want of system. The picket details were made up of squads from different regiments. The picket reserves consisted of groups of similar fragments, under officers who were commonly strangers to most of the men. The pickets were posted at isolated stations outside of the line of infantry pickets, with no proper system of patrols. Dissensions prevailed among the officers; there could be little *esprit de corps*, where the organic unity, both of the regiment as a

[1] Lieutenant Pixley was one of the most spirited and capable young officers of the regiment. He was a native of West Fairlee; but had removed thence with his parents to Enosburgh Falls, where he enlisted in the cavalry. He was appointed quartermaster's sergeant of company B, attracted notice by his efficiency and received a commission as second lieutenant. He was a fine soldier and general favorite in the regiment.

whole and of the companies, was so broken up, and the morale of the troops in all the cavalry regiments suffered seriously The arrangement of picket stations could hardly have been better adapted to encourage the operations of Mosby, and it was not surprising that these were often successful.

AFFAIRS WITH MOSBY.

On the 2d of March, a detachment of 50 men of companies H and M, under Captains Huntoon and Woodward, were sent out to scout for Mosby Near Aldie, they met a party of 200 men under Major Gilmer of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania, returning from an expedition to Middleburg. Taking Huntoon's squadron for a party of the enemy, Gilmer, though in much larger force, made a hasty retreat, for which and for drunkenness on the occasion, he was dismissed from the service. Some stragglers of his men, however, reported to Huntoon that they had just passed through Aldie, and found no enemy there. Thrown off his guard by this report Huntoon entered the town, and stopped to feed the horses in the yard of a grist-mill. Officers and men dismounted, some of the horses were taken to a blacksmith shop near by to be shod, and the rest were unbridled and feeding, when Mosby appeared upon the scene. With a party of about 30 men he had been following Gilmer in the hope of capturing some stragglers, and discovering the dismounted troopers about the mill in Aldie dashed in upon them. Huntoon and a number of men were surrounded and captured in and about the mill. The rest scattered and escaped, with the exception of Captain Woodward. He had ridden a short distance outside the village to reconnoitre and hearing firing, hastened back. As he reached the bridge, in the village, two of Mosby's men attacked him. He defended himself till his horse was shot and fell upon his leg, pinning him to the ground. While thus disabled one of his antag-

onists rode up close to him and began firing at him. His right arm fortunately was free, and drawing a small revolver from his breast pocket, he succeeded in putting a ball through his assailant; but would have been killed by the comrades of the latter if Mosby, who had seen the transaction, had not ridden up and rescued him. The partisan chieftain had him taken to a house and put to bed—his injury from the fall of his horse being severe—took his parole and rode away.[1] The loss by this affair was two officers and 14 men captured, most of whom were exchanged a month or two later.

A few days later the regiment suffered a more serious loss. An outpost had been established at Herndon Station, on the Loudon and Hampshire railroad, six miles from Dranesville where a considerable cavalry force consisting of portions of half a dozen companies of the First Vermont and detachments from other cavalry regiments was stationed, under command of Major C. F Taggart of the Second Pennsylvania. From this force the details were made for Herndon Station. The extreme exposure of the outpost at this point had been made the subject of a written report to General Heintzleman by Major Wells, and Mosby himself says he never could see why it was stationed there, unless to be captured. The picket guard at Herndon Station on the 17th of March consisted of 25 men under Lieutenant A. G. Watson of company L. On that day Mosby started from Middleburg with a force of 50 men, and making a circuit to the rear of the post, came in upon it from the direction of Dranesville. It was just noon. Watson's men, who were lounging around an old saw-mill, their horses standing tied to the fence near by, saw him coming; but it was time for them to be relieved, as they had been forty-eight hours on picket, and as Mosby

[1] In Mosby's account of this affair, given in his "Reminiscences," he says that the man shot by Captain Woodward was Tom Turner, one of his best men.

had in advance some men in blue overcoats which he had secured at Aldie, they supposed his force to be the relief. They discovered their mistake only as he dashed in upon them. They had no time to mount, and took refuge in the saw-mill. Mosby surrounded this, and ordering it to be set on fire, gave them the option to surrender or be roasted alive. As the mill was full of dry shavings and it was easy to fulfil the threat, they chose the former alternative. A single man, Blinn Atchinson of company A, was fired upon and seriously wounded. The rest were captured, unharmed. This was not all. It happened that a commission, consisting of Major Wells, Captain Scofield of company F, and Lieutenant Cheney of company C, had gone to Herndon Station that day to investigate a charge of stealing brought by a citizen against some of the troopers. They had been getting their dinner at a house near by. Their horses, standing in front, betrayed their presence, and they were also surrounded and captured. Four or five of Watson's men out on picket escaped capture. One of these, discovering what had occurred, started back for help, and met two miles back the relief guard of 30 men under Lieutenant Higley of company K. Hurrying forward to Herndon Station, Higley found that Mosby had departed with his prisoners, and started forward in pursuit. But the mud was deep, Mosby was better mounted, had half an hour the start, and had no difficulty in putting the swollen Horsepen Run between him and his pursuers. Higley followed Mosby to the Run and then returned to his station. The men captured by Mosby were paroled the same day The four officers were sent to Richmond, and spent two months in Libby Prison.

General Heintzleman, commanding the defenses of Washington, began about this time to investigate the frequent captures of portions of Taggart's command. The latter desired a scapegoat, and found one for a time in Lieutenant Higley. Taggart not only stated in his report that if Higley

had done his duty, Mosby's whole party would have been taken—a wholly unreasonable statement—but placed Higley under arrest for cowardice and then procured an order dismissing him from the service without trial or hearing. The case was, however, after considerable delay, re-opened and referred to a military commission of which General James B. Ricketts was president. Before this, Lieutenant Higley had no difficulty in establishing his character as a brave man, nor of relieving himself from the charge of inefficiency in pursuit of Mosby. The commission found no ground for the charges of cowardice and breach of duty, and, upon its recommendation, the Secretary of War ordered the restoration of Lieutenant Higley to his rank and command, with full pay for the three months during which he had been suspended from the service. After the affair at Herndon Station the posts at that point and at Dranesville were withdrawn across Difficult Run.

These affairs were comparatively bloodless; but a bloody and more disastrous one was to follow. March 31st a loyal citizen brought word to the cavalry camp that Mosby was at Dranesville, twelve miles away, with 80 men, and that he would probably camp there that night. Major Taggart at once sent thither a force of 130 men, of companies A, B, C, D, G and I, of the Vermont cavalry, under command of Captain Henry Flint, one of the most resolute officers in the regiment. Starting at midnight the battalion reached Dranesville before daylight, to find that Mosby had left the evening before, going toward Leesburg. Flint followed on his track to Broad Run, where the rangers had turned off from the pike to the farm of a man named Miskel. Here Mosby had stopped for the night. His men had picketed their horses inside a large barn-yard, and had gone to sleep in the barn and before the farmer's kitchen fire, for the weather was cold and snow lay on the ground. One of Mosby's lieutenants, Dick Moran, had stopped at the house

of a friend two miles below, where he was awakened at daylight by a column of Union cavalry passing by the house. Knowing what this must mean, he mounted in haste and, cutting across lots, reached Miskel's and alarmed Mosby just before Flint arrived. The latter's force was in two bodies, one in advance with himself, the other under Captain Bean, following at an interval. Flint reached the farm house through a narrow wood road, ending at a plantation gate leading into the enclosure surrounding the farm buildings. As he passed through the gate, Mosby and his men were saddling in mortal haste, in the barn-yard. If Flint had halted and used his carbines, a number of the enemy could doubtless have been put *hors de combat* and the rest driven from their partial shelter, and once outside the yard they could have been attacked with every prospect of success. But Flint thought he had his opponent in a trap; and disregarding a suggestion from Lieutenant Grout that it would be well to wait till the rest of the command came up, he ordered a charge and dashed forward to the gate of the barn-yard. This was more of a fort than a trap. The high fence protected the partisans from the cavalry who encircled its sides, while Mosby—always an advocate of the use of the revolver in preference to the sabre—received his assailants at the yard gate with a shower of pistol bullets. Flint fell dead with six bullets in his body, Grout was terribly wounded in the body and hip, and a dozen or fifteen men received more or less severe wounds. Bewildered by this reception and by the fall of their commander, the cavalry-men became demoralized; and when Mosby, who had now mounted, dashed out of the yard upon them, followed by his men, who were as numerous as their assailants on the spot, they turned in flight. They lost several more men by pistol shots; and a much larger number, whose escape was prevented by a choke in the narrow gateway, were captured. Lieutenant Sawyer was among those here wounded and captured. Those who got out of the farm

enclosure fled to the pike, where Lieutenant Woodbury made a last effort to rally the few men left unhurt, but he soon fell with a ball in his brain (fired, as Mosby says, by Ames, the deserter from the Fifth New York cavalry) and all attempt at resistance ceased. Mosby's pursuit ended at Dranesville, and the uncaptured survivors returned sadly to camp. The casualties in this lamentable affair were seven killed and mortally wounded; 22 wounded and 82 captured unwounded.[1]

Lieutenant Holden received a glancing sabre cut on the head, which nearly scalped him, and was captured, as was Lieutenant Sawyer. Holden's rank was not discovered by his captors and he was paroled with the other enlisted men. Sawyer was sent to Richmond. Mosby secured 95 horses, and stated his loss at one killed and three wounded. It was certainly a very spirited fight on his part, and the promotion which it brought him from General Lee, was fairly earned.

Major Hall started out at once with a party, and brought in the bodies of Captain Flint and Lieutenant Woodbury, and the wounded who could be moved. Lieutenant Grout's wound was pronounced mortal: but he survived and was afterwards brought in by his brother, Lieut. Colonel Grout of the Fifteenth Vermont, under a flag of truce. He was promoted to be captain for gallantry in this action, but was unable to do duty and was discharged six months after, for disability from his wounds.[2]

[1] The rank and file killed and mortally wounded were: Horace H. Bradley of company A; John E. Morton and George S. Woodward of company C; John N. Frost and John Reed of company I.

Among the wounded were: Sergeant Horace A. Hyde, Abel H. Coburn, Corporal Hiram B. Johnson and Mitchell Sharrow of company B; Sergeant Harlan P. Aldrich, Corporal A. George, Harrison S. Foster, Thomas Owens, Albert A. Northrop, James T. Reed, Harley T. Sawyer and Joseph N. Wright of company C; W. H. Belding, and S. B. Chellis of company G; Ephraim H. Brewster, George H. Gilman, Augustus Paddock and Eliab Smith of company I.

[2] Captain Grout finally recovered his health, commanded the Frontier cavalry after the St. Albans raid; and attained prominence in civil life, as Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives.

Two of Mosby's prisoners [1] made their escape that night at Middleburg, whither all of them were taken, and made their way back to camp. The rest went to Richmond and after a month in Libby prison were paroled and exchanged.

The loss of Captain Flint and Lieutenant Woodbury, who were among the most spirited young officers in the regiment, created a deep sensation, and the whole affair was alike a mortification and an exasperation to the whole command. Captain Bean was severely blamed for failing to support Flint with the rear squadron, and upon recommendation of General Stahel, who now commanded the cavalry in the defenses of Washington and wanted to punish somebody, was dismissed from the service.

About this time the cavalry of the Twenty-second Corps was organized into a division of three small brigades, the First Vermont with the Fifth New York and First Michigan constituting the Third brigade, Colonel DeForest commanding. On the 13th of April the headquarters of the regiment were removed to Fairfax Court House, where General Stahel had his headquarters, and remained there till the brigade started on the Gettysburg campaign, detachments being stationed at Annandale, Freedom Hill and Vienna. During the month portions of the regiment took part in a scout to Catlett's Station and in an expedition made by General Stahel in force to Aldie and Middleburg.

Early in May Lieut. Colonel Preston, who had been looking after the enlistment of recruits and purchase of horses for the regiment in Vermont, returned to the command. Detachments of the regiment were now employed in guarding the Orange and Alexandria railroad, which was being opened to the Rappahannock. On the 3d of May, Mosby, after surprising and capturing a battalion of the First West Virginia cavalry at Warrenton Junction, was himself attacked and routed by Major Hammond of the Fifth New

[1] Sergeant H. K. Ide and O. S. Hendrick of company D.

York. A squadron of the First Vermont was stationed at the time near by; and some of the Vermonters took part in the pursuit of Mosby, but had no fighting to do.

At midnight, May 27th, Colonel Preston, with a detachment of 150 men of the First Vermont and 25 from the First Michigan cavalry, started on a reconnoissance to the gaps of the Bull Run Mountains. Dividing his force at Gainsville, he sent a detachment to White Plains by way of New Baltimore and another to Thoroughfare Gap, while with a third he proceeded to Hopewell Gap. He reconnoitred the country to within a mile of Middleburg, and returned to White Plains with a number of fresh horses and several prisoners, taken on the way. At White Plains he was joined by the detachment sent thither, and after dispersing a party of mounted men who seemed inclined to dispute their passage, Preston proceeded to Thoroughfare Gap. Here he found that the detachment sent to occupy the Gap had possession of the western side, while a scouting party of Stuart's cavalry, 50 strong, under command of Captain Farley of General Stuart's staff, were posted in the rocky cliffs of the eastern end. Pushing into the Gap, Preston was fired on and had several horses wounded. He then dismounted some men, and sending them with carbines along the sides of the defile, directed Captain Frank Ray to take a squadron and charge through the pass. Stuart's men received them with a volley, which wounded some more horses, and then scattered, with a loss of one man killed and Captain Farley and three men wounded. The detachments then united and returned to camp on the evening of the 28th. This was a well-managed affair, for a small one, and raised Colonel Preston's reputation, both with the regiment and his superior officers.

On the 30th of May Mosby's attack on a supply train, near Catlett's, described in preceding pages,[1] took place. A

[1] Vol. II., pp. 436-7.

detachment of the First Vermont, under Preston, with other cavalry, was in bivouac that day at Kettle Run, five or six miles away. The sound of Mosby's howitzer, with which he disabled the locomotive and frightened away the train-guard, was heard by them. Preston had 125 men in the saddle in ten minutes after the first shot was fired and galloped directly thither, guided by the smoke of the burning train, while a battalion of the Fifth New York was sent across the country to intercept Mosby's retreat. Preston reached the spot in thirty minutes; but before he arrived Mosby had secured the mail bags, fresh fish and sutler's goods, and departed. Preston at once started hotly on his track and soon overtook Mosby's rear guard, and skirmished with it for a mile or two, while Mosby was endeavoring to reach a place where he could make a stand. Coming to a spot where the road ran over the brow of a hill through a deep cut, with woods on either hand, Mosby posted his howitzer in the cut, withdrew his rangers behind it, and awaited the attack. Lieutenant Barker of the Fifth New York, with 30 men, charged up the hill upon the gun and received a charge of canister which killed three men and wounded seven, and disabled a number of horses. Barker, who was himself wounded, was then charged and driven back by Mosby. The Vermonters then took their turn. With a cheer companies H, Lieutenant Hazelton, and C, under Sergeant D. J Hill, charged squarely up the hill to the very muzzle of the gun. The howitzer was fired when the head of the squadron was less than twenty feet from it, the shell passing through the horse of one of Preston's men. A hand to hand fight followed around the gun, in which Sergeant Corey was killed, and his brother Stephen, both of company H, wounded. Captain Haskins, an English officer who had fought in the Crimean war and had joined Mosby's partisans from love of adventure, was mortally wounded. Lieutenant Chapman of Mosby's party, who had been an artillery officer and who managed the field-piece, was shot

through the thigh and captured, with two others of Mosby's men. Mosby himself received a sabre blow on the shoulder; but he and his men scattered into the woods and made their escape. The howitzer was taken to General Stahel's headquarters, and Mosby was quiet for some days thereafter. This affair took place near Greenwhich, and it appears in the official list of engagements under that title. It made much stir and the conduct of the Vermonters was highly praised. This was the last encounter of the Vermont cavalry with Mosby. The loss on this occasion was one killed and seven wounded.[1]

On the 16th of June the regiment was consolidated at Fairfax Court House preliminary to joining the Army of the Potomac, now marching to the north on the Gettysburg campaign. On the 17th the regiment was sent, under Colonel Sawyer, on a reconnoissance to Warrenton. Hampton's division was then passing through Warrenton on its way from the Rappahannock to join Stuart at Middleburg; and two miles from Warrenton Sawyer's advance ran on to some of Hampton's pickets. These were driven by the skirmishers of the Vermont cavalry, till they were in turn driven back by the enemy's cavalry, which came out from the town. A lively exchange of shots took place between the enemy and the advance squadron (companies D and I) of the Vermont cavalry, till the former saw fit to retire. The regiment then moved back to Centreville and next day returned to Fairfax Court House, to find the place full of the infantry and artillery of the Army of the Potomac, and the Sixth Corps and First Vermont brigade passing through on their march to the north. On the 21st Stahel's division was sent to Warrenton, to look after Hampton, but he had passed on, and the division returned to Fairfax Court House on the night of the 23d.

[1] Killed—Sergeant Job Corey of company H.

Wounded—Sergeant Daniel J. Hill and Sergeant Homer Ruggles of company C; Sergeant Waldo Clark and John H. Hill of company G; George M. Gorton, John McIntire and Stephen Corey of company H.

MARCH TO GETTYSBURG.

On the 24th Stahel's division moved a few miles to the north, bivouacking near Dranesville, and on the 25th marched to the Potomac, and forded the river at Young's Island Ford, below Edwards Ferry, where the infantry of the First and Eleventh corps was crossing. The regiment went on with the brigade through Poolesville, forded the Monocacy and bivouacked at Licksville, Md. The next day it passed through Crampton's Gap and bivouacked at Rohrersville, and the next reached Frederick City. Here on the 28th General Stahel was relieved of the command, and the division was consolidated into two brigades, which formed the Third division of the Cavalry Corps, under General Judson Kilpatrick. In this re-arrangement the First Vermont, Fifth New York, Eighteenth Pennsylvania and the First West Virginia cavalry constituted the First brigade, under General Elon J. Farnsworth of Illinois, whose merits had just won him promotion from a captaincy to the rank and command of a brigadier general. The other brigade, of four Michigan regiments, was commanded by General Geo. A. Custer, who had been a captain on General Pleasonton's staff till he was promoted to be a brigadier general. With a division commander as restless as Kilpatrick and brigade commanders of such spirit and capacity, there was every prospect that this would be a fighting division, and the expectation was not disappointed.

The regiment was now in good condition, having 840 men reported present for duty and about 600 actually in the ranks. Major Wells had returned from Libby prison, Major Collins had resigned and had been succeeded as major by Captain John W Bennett, Lieutenant W G. Cummings succeeding the latter as captain of company D. Lieutenant E. B. Edwards had become captain of company A, vice Erhardt resigned; Lieutenant O. T. Cushman, captain of company E, vice Rundlett, resigned; Lieutenant Frank Ray, captain of

company G, vice Bean, dismissed; Lieutenant C. A. Adams, captain of company H, vice Hmntoon, honorably discharged; and Lieutenant A. J. Grover, captain of company K, vice Ward, resigned. The spirit of the men was excellent, and all welcomed the more effective, if not more active service, which they expected as a part of the cavalry arm of the Army of the Potomac.

On the 29th Kilpatrick's division, leading the advance of the right of the army, moved by way of Taneytown into Pennsylvania to Littlestown, ten miles southeast of Gettysburg, and keeping on to the northeast, next day at 10 o'clock A. M., marched into the streets of Hanover.

General Stuart, with the larger part of Lee's cavalry, was now in the rear of Meade's army. Having crossed the Potomac between it and Washington, he had pushed on to Westminster, Md., where he lay the night of the 29th, expecting the next day to pass on through Hanover and join Lee in Pennsylvania. Had he succeeded in doing this, he would have supplied the lack of cavalry at this time, to which Lee attributed the failure of his Gettysburg campaign. But at Hanover he struck an obstacle in the presence of Farnsworth's brigade. This was passing through the village, with the First Vermont in advance and the Eighteenth Pennsylvania in the rear. The troopers were enjoying the welcome of the citizens and accepting refreshments at the hands of the Hanover ladies, when Stuart's advance the Second North Carolina, of Chambliss's brigade, charged in upon the Pennsylvania regiment. This broke and scattered, with a loss of 86 officers and men. General Farnsworth at once faced about the Fifth New York, which was next to the Eighteenth Pennsylvania, first ordering Preston to send a squadron of his regiment to support a counter charge. For this Preston sent Major Bennett with companies M, Captain Woodward, and D, Captain Cummings. These charged the enemy with

the Fifth New York, capturing Lieut. Colonel Payne,[1] commanding the North Carolina regiment, and 20 men, and driving the remainder out of the village. General Stuart, who witnessed this proceeding from a field just outside the village, narrowly escaped capture with his staff and guard. This was the first engagement of the war on free soil. General Kilpatrick, in his somewhat magniloquent report of it, says: "The attack [Stuart's] was determined and fierce. The main and side streets swarmed with rebel cavalry The Eighteenth Pennsylvania was routed; but the gallant Farnsworth had passed from front to rear, ere the shout of the rebel charge had ceased to ring through the quiet streets, faced the Fifth New York about, countermarched the other regiments, and with a rush and a blow struck the rebel hosts in full charge. For a moment and a moment only, victory hung uncertain. For the first time our troops had met the foe in close contact; but they were on their own free soil, fair hands waved them on and bright tearful eyes looked pleading out from every window. The brave Farnsworth made one great effort, and the day was won." There is no doubt that it was a sharp and exciting encounter while it lasted, both for the troops engaged and the citizens of Hanover.

Stuart, after this rebuff, withdrew Chambliss's brigade to the hills south and east of Hanover. Farnsworth's brigade followed and formed in front of them and was soon joined by Custer's brigade, which had passed on some three miles when it was recalled by Kilpatrick. As the rest of Stuart's division had now come up, there was for a time a prospect of a general cavalry engagement. The streets of Hanover were barricaded, the citizens assisting. Elder's battery was brought forward and an artillery duel followed, during which the first and second battalions under Majors Hall and Wells supported the battery. The third battalion

[1] Payne was brought in by one of the Vermont boys who captured him in a barn, where he had sought shelter.

was sent to the left of the town and drove back the enemy's skirmishers, which were active and aggressive during the afternoon. Finding that his way was fairly blocked, Stuart now gave up his purpose to force a passage and at nightfall withdrew to the east, marched all night through Jefferson towards York, and making a long circuit to the north by way of Dover and Carlisle, only joined Lee at Gettysburg in the afternoon of the second day of the battle. There can be no question that his repulse at Hanover had an important bearing on the final result of the campaign. In that affair the First Vermont cavalry lost one man wounded and 16 missing.

During the night of the 30th the regiment encamped at Hanover. The next morning the division moved north to Abbottstown, picking up on the way some stragglers from Ewell's corps, which had just crossed that road on its way from York to Gettysburg. Passing on to Berlin Kilpatrick found that Stuart had passed that point two hours before, and, as it would not now be possible to head him off, Kilpatrick halted and bivouacked. This was the first day of the great battle.

GETTYSBURG.

Early in the morning of July 2d, Kilpatrick was ordered by General Pleasonton to move to Gettysburg, and starting at once, had reached the neighborhood of the field at two P. M., when he was met by an order to move out to the northeast to prevent any attempt of Lee to turn the right flank of the army, now posted along Cemetery Ridge. He accordingly moved out five miles, to Hunterstown, whither Hampton's division had also been sent by Stuart. The latter was first in position and was found posted on a knoll beyond a fork in the road. Here he was charged by Custer with the Sixth Michigan, and driven back sufficiently to

enable Pennington's battery to go into position on a knoll near by. The First Vermont supported the battery, while Pennington opened with canister and drove Hampton farther back. The Vermont regiment was then dismounted and deployed as skirmishers in a wheat-field in front of the battery. After an hour's firing, the enemy, whose artillery practice was generally inferior to that of the Union batteries, retired. At eleven o'clock Kilpatrick received orders to move back to the Two Taverns on the Baltimore pike, five miles southeast of Gettysburg. The brigade marched all night, passing very near the left of Ewell's corps which lay in front of Culp's Hill, and arrived at daylight at the Two Taverns. Custer remained back, having, by some mistake, been ordered to report to General Gregg, and it was fortunate for the latter that he did so, as he rendered important aid to Gregg in a furious fight with Stuart next day. At Two Taverns the brigade rested for several hours, and the men got coffee and a little sleep, till at eight A. M. Kilpatrick received orders to proceed to the extreme left and with his own command and Merritt's reserve brigade of regular cavalry to demonstrate against Lee's right flank and prevent any movement from his right around the left flank of the Army of the Potomac. Kilpatrick moved with Farnsworth's brigade up the Baltimore pike for two or three miles, then struck across to the Taneytown road, and thence to the west, passing south of Round Top. Then, turning to the north, shortly after noon, he moved up to the front of Hood's division, stretching from the southwestern base of Round Top to the west across the Emmittsburg road. Preston, with the Vermont cavalry, was in advance, and as they approached the enemy he threw forward two squadrons,[1] dismounted, as skirmishers, supported by a mounted squadron, and drove the enemy's skirmishers back upon his main line. In the course of this operation, Lieutenant Watson, with a few men of

[1] Companies A, D, E and I.

company L, drove a party of the enemy from a knoll, with a house on it, to the left and front, which they were holding, perhaps with the intention of bringing a battery thither. Watson, with his men, rode square upon them, through a volley of musketry, and drove them off, though they staid till the revolvers flashed in their very faces. In this skirmish Private George S. Brownell was killed.

The situation in this part of the field was somewhat peculiar. During the sanguinary fighting of the previous afternoon the brigades of Law and Robertson had made their way past the Devil's Den and into the notch between the Round Tops. At the close of that day, Longstreet's troops had been driven back from all other portions of Meade's lines. But here, on the extreme Union left, Law and Robertson held much of the ground they had gained. During Thursday night and Friday morning, they were withdrawn from the notch and extended to their right along the base of Round Top, and almost upon its slope. Above them, on the height, two Union lines, behind breastworks of stone, held them back from any advance. They could not withdraw without exposure to the batteries on the heights above; but the rocky hill side afforded them such protection that they could stay where they were. While at other portions of the field the opposing lines held each other off at arm's length, here they were near together, and every man on either side who showed head or arm above his rocky shield, was a mark for hostile bullets. At right angles to the main line of Law and Robertson, the First Texas maintained a skirmish line extending to the west across Plum Run and half way across the undulating ground between that and the Emmittsburg road, connecting with a cavalry skirmish line extending across that road and protecting the front of Anderson's brigade, which was the extreme right of Lee's army.

There were two powerful reasons on the part of the

Union commanders, for attacking the troops whose position has thus been described. One was to relieve the Union left from the menace of these bodies of infantry entrenched near the base of the citadel of Round Top. The other was to keep Hood from assisting the main Confederate assault on the Union left centre, which Meade expected, and which was in preparation. In furthering these two objects Kilpatrick also hoped to find or make an opening through which he might reach Lee's trains, in the Confederate rear. No infantry being available for the purpose, Meade used his cavalry.

Between one and two o'clock, while the great cannonade on the left centre was in progress, Farnsworth's skirmishers were driving in the opposing skirmishers, until the latter had fallen back to the shelter of Reilly's (North Carolina) and Bachman's (South Carolina) batteries, which, using grape, drove back the Vermont cavalry-men for a short distance.

At three o'clock Merritt's brigade came up and formed on Farnsworth's left. Elder's battery was brought forward, and for two hours there was artillery firing and skirmishing. At five o'clock, in pursuance of his orders, General Kilpatrick ordered the cavalry attack. Merritt was directed to press Anderson with a dismounted line, while Farnsworth was to charge the enemy in his front. Major Wells had inspected the ground in front, and as he reported that it did not look promising, Farnsworth asked permission, before attacking, to send forward a party to reconnoitre. This was granted with apparent reluctance by General Kilpatrick, and the reconnoissance was made by Captain Woodward, with company M. It disclosed the presence of hostile infantry under Round Top, and of ample infantry supports for the two Confederate batteries in front. General Farnsworth reported the facts and expressed his opinion that it was a desperate thing to take mounted men into such a place. Kilpatrick replied that the charge must be made and at once, adding that if General Farnsworth did not want to lead

it, he would lead it himself. Farnsworth's rejoinder was that he was not afraid to go as far as any man, and that nobody could take his men any farther than he could. Wheeling his horse he at once gave his orders for the charge. For this he took Wells's battalion, with the First West Virginia cavalry, Colonel Richmond. Farnsworth placed himself by Wells's side at the head of the column, and led it forward by a wood road through a piece of timber and through an opening in a stone fence into open ground, where it came under the fire of some infantry to the left. Passing on through a field and over a second stone fence, the battalion pierced and scattered a line of infantry, and came into a field swept by Bachman's guns, which had been advanced east of the Emmittsburg road. These opened at short range and emptied many saddles. The cavalry column here became divided. Richmond turned back to the south, and after cutting his way through the infantry which had formed across his path, got back with most of his command whence he started. Farnsworth still kept on.

Meantime Kilpatrick had ordered Preston to support Farnsworth with the remainder of the regiment. Taking the first battalion, commanded by Captain Parsons, and a part of the third battalion under Captain Grover—the rest of the battalion being dismounted and placed behind a stone wall as a support—Preston accordingly followed Farnsworth and Wells over the stone fence, and into the open field, where he encountered an infantry regiment which had moved in to intercept the retreat of the second battalion, and a sharp contest followed. Checked by the fire in his front, Preston obliqued to the right and charged the flank of the opposing line. "The contest," he says in his report, "became a hand to hand one, in which our sabres were effectually used. The enemy being completely cut up, surrendered in squads and were sent to the rear. Had I had two companies of carbineers at my command, I think I

could have held the position and removed my wounded; but being exposed to the fire of the enemy's batteries and sharpshooters I was obliged to fall back." Not many of the enemy who thus surrendered and were sent to the rear, saw fit to go there. Shortly after this encounter the three battalions united. Farnsworth's horse fell, shot under him, but Corporal Freeman of company C gave him his horse, by direction of Major Wells, and he was again in the saddle. As he and the rapidly lessening number of men with him, aiming toward the Devil's Den, neared the Slyder House, the Fourth Alabama, of Law's brigade, which had moved down, left in front, from its position at the foot of Round Top, emerged from the woods along Plum Run and opened a raking fire upon them. Wheeling to the left, they now charged straight toward Reilly's battery. As they came over a swell of open ground between them and this, the Ninth Georgia infantry and Reilly's and Bachman's guns opened fire on them at short range. Beaten back here, they turned to the south, to find that there was no exit where they had entered, the enemy's infantry having closed in behind them. Again turning to the east, they crossed Plum Run, and dashed up the hillside upon the line of the Fifteenth Alabama, which had faced to the rear to receive them. Riding up to this General Farnsworth ordered the men in his front to surrender. The reply was a volley, before which horse and rider went down. By this time formations had become largely lost. Captains Parsons and Cushman fell about this time and near the same spot where Farnsworth fell, both dangerously wounded. Lieutenant Cheney was shot through the body, Sergeant Duncan of company L was killed, and other good men were killed, wounded or captured. The rest scattered and escaped as best they could. Wells and Preston with the larger portion of their commands, fell back to the south. Of the rest, some passed through a gap in the enemy's line and made their

way out between the Round Tops. Some passed around the base of Round Top, and came in through the skirmish line of the First Vermont brigade, behind the hill.

The account of this transaction given by General Benning, of Georgia, who witnessed it from the side of the ridge of the Devil's Den, is as follows:

On the last day's fight about two P. M., we heard from the mountain we had taken the day before a great shouting in our rear down the Emmittsburg road. We soon distinguished it to be the enemy's cheer. Very soon the head of a line of his cavalry in that road emerged from the wood, galloping hurrahing and waving their swords as if frantic. Our artillery, which had been thrown forward across the road, opened on them. They rode on. An infantry fire from a wood on their left opened on them. They then turned to their right to escape, taking down a lane. Some men of ours (cooking details) threw themselves behind the stone fence on the side of the lane and opened on them as they came down the lane. They then turned again to the right and entered the field and directed themselves back towards the point where they had first appeared to us. In doing so they had to pass a wood on their left. From this an infantry fire opened on them, and their direction was again changed to the right. The result was that they galloped round and round in the large field, finding a fire at every outlet, until most of them were killed or captured. Every thing passed before our eyes on the mountain side as if in an amphitheatre.

Some of the men engaged (Cook's) told me that the prisoners said it was General Farnsworth's brigade, and that they were all drunk. The same men told me that in going over the field for spoils they approached a fallen horse with his rider by his side, but not dead. They ordered him to surrender. He replied to wait a little, or something to that effect, and put his hand to his pistol, drew it, and blew his brains out. This was General Farnsworth.

Brigadier General E. M. Law, who commanded the division, General Hood having been wounded the day before, made the disposition to receive this cavalry. At very short notice he put the artillery across the road, the Seventh Georgia beside the road in a wood a little beyond the artillery, and the Ninth Georgia in a wood at some distance on the other side of the road and of the enclosed field. These two

regiments were all that could be spared from the line of battle, and to spare them was a risk. Lee's baggage and rear were saved. There was nothing else to protect them.

This and other Confederate reports show that the Vermont regiments encountered in this assault at least five regiments of infantry—the First Texas, Seventh and Ninth Georgia, Fourth and Fifteenth Alabama—and two batteries. That any considerable number of the men who charged with Farnsworth survived so desperate a duty, is explainable only by the fact they were in constant and rapid motion. The loss of the regiment was 12 killed, 20 wounded—two of them mortally, and 35 missing.

The story that General Farnsworth committed suicide by blowing his brains out, rather than surrender, though current on the Confederate side at the time, and stated in various official reports and by several southern writers, had no foundation in fact, and it is time that it ceased to be repeated. He was not the man to commit suicide, though he would fight to the death, and his brains were not blown out by his own or any hand. On this point the evidence of an unimpeachable witness is offered in the statement of Surgeon Edson, who brought in his body, and who says that there was no wound in the head.[1]

[1] 249 WARREN ST., BOSTON, MASS., June 25, 1888.

DEAR SIR:

Early in the forenoon of July 5, 1863, Surgeon Lucius P Woods, Fifth New York cavalry, and myself, then Ass't Surgeon First Vermont cavalry, found the body of General Farnsworth upon the wooded spur that connects Little Round Top and Round Top at Gettysburg, and carried it to the hospital of the Third division of the Cavalry Corps.

When found, the body was stripped to flannel shirt and drawers and stockings. There were *five* bullet wounds upon the body—four in the chest and abdomen, and one high up in the thigh. He had no wound or injury of any sort in the head or face.

In view of these facts it seems improbable at least, that General Farnsworth had any need to shoot himself, though Colonel Oates [of the Fifteenth Alabama], who claims to have seen it, was undoubtedly there and has declared that it was suicide. General Farnsworth certainly did not blow his own brains out, nor did any one do it for him.

The current talk at the time, was, that when ordered to surrender by

General Pleasonton says that Farnsworth's attack "caused the enemy to detach largely from his main attack on the left of our line." General Kilpatrick says: "I am of the opinion that had our infantry on my right advanced at once when relieved [by the cavalry charge] from the enemy's attack on their front, the enemy could not have recovered from the confusion into which Generals Farnsworth and Merritt had thrown them, but would have rushed back, one division on another, until, instead of a defeat, a total rout would have ensued." Other similar testimonies to the value of the diversion made by Farnsworth's charge might be cited if space permitted. After the repulse of the cavalry the enemy pushed forward his skirmish line, but it was easily held in check.

On the morning of the 4th, General Kilpatrick received orders to follow Lee. Starting accordingly at ten A. M., the regiment left the battlefield, with the brigade, now commanded by Colonel Richmond, and marched to Emmitsburg, reaching there at three P. M., and then turned west to the South Mountain, behind which Lee's trains and columns were moving.

At Monterey, near which place the First West Virginia captured 160 wagons and many prisoners, the Vermont cavalry was detached and sent by Kilpatrick along the ridge

a party of the enemy who covered him with loaded muskets, he called out that he would never surrender to a rebel, and fired his revolver, receiving in return a volley that made suicide unnecessary, if not impossible.

In explanation of this discrepancy of statement, I offer the following: General Farnsworth was described by the rebels as a man wearing a white haveloek. The General did not wear one. Captain Cushman of E company—the peer of any man in bravery—did wear a white handkerchief under his cap behind, so that it fell down upon his neck and shoulders. He got a musket ball through the face, from side to side, disfiguring him horribly, though not killing him. He may have been mistaken for General Farnsworth—but even this cannot explain the declaration of suicide.

P. O'M. EDSON,
Late Ass't Surgeon First Vt. Cavalry.

Hon. G. G. BENEDICT.

of South Mountain to Smithburg and thence to Leitersburg, in hopes of striking there another wagon train. The march was hard, rain fell constantly, many of the horses lost shoes on the rocky mountain roads, and the regiment was diminished nearly one-half by straggling during the night march.

At Leitersburg Preston found that the Confederate train had passed two hours before. He secured, however, a hundred prisoners, chiefly cavalry and infantry stragglers, a drove of cattle, and several wagons, and went on to Hagerstown, reaching that point in advance both of Lee's infantry and cavalry. There he learned that the main Confederate train had reached Williamsport, and turning to the southeast he joined Kilpatrick at Boonsboro after an exhausting march of 48 hours' duration, and bivouacked in a ploughed field, at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Having established communication with Buford, it was arranged that Kilpatrick should take his division to Hagerstown to hold back Stuart, who was approaching that point by the Greencastle road, while Buford should try to strike and destroy the wagons at Williamsport. Before Kilpatrick reached Hagerstown the two small brigades of Chambliss and Robertson, of Stuart's division, had reached that point, but were driven out by Kilpatrick's advance, of Richmond's brigade. Three companies of the Vermont regiment, D, L and A, dismounted, took part in this operation. Leaving Richmond's brigade to hold Hagerstown, Kilpatrick then hastened with his other brigade to assist Buford at Williamsport. Richmond soon had all that he could attend to. Stuart was at hand in strong force, leading the advance of Lee's army, and he at once took measures to clear the Union cavalry from his way. In the preparations to receive his attack, companies L, E, F and I, of the Vermont cavalry, were deployed on the right of the town; companies A and D were stationed as skirmishers in the village; the rest of the regiment was posted with the rest of the brigade at the rear of the town.

The brigade was soon in a very tight spot. Stuart reinforced Chambliss and Robertson with Jenkins's brigade, which pushed in on Richmond's left flank. Jones's brigade with artillery closed in on his right and rear, while in front a body of Iverson's infantry, of Rodes's division, began to crowd upon the troops in the town. These, firing from behind the houses and around corners and falling back slowly from street to street, held back the intruders for two hours or more, but were at last driven out of the village. A party of fourteen Vermonters were cut off from the rest, but dodged into a house and were secreted by a citizen until the 12th, when the Federal troops again occupied the town. Four men were here captured.[1]

The brigade was now united outside the town, and began to retire slowly toward Williamsport. Two regiments with a section of Elder's battery, faced the enemy for a time, while the other two regiments and the other section of the battery selected a position for a stand farther back, when the troops in front withdrew behind them. The brigade thus fell back, fighting, and holding in check a greatly superior force. About two miles from the village, where the First Vermont and Fifth New York were facing the enemy, the latter got into the woods on both flanks, and gave them some sharp fighting. A mile farther back the Vermont regiment was the rear guard, and was twice almost surrounded. Here, near the toll-gate, Captain Grover, with company K, made a charge which beat back the enemy's advance; but his sharp-shooters soon made the place too warm and the regiment retreated, fighting and falling back by squadrons, one squadron making a stand until a second squadron could form in its rear, and then withdrawing and forming farther

[1] Two of these, Silas Kingsley and Samuel Washburn of company D, died in Andersonville prison. Several others who were hidden in houses escaped by donning citizens' clothing, and Private A. H. Curtis, while so dressed, had the distinction of saluting General Lee in person.

back. At this point Captain Woodward of company M, was killed, pierced through heart and brain.[1]

Half a mile farther back Preston again made a stand, and then charged the enemy's advance, the men becoming intermingled with the enemy, till they suffered from their own as much as from the Confederate artillery. At one point Captain Beeman was surrounded and ordered to surrender. "I don't see it," he shouted, and by leaping a fence he and most of his squadron escaped. At dusk the brigade met General Kilpatrick returning, the attempt on Williamsport having failed; and the division, turning to the south, marched to Jones's Cross Roads and bivouacked. In the fight at Hagerstown and in the retreat the Vermont cavalry lost five men killed, 16 wounded and 55 missing.[2]

Early in the morning of the 8th, Stuart moved from Hagerstown in order to get possession of Boonsboro Gap and close the pass to Meade's army, now approaching on the other side. In the fight to prevent this, made by Buford and Kilpatrick, the Vermont regiment was held in reserve during the forenoon, and had little to do except that a squadron was sent to level the fences in readiness for retreat, should it

[1] John W. Woodward was the only son of Chaplain Woodward. He graduated from the University of Vermont in August, 1862, and at once enlisted in the Vermont cavalry, was chosen captain of company M, and showed himself one of the bravest, most spirited and most reliable officers in the command. A few days before his death he received the sad news of the death of his betrothed, a lovely and accomplished girl, who died of typhoid fever. Thereafter he cared little what happened to him; exposed his life more freely than ever, and evidently welcomed a soldier's death. His remains were taken to Vermont, and two grave stones, side by side, in the cemetery in Cambridge, record the close of a mournful romance of real life.

[2] "The Vermont cavalry fought most desperately, and I saw men shed tears that they could not do more. We were in a very dangerous position, with the rebel army on three sides, but we cut our way through with the loss of but about 50 men, making 120 which we have lost in about three days. You cannot imagine how desperately our boys will fight."—Lieut. Colonel Preston, in a private letter.

become necessary In the afternoon the sixth squadron, under Captain Cummings, was sent to the extreme right of the line, where it took a position near one of the enemy's batteries, from which the carbineers annoyed the cannoneers considerably. Companies E and I, under Captain Scofield, were next sent forward, and took position near the Hagerstown road and helped to hold back the enemy. The third battalion, under Major Bennett, (companies L, F, K and M), was sent by Colonel Richmond to the right and front of the Hagerstown road, where the men suffered seriously from the enemy's batteries.

The latter part of the afternoon Major Wells's battalion, now reduced to less than 60 men, was ordered to charge down the Hagerstown road. The charge was made with spirit, and sabre cuts were freely given and taken, but the force was not large enough to hold the ground gained, and Wells retired, having inflicted serious injury on the enemy. In this melee Major Wells crossed sabres with a Confederate officer and received a glancing thrust in the side which passed through his clothes and scratched his skin. While so engaged in front he was attacked from behind by a trooper, received a blow across the back, and was in serious danger, when Sergeant Jerome B. Hatch, who was lying pinned to the ground by his horse which had fallen on him, disabled one of Wells's assailants by a shot from his revolver, and Wells beat off the other. Fighting was kept up thus with varying success till just at dark the head of Meade's infantry column appeared in the Gap, and Stuart, having gained neither ground nor information, withdrew. That night the regiment bivouacked on the road beyond the Gap, and remained there for the next two days. Its loss at Boonsboro was two killed, eight wounded and five missing.

July 10th, Colonel Sawyer, who had been absent since the 22d of June, rejoined his command at Boonsboro, and that afternoon it moved with the division to the right flank

of Meade's army, where the Funkstown pike crosses Antietam Creek. That night and the next day, the First Vermont did skirmish and picket duty on the division front.

On the 12th, Kilpatrick reoccupied Hagerstown without much opposition, and took a position near the seminary, where the men stood in line of battle thirty-six hours without unsaddling. In the afternoon of the 13th Colonel Sawyer, with the First Vermont and some Pennsylvania militia was sent to reconnoitre above the town. The enemy's pickets were encountered on the outskirts of the town, and were driven in by the skirmishers under Captain Cummings and Lieutenant Grant. Then companies I and F, under Captain Scofield and Lieutenant Newton, charged down a road, lined by high fences, till they received a volley from a force of infantry or dismounted cavalry in the edge of a piece of woods skirting the road. Scofield was wounded and taken prisoner, Newton's horse was shot, and 13 men were killed, wounded and missing. Having developed the position of the enemy, the regiment withdrew to Hagerstown.

Early next morning the regiment moved out on the Williamsport road, discovered that Lee had crossed the river in the night, and captured many stragglers. It then moved to Falling Waters with the brigade, but arrived too late to help Custer in his fight with the rear guard of Lee's army, in which the Confederate General Pettigrew was killed. On the 16th the regiment marched with the division from Boonsboro to Harper's Ferry.

In the Gettysburg campaign the loss of the regiment was 19 killed, 63 wounded and 101 missing—an aggregate of 183. Of the wounded men five died of their wounds. Captain Parsons received an honorable discharge in consequence of his wound. Captain Scofield remained a prisoner for twenty months, when, in March, 1865, he was exchanged. Captain Cushman and Lieutenants Cheney, Steward and Caldwell,

returned to the regiment as soon as they recovered from their serious wounds.[1]

On the 17th the regiment guarded the bridges, seven miles below Harper's Ferry, by which the infantry was crossing into Virginia. Next day it halted, with the division, at Purcellsville, Va., where the horses were shod, and on the 19th moved to the neighborhood of Ashby's Gap, where the pickets of the two armies again faced each other. On the 20th the infantry of the Third Corps came up, and the cavalry returned to Upperville. On the 21st the Vermont regiment was sent to Snickersville, and on the 22d it occupied Snicker's Gap, remaining there until the night of the 23d. July 24th the regiment rejoined the brigade and marched with it to Amissville. Colonel Richmond having been detached with

[1] The rank and file killed were: Corporal Orris P. Beeman of company B; Joel J. Smith and T. C. Ward of Company C; Sylvanus Lund of company D; George W Everest, Franklin Gould, Oramel Morse and Wesley Watts of company E; Loren M. Brigham of company F; George D. Bucklin, Joseph Buffum, John Sulham and Henry M. Worthen of company H; John Galvin of company K; Sergeant George W. Duncan, Corporal Hiram L. Waller, George S. Brownell and Rufus D. Thompson of company L.

The wounded were: Sergeant Warren Gibbs and Homer E. Bliss * of company A; Sergeant Harmon D. Hall, Corporal Samuel Ufford, Orson T. Bigelow, Eli Hibbard, Hannibal S. Jenne, James M. Lake and Mitchell Sharrow of company B; Corporal Marcus M. Rice, William P. Mason, Jr., James T. Reed and Gilbert O. Smith of company C; Harvey J. Allen and Harrison K. Bard of company D; Sergeants Joseph W. Bailey and Jarvis Wentworth,* Major Gould and Orris F. Kimball* of company E; Corporal Douglass Edmonds of company F; Sergeant John M. Vanderlip and John H. Hill of company G; Sergeants Lensie R. Morgan and Emmet Mather, Corporal George M. Gorton, Willard Crandall, Darwin E. Eames, George J. Everson, George W Knight, James O. Riley and James Stone of company H; James Greaves, Aaron S. Ober and George S. Spafford of company I; Sergeant Jones R. Rice, David S. Dillon, Edwin E. Jones, Charles N. Lapham, Alexander W. Ross and Hiram E. Tupper of company K; Sergeants William L. Greenleaf and Seymour H. Wood, Corporals Robert Pollenger and Ira E. Sperry,* J. A. Fobes, Timothy Keefe, J. Scott Merritt* and Edgar J. Wolcott of company L, and Thomas McGuire and Austin McKenzie of company M.

*Died of wounds.

his regiment, Colonel Sawyer was now in command of the brigade, and the command of the regiment again devolved on Lieut. Colonel Preston. On the 31st the division moved to Warrenton Junction, where the brigade was occupied with picket duty, the Eighteenth Pennsylvania and First Virginia being stationed at Stafford Court House and the First Vermont and Fifth New York near the United States Ford on the Rappahannock, with headquarters at Hartwood Church. Here a number of men were sent in to Washington in charge of Major Wells, and were remounted, many horses having given out with the hard service. From this time until September the headquarters of the Third division were at Warrenton, and the regiments in rotation picketed the line of the river. Lieut. Colonel Preston was absent during a portion of this time, leaving Major Wells in command, and companies A, D, K and M, under Major Grover, were detached for duty at the headquarters of the Sixth Army Corps.

On the 20th of August, in a partial re-organization of the division, the First Vermont was transferred to Custer's brigade, (the Second), and Colonel Sawyer returned to the command of the regiment. On the 24th the regiment formed part of a cavalry force which made a reconnoissance to Port Conway, on the Rappahannock, in King George County, returning the same night after a march of sixty-four miles. September 1st the regiment went again, this time with the division, to Port Conway, to which point the Confederates had brought two gunboats, the "Satellite" and "Reliance," recently captured by them off the mouth of the Rappahannock. Kilpatrick moved with his division to King George Court House. The road thence for five miles to Port Conway was narrow, running through dense woods. On entering this, the Vermont regiment was sent to the front, with company I thrown forward as skirmishers. The enemy's pickets were soon seen, and were driven to and across the Rappahannock. The two gunboats were found lying on the

southern bank of the river, and the enemy were removing portions of the machinery, until they were driven away by the Union sharp-shooters. General Kilpatrick waited a while for the Union gunboats which he was expecting to co-operate with him; but as these did not appear—being detained by low water in the river—he brought forward his batteries, and after shelling the gunboats till they were believed to be rendered useless to the enemy, Kilpatrick returned with his expedition. In these two affairs at Port Conway, which were considered of consequence enough to appear in the official list of engagements, the regiment suffered no casualties.

September 3d the regiment went into camp at Berea Court House, four miles north of Falmouth, and picketed the Rappahannock until the beginning of the campaign south of the Rappahannock, on the 12th of September.

CULPEPER COURT HOUSE

On the 13th of September the Cavalry Corps was sent across the Rappahannock to clear the ground for an advance of the Army of the Potomac to the Rapidan. Stuart's cavalry occupied the region between the two rivers, with his headquarters at Culpeper Court House; and, if he had received no warning, it might have been an unpleasant surprise to him. But information of the movement was conveyed to him by a citizen the night before, and he had time to get his trains across the Rapidan and to make arrangements to meet the emergency, and succeeded in withdrawing his division across the Rapidan with a loss of three guns and a number of men.

In this operation the First Vermont cavalry, under Major Wells, Colonel Sawyer being absent in Washington and Lieut. Colonel Preston sick, had a creditable part. The cavalry now numbered some 10,000 sabres. Crossing at

Kelly's Ford and the fords above, the three divisions of Kilpatrick, Buford and Gregg united at Brandy Station. The country was open, and the Vermonters found the movement the most imposing one in which they had as yet taken part. A line of carbineers, deployed as skirmishers, led the advance of each brigade, followed, 200 yards back, by a long line of battle, moving at a walk, with drawn sabres. Back of this moved the remainder of the brigade and the artillery in column of march. The nine brigades made a column over five miles long. At Brandy Station the enemy, of Lomax's brigade, began to contest the advance, meeting skirmishers with skirmishers and opening with artillery from the slope beyond the Station; but he was heavily out-numbered, and there was no serious fighting till the Union line reached Culpeper Court House. Up to that point the line pressed on, the officers and men of each command eager to keep their own front as well advanced as any other, and pushing forward with the animation of a fox-hunt with a spice of danger added to make it more exciting.

In the advance Custer's brigade, ot which the Vermont regiment now formed part, had the extreme left.

Sept. 13, 1863.

On approaching Culpeper, a little after noon, a long line of dismounted cavalry, supported by artillery, was seen along a fence across a swollen creek, evidently posted to guard a train of cars about to start for Orange Court House. Kilpatrick ordered Custer to charge the train; but the overflowed creek and the marsh which skirted it could not be passed at that point, and Custer, giving up the attempt on the train, placed himself at the head of the First Vermont and the Second New York and dashed into the town. Here three guns of Thompson's battery were taken, one of which was captured by the Vermonters with all its appurtenances complete, and eight prisoners. The Vermonters next occupied a knoll on the south side of the village in the face of a sharp artillery fire, and then, by order of General Custer,

attacked the enemy along the road leading to Orange Court House. Companies E and I, sent forward to the right, dismounted and engaged the enemy's skirmishers, and the second battalion, companies B, C, H and G, under Captain Adams, charged the enemy. Here the fight was somewhat protracted. The Second New York had already been once repulsed, but rallied and charged with the First Vermont, and the two regiments drove the enemy from the road, into the woods, to the protection of his artillery. General Custer, who led the first charge, was wounded by an exploding shell which killed his horse, and Major Wells received a slight wound in the shoulder from the same shell. The enemy succeeded in holding the line in check till he removed the rest of his artillery. A third charge by the First Vermont forced him to full retreat, and he retired to the Rapidan. Nightfall checked the pursuit. In this engagement the Vermont cavalry was under fire for about four hours and took some 40 prisoners. The infantry followed; and General Meade established his headquarters at Culpeper Court House. The enemy made another stand at the base of Pony Mountain, but were driven off and the First Vermont bivouacked near the foot of the mountain that night. The casualties in the regiment in this action were one killed, four wounded and four missing.[1]

Adjutant Gates charged the enemy's guns with the regiment, and after one gun had been taken, went on with the battalion after the second gun. The cavalry which defended this made a fight for it, and several charges and countercharges took place in quick succession. After one of the latter, while Adjutant Gates was trying to rally some of the

[1] Killed—John Henry of company B.

Wounded—Sergeant A. R. Haswell of company G; Monroe Lyford of company C, and Frank A. Russell of company I.

Missing—Adjutant Gates, Sergeant B. Chapman and B. J. Merrill of company B: Sergeant H. P. Aldrich of company C, and A. F. Hackett of company M.

men who had fallen back to the edge of a piece of timber, he found himself surrounded by a flanking party of the enemy which had come in from the left through the woods. Gates's horse was wounded, and the Confederates continued to fire on him after he had surrendered; but fortunately without effect. He was marched nearly twenty miles on foot that night with other prisoners to Orange Court House, and thence taken to Libby Prison, where and on Belle Isle he remained for three weeks, when he was sent to a hospital in Richmond. He had concealed the fact that he was a commissioned officer, and passed for only a sergeant major. Being a fine penman, he was taken to assist the Confederate clerk in preparing lists of enlisted men to be paroled and exchanged, and by slyly inserting his own name in the list, was sent with other paroled prisoners a few days later to City Point and exchanged. He rejoined the regiment in front of Richmond in June, 1864. Mason A. Stone of company F was promoted to be first lieutenant of company M and acting adjutant, in his place.

The next morning, the 14th, the whole command moved forward to the Rapidan. Custer's brigade at noon reached Raccoon Ford, where a rebel force was found on the other side prepared to dispute the crossing. The First Vermont cavalry, under Major Wells, was then sent up the river with orders to cross at Somerville Ford and come down on the south side. This proved to be impracticable. The regiment moved rapidly through a field, down a bank, and across a strip of meadow, beyond which was the ford. But the opposite bank was high, and was occupied by the enemy in force, with plenty of artillery, which opened sharply, and the attempt to cross was wisely abandoned. All the other troops fell back but the First Vermont, which had taken shelter from the enemy's artillery behind a small knoll and some old log houses on the bank, where it remained all that night and the next day. One of Stuart's regiments the Sixth Virginia,

crossed the river, but was soon repulsed. At midnight of the 16th the regiment was relieved, having been for thirty hours within forty rods of the enemy's artillery across the river, and withdrew to near Mitchell's Station.

September 17th, in a general order, Kilpatrick expressed his thanks to "Colonel Davies and his command, and to Colonel Sawyer and his command, for the prompt and gallant manner in which they met and repulsed the enemy's attack yesterday." A day or two later the regiment was sent north of the Rappahannock, to do picket duty, where it remained until the 28th. It then rejoined the brigade in camp at Wayland's Mills near Culpeper. Lieut. Colonel Preston was again in command of the regiment, Colonel Sawyer taking the brigade, in the absence of Custer, during these three weeks.

October 8th the regiment left Wayland's Mills at one A. M. and proceded to James City, a hamlet seven miles southwest of Culpeper, where it remained doing picket duty until the 10th, when it returned to Wayland's Mills, only, however, to be summoned back in haste to James City.

Lee had begun the movement around the right flank of the Army of the Potomac, resulting in the march of both armies to the north, in the Bristoe campaign, which has been described in previous pages. It was Stuart's duty to cover and cloak the movement of the Army of Northern Virginia; and of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac to discover the nature of the movement of its adversary, known to be in progress, and to conceal the counter movements of General Meade. The result was an almost daily clashing of the opposing cavalry, during a period of ten days, in which the First Vermont cavalry took part in five engagements, in one of which almost the entire cavalry arms of both armies were engaged, and several of which were highly exciting. The account which follows is largely condensed from Colonel Sawyer's report.

The recall of the Vermont regiment to James City was in consequence of an advance upon that place by Stuart with Hampton's division. Kilpatrick had posted his division, with Pennington's battery, on a range of hills north of the village, while Stuart occupied a parallel range south of it. When the Vermont cavalry arrived on the scene, it was at once ordered with the Sixth Michigan, both under command of Colonel Sawyer, to support Pennington's battery on a hill, near the Culpeper road. A squadron of the First Vermont, with carbines, was deployed as skirmishers, while the two regiments took position in a hollow in the rear of the battery. No advance was made by either side, and beyond an occasional shot from the artillery, there was little done during the day. In the evening a strong picket line was posted in front, and the men slept on their arms.

General Meade having started for Centreville, Kilpatrick was ordered to follow, and drew out most of his division before daylight next morning. At four o'clock Colonel Sawyer was ordered to report with his regiment to General Davies, in command of the First brigade, which was to be the rear guard. This began to fall back at daylight, but no enemy appeared until it reached Culpeper Court House, where Kilpatrick was making a stand. Here Colonel Sawyer rejoined Custer's brigade. General Custer withdrew his brigade through the town, and was crossing Mountain Run, when Stuart appeared in force, coming in on the left over the Sperryville turnpike. The First Vermont was at once formed in line of battle on the side of a hill, while a sharp artillery duel took place, the shots of both batteries passing over the regiment. This continued for half an hour, when Colonel Sawyer was ordered to report again to General Davies, by whose order the regiment formed in line of battle, a short distance behind its first position, and faced right, left, front or rear according to the necessity of the movement.

BRANDY STATION.

Presently Kilpatrick discovered that Stuart had withdrawn from his front and was marching to Brandy Station, his plan being to attack and use up Buford, who was falling back from Stevensburg to Brandy Station, followed by Fitzhugh Lee's division. Divining his purpose Kilpatrick at once started for Brandy Station. In the race for that point the First Vermont marched on the extreme right of the division, on the right of the railroad, where heavy oak woods came close to the track and where progress was more difficult than in the open field on the left, through which the rest of the division moved.

For five miles the rapid march continued, when a stretch of open country on both sides of the track allowed the First Vermont to move in column by battalion. As the regiment and brigade neared Brandy Station, the sounds of firing to the right showed that Buford was not far away and that he was sharply engaged. He succeeded, however, in reaching the Fleetwood Hill, and taking a strong position there, which he held till he was joined by Kilpatrick. The latter part of the march of Custer's brigade, thither, was sufficiently exciting. It was a race with Stuart's advance, on parallel roads, the columns being near to and in full sight of each other. At one point three Confederate regiments blocked the way but the road was cleared by a charge of a battalion of the Fifth New York. There was danger that between Hampton's division coming in on the right, and Fitzhugh Lee's on the left, the brigade would get sorely pinched; but it got through and joined the division, which effected a junction with Buford. On the other side Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee united and attacked Pleasonton, who was now in command of the two Union divisions, and a spirited cavalry battle occupied the latter part of the afternoon.

The descriptions of the rush into Brandy Station given by the division, brigade and regimental commanders, all make lively reading. General Kilpatrick's is as follows:

The situation was indeed most critical; there was but one way out, there was but one road over which we could pass, and across that road stood Fitzhugh Lee with his division, larger than my own. I rode over to General Pleasonton, who had joined Custer in the fight, and said: "I propose to charge straight to the front on Fitzhugh Lee's division." "The only thing left for us to do," he replied. In five minutes every man knew what was expected of him, and with brave heart only waited for the cry to "charge." General Henry G. Davies rode upon the right with his four regiments—the Second New York, First Vermont, Eighteenth Pennsylvania, and Twelfth Virginia—in column by squadrons doubled on the centre. Custer, with hat off, laced jacket, yellow hair dancing in wild confusion over his head and shoulders, rode—a perfect picture of manly health and courage—at the head of his Michigan brigade. As our column closed in compact order, and 3,000 bright, sharp sabres leaped from their scabbards and danced in the sunlight, the rebel chiefs realized for the first time and to their great astonishment that we were not captured yet or even frightened, but were preparing to charge through their lines and that their task had only just begun. In three heavy columns of a thousand each, we slowly but firmly moved down upon the foe, while a strong line of skirmishers on front, flanks and rear held back the eager, yelling foe, while from out the intervals the batteries of Pennington and Elder opened huge gaps in the strong rebel lines as they closed in upon us. When within a few hundred yards of Fitz Lee's position, our band struck up "Yankee Doodle," a hundred bugles rang out the charge, and 3,000 men in one unbroken front, with the grandest cheer I ever heard, like a loosened cliff fell upon the foe. Stuart's and Fitz Lee's cavalry corps had not the moral courage to witness and stand fast before this vast array of rushing squadrons and flashing sabres, but broke in wild dismay, opening wide a road over which passed my brave command, uniting with the men of Buford on the hills beyond.

Custer's account is as follows:

My advance had reached the vicinity of Brandy Station, when a courier hastened back with the information that a

brigade of the enemy's cavalry was in position directly in my front, thus cutting us completely off from the river. Upon examination, I learned the correctness of the report. The heavy masses of Confederate cavalry could be seen covering the heights in front of my advance. When it is remembered that my rear-guard was hotly engaged with a superior force, a heavy column enveloping each flank, and my advance confronted by more than double my own number, the perils of my situation can be estimated. Lieutenant Pennington at once placed his battery in position, and opened a brisk fire, which was responded to by the guns of the enemy The major general commanding the cavalry corps at this moment rode to the advance. To him I proposed, with my command, to cut through the force in my front, and thus open the way for the entire command to the river. My proposition was approved, and I received orders to take my available force and push forward, leaving the Sixth and Seventh Michigan cavalry to hold the force in the rear in check. I formed the Fifth Michigan cavalry on my right, in column of battalions; on my left I formed the First Michigan in column of squadrons. After ordering them to draw their sabres, I informed them that we were surrounded, and all we had to do was to open a way with our sabres. They showed their determination and purpose by giving three hearty cheers. At this moment the band struck up the inspiring air, "Yankee Doodle," which excited the enthusiasm of the entire command to the highest pitch, and made each individual member feel as if he was a host in himself. Simultaneously both regiments moved forward to the attack. It required but a glance at the countenances of the men to enable me to read the settled determination with which they undertook the work before them. The enemy, without waiting to receive the onset, broke in disorder and fled. After a series of brilliant charges, during which the enemy suffered heavily, we succeeded in reaching the river, which we crossed in good order.

How the thing looked from Buford's position is thus described by Captain Whitaker of the Sixth New York cavalry:

Buford fell slowly back in the direction of Brandy Station, and as his road there was much shorter than that of Kilpatrick's division, found himself there before Kilpatrick. Custer's brigade was on the right of the Third division, and

Pleasonton was with Kilpatrick. Therefore the position was now very curious. At Brandy Station, with his back to the river, was Buford, a force of cavalry and infantry, with several batteries, pressing all round him. Several mounted charges had been made to drive back the enemy, and in every instance they fell back. Suddenly the heavy fire in Buford's front ceased, and then recommenced with tenfold fury, but not a shot came near Buford's men. It increased to a perfect roar, while the yells of charging men were plainly audible over the firing. The next moment, out of the woods into the open fields, came tearing Kilpatrick's men, charging in column, dark masses of horsemen in considerable confusion, Pleasonton with the guns, in the middle of the column, all looking pretty well used up. Had it not been for the firm attitude of Buford's division, whose flanks were safe, and who had kept the enemy all in the front, Kilpatrick's men must have suffered as fearfully as they did a few days later at Buckland's Mills. As it happened, Buford's stand gave them time to rest and get into decent order, and the rest of the afternoon the two divisions confronted the enemy without further disaster, till nightfall. The most exasperating part of this battle at Brandy Station was however yet to come. It was when the cavalry after dark rode down to the fords to cross the Rappahannock and beheld the whole country on the further bank bright with the camp-fires of their own infantry, who had been compelled to lie idle all day, passive spectators of a fight which their presence could have determined. To the cavalry, the battle at Brandy Station was creditable. It was a gallant struggle against fearful odds.

Colonel Sawyer's description is as follows:

The scene began to grow interesting. It was seen that we were not only flanked on both right and left, and closely pressed in the rear, but that right across the road we desired to travel, we were confronted by a strong force; that we were surrounded. We now supported the right of Captain Elder's battery, who directed his attention to the columns of rebel cavalry, infantry and artillery, on the east of the road. I was then ordered to recross the railroad—having crossed a little previously to the left—and again cover the right of General Davies's brigade. The road is here built upon an embankment, raised, I should judge, ten feet above the surrounding ground, so that while we were on the left of the road we had a very good cover from the enemy's batteries. But we had to cross this embankment and re-form under a

terrible fire, at point-blank range. We re-formed in column of squadrons, and moving up on parallel lines with the cavalry on our left, came to a run, with steep banks, compelling us to break by fours to cross it, and re-form again on the other side in column of squadrons. Here a good many stragglers from other regiments rushed wildly by us. Several horses being wounded became unmanageable, and communicating their excitement to others, considerable disorder was likely to ensue. I halted the command and addressed a few words to the officers and men. The majors deliberately dressed their battalions, and the regiment moved on, passed the station, and came into line of battle in splendid order, eliciting the warm compliments of General Kilpatrick, who personally witnessed the manœuvre. We were now ordered to support a section of Captain Elder's battery, and formed on its left.

The scene had become wild and exciting. We had formed a junction with Buford. The batteries of the two divisions, and more than an equal number on the rebel side —in all probably forty—were vigorously playing. Charges and counter-charges were frequent in every direction, and as far as the eye could see over the vast rolling field, were encounters by regiments, by battalions, by squads and between individuals, in hand-to-hand conflict. We were not allowed to remain long as idle lookers on. General Custer with the other regiments of the Second brigade had made a magnificent charge, but finding the rebel line formed beyond a ditch too wide for his horses to leap, he had, after the exchange of a few rounds, been obliged to retire in considerable disorder. The rebels seeing this disorder, were coming with strong force from the woods on our left, aiming for Captain Elder's guns, which we were supporting. The regiment obeyed the order to charge with more than their usual alacrity. The enemy was held in check until the guns took up another position. The contest was sharp and severe, my loss in killed, wounded and missing being four officers and 29 men. To charge into woods with the sabre, against cavalry supported by infantry or dismounted cavalry, requires high courage, and is against immense odds. But not one faltered, officer nor man. After this charge the regiment re-formed under a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery, and took its full share in the subsequent scenes of the day.

In this engagement nearly the whole cavalry force of the armies of the Potomac and Virginia confronted each other, and, having a splendid field, undoubtedly exhibited the most

magnificent display ever witnessed upon this continent; and had it not been for the well known fact that the rebels were heavily supported by infantry, or had the rebels displayed more ardor for the offensive, after our junction with General Buford, it must have resulted in one of the most bloody cavalry fights in history.

Exciting as was this battle, not much blood was shed. The bodies of eleven men of Custer's brigade were buried on the field. The loss of the Vermont regiment was reported at the time as one killed, four wounded and 28 missing. Sergeant Jason A. Stone, the man reported killed, was wounded and captured, and died of his wounds in Richmond at some date not known. Captain Adams of company H, who was with the rear guard, was cut off with 13 men of that company and captured, and Captain Beeman and Lieutenant Horace A. Hyde of company B, with 10 men, were also taken prisoners in some of the skirmishing. Captain Beeman was confined in Libby Prison until May, 1864, when he was taken to Macon, Ga. While on the way thence to Charleston he escaped from the cars, was recaptured by means of bloodhounds, and after five months' further confinement in Charleston and Columbia, was paroled December 9th, and mustered out of the service December 17th, 1864. Captain Adams was confined at Charlotte, N. C. He escaped from prison March 1st, 1865, made his way on foot to the Union lines at Knoxville, Tenn., and rejoined his regiment soon after. Sergeant A. M. Crane of company I, and Private Solon D. Davis of company H, escaped from Libby in October by lowering themselves by the lightning-rod from the upper story of the laundry, and rejoined the regiment soon after. The capture of the senior major of the regiment was an unfortunate sequel of the battle of Brandy Station. Major Hall, being barely convalescent from a recent illness, was compelled by exhaustion to leave the field during the action. He crossed the Rappahannock, and while searching for the regiment next day was captured, with the orderly who

accompanied him. He was confined in Libby Prison until August 26th. 1864, when he was exchanged and rejoined the regiment.

There was a good deal of scolding on the part of officers and men of the cavalry, when on crossing the Rappahannock they found that the larger part of the infantry of the Army of the Potomac had been lying within sight and hearing of the cavalry fight, without rendering any support.

The regiment had bivouacked two miles beyond the Rappahannock, when it was ordered, with the Fifth Michigan, to picket the river from Ellis's to United States Ford, involving a night march of thirty miles for a portion of the regiment. On the 13th the two regiments joined the division at Bealton Station, and marched with it, covering the left flank of the Second Army Corps, to within three miles of Buckland Mills.

Early the next morning, the 14th, the command was aroused by the firing near Warrenton, where Stuart had attacked Gregg, and the division started thither; but finding it was not needed, it returned and moved to Gainesville, where for several hours it stood in line of battle while General Warren was making his splendid rear guard fight at Bristoe Station. No enemy appearing it then marched to Sudley Church, on Bull Run. Here the division was reinforced by Merritt's brigade, and for that day and the next, covered the right flank of the army. The regiment remained in that vicinity with the division until the 18th of October, the enemy being still in force in front. On the 18th it having become evident that Lee was withdrawing his army, Meade began to press his rear with the cavalry. That day the division moved rapidly to Gainesville, the Second brigade, with the Vermont regiment in advance, moving by the New Market road. Company I, thrown forward as skirmishers, soon encountered the enemy's pickets, and the first battalion becoming engaged, drove up the enemy's rear-guard to the junction of the New Market road with the War-

renton pike. Here the Vermont regiment was joined by the Second New York cavalry and followed the enemy to Gainesville, where a formidable line checked further pursuit. The regiment was on duty during that cold and rainy night. Next morning Bennett's battalion was deployed, with Wells's battalion in support, and charged the enemy, who beat a hasty retreat.[1]

BUCKLAND MILLS.

An immediate advance of the division to Warrenton was now ordered and the regiment started, without time to make coffee. Stuart, who was at Buckland with Hampton's cavalry division, retired slowly before Kilpatrick on the Warrenton pike, in order to draw him on till Fitzhugh Lee, who was at Auburn, should get into his rear. Between them they expected to crush him. As they had 7,000 men to Kilpatrick's 3,500, this was not an unreasonable expectation. At Buckland Mills, the passage of Broad Run was forced by Custer's brigade, and after halting for an hour to feed the horses, Kilpatrick pushed on to and beyond New Baltimore after Stuart, with Davies's brigade, leaving Custer at Broad Run. There Custer was found by Fitzhugh Lee, who, advancing from Greenwich with his division, expecting to get unopposed into Kilpatrick's rear, was surprised to find Custer's brigade across his path. Custer had barely time to get into position before he was attacked by a line of dismounted men a mile long, supported by artillery and heavy bodies of mounted men. Custer's left rested on Broad Run, where he placed a section of Pennington's battery, supported by the First Vermont cavalry. His right extended through a piece of woods along a ridge, on which he placed the rest of the battery. At the first sound of Fitzhugh Lee's guns

[1] General Custer in his report, says: "The First Vermont cavalry, Colonel Sawyer, deserves great credit for the rapidity with which it forced the enemy to retire."

Stuart turned upon Davies, attacked him in front and on each flank, and drove him back to Buckland with serious loss. His stampede placed Custer in a critical position, and compelled him to get away in a hurry. Pennington fired till the enemy was within twenty yards of his guns on the right, and then took them across the Run. His left section was protected by two companies of carbineers of the First Vermont, who resisted the enemy's advance till the guns were safely withdrawn. The regiment was pressed on front and flank and was under artillery fire, but withdrew across the Run in good order.[1] Custer then retreated with his own and a portion of Davies's brigade, hotly pursued, till he was met by the advance of Howe's division of the Sixth Corps, at Gainesville, where the infantry of the First Vermont brigade relieved his tired troopers from further pursuit and drove back the enemy.

Colonel Sawyer's report of this affair commends Major Wells as especially efficient in preserving order during the retreat; Major Bennett, who commanded the rear battalion and remained back till the skirmishers were all across the Run; Captains Ray and Hazelton and Lieutenant Williamson, commanding skirmishers, and Acting Adjutant M. A. Stone; and adds that all, officers and men, behaved well. Lieut. Colonel Preston also distinguished himself this day, fighting with the rear guard, and doing gallant service.

The regiment moved on the 20th to Groveton, and was on picket till the 24th, when it returned to Gainesville. It moved thence October 31st to the south by way of Bristoe's to Catlett's Station, and on the 4th of November took part in a reconnoissance to Falmouth, where there was a skir-

[1] "Custer was a hard fighter even in a retreat, and he succeeded in saving his artillery, and in recrossing Broad Run without any serious disorder."—Major McClellan in "Campaigns of Stuart's Cavalry."

mish with the enemy.[1] November 7th it left Catlett's for Grove Church, with the division, which was covering the left of the army. Lieutenant Newton, now detailed on the staff of General French, commanding the Third Corps, had a narrow escape from capture by guerrillas, this day, while on an errand to General Pleasonton's headquarters.

On the 8th the regiment crossed the Rappahannock with the division, at Ellis's Ford, and moved slowly to Stevensburg, where it went into winter quarters. On the 27th of November it was at Morton's Ford, and crossed the river with Custer's brigade, returning to the north side that night. Next day the brigade crossed again, the First Vermont in the advance, and a cavalry picket post was attacked and driven off by Captain Cushman of company E, with ten men. One man was wounded in this skirmish. At night the enemy returned with artillery, and Custer again withdrew across the river.

On the 21st of November, Colonel Sawyer, with a man from each company, went to Vermont to enlist recruits for the regiment, which was much reduced in numbers. The last morning report of the year showed 623 officers and men present for duty, with about 400 men actually in the ranks, the rest being on detached service. The regiment was without a chaplain, Chaplain Woodward having resigned in impaired health and saddened by the death of his gallant son. It had an additional assistant surgeon in the person of Dr. Elmore J. Hall, of Highgate, who had been promoted from the ranks to that position.

The remainder of the winter passed uneventfully in the camp at Stevensburg, which was kept in such good order that General Custer used to send the officers of some of his other regiments to see it, as an example of neatness and good order. The regiment was occupied, with the rest of the Cav-

[1] This is included in the official list in Adjutant General Washburn's report for 1866, under the erroneous date of October 4th.

alry Corps, in what General Sheridan when he took command pronounced to be "excessive and unnecessary picket duty." The men were on duty three days out of six, and a detail of 162 men was sent daily to guard the fords of the Rapidan. The numbers of the regiment were gradually increased by the addition of recruits, till on the 1st of March it had the largest aggregate ever reported, being 1,128, with 931 nominally present for duty, and about half that number actually in the ranks, 120 men being still on duty at General Sedgwick's headquarters, others at the headquarters of General Hancock, and 181 on the sick-list. The horses were thin, but the men generally in good condition. Regimental drills were frequent and brigade drills occasional.

KILPATRICK'S RAID.

During the first half of March the regiment took part in Kilpatrick's famous raid against Richmond. The objects of this were the liberation of the Union prisoners in that city; the destruction of mills and army stores in Richmond; the capture of the reserve artillery at Frederick's Hall Station, on the Virginia Central railroad, and the distribution of President Lincoln's amnesty proclamation. Kilpatrick started with 4,000 mounted men, February 28th, at sundown, after a demonstration on Lee's left had been made by Custer to distract the enemy's attention. The First Vermont mounted that evening with three days' rations and one day's corn for the horses. The young and daring Colonel Dahlgren, who was Kilpatrick's second in this enterprise, started on in advance with a body of 500 men, comprising detachments from the First Vermont, Second and Fifth New York, First Maine and Fifth Michigan cavalry. The Vermont detachment consisted of a hundred men under Lieutenants Hall and Williamson. Dahlgren crossed the river at Ely's Ford, capturing a lieutenant and 14 men on picket at that point,

and thus securing a safe passage for the main body. He proceeded thence rapidly in a southeasterly direction around the right of the Confederate army, and hurried on without halting until ten A. M., when the men stopped near Spottsylvania Court House to feed the horses. Then diverging from the route to be followed by the main body, he pushed on to the southwest by way of Fredericks Hall to the James river. The main column, going almost due south, marched steadily until five P. M., when it arrived at Beaver Dam Station. Here Kilpatrick remained until dark, destroying the railroad property and tearing up the tracks in both directions. Then starting again, in a heavy rain, he crossed the South Anna in the morning of March 1st, and shortly after noon crossed the south branch of the Chickahominy and halted before the fortifications of Richmond on the Brook turnpike, three and a half miles north of the city. A detachment had been sent to destroy the railroad bridge across the South Anna river; but it was found guarded by infantry with artillery, and after a slight skirmish the detachment withdrew. That evening Kilpatrick proposed to Preston to take his regiment, with a few other picked men, and to make a dash into Richmond in the early twilight of the next morning and break open the doors of Libby Prison. Preston accepted the desperate undertaking, and spent most of the night in arranging for it; but before he started, such information in regard to the strength of the enemy's infantry in the works was received by Kilpatrick, that he abandoned the enterprise. If any man in the command could have accomplished the task it was Preston.

March 1, 1864.

Hearing nothing from Dahlgren, and judging the capture of Richmond to be impossible, Kilpatrick decided to move around the city and join General Butler at Yorktown. At four A. M. the column started, and after destroying two miles of the Fredericksburg railroad, moved on to Mechanicsville, six miles from Richmond. Here, after destroying the depot

buildings and cutting the track, the men got an hour's rest. At 10:30 P. M., the enemy began to shell the camp, and soon after the pickets were driven in and an attack was made on the part of the line held by the Seventh Michigan. This was easily repulsed, the Vermonters taking a part which entitled them to place this skirmish on the list of their engagements. The division then moved off to the east, and at three A. M. the men went into bivouac, and slept until nine. At that hour the Vermont cavalry was sent back to the relief of the rear guard, which had been attacked by a mounted force at Piping Tree. Here the regiment, under Preston, had a skirmish which constituted almost its only serious fighting during the raid. In this two men were wounded and three or four horses were killed. The enemy was soon dispersed, and after waiting half an hour for a renewal of the attack, the rear guard followed the column, which had moved in the direction of White House. Leaving White House on his left Kilpatrick proceeded to Tunstall's Station. Near here what was left of Dahlgren's command overtook and joined the main body. Dahlgren had arrived at Fredericks Hall Station, where Lee's reserve artillery was parked at three P. M. of the 29th. Had he been there a little sooner he might have captured Lee, who had just passed over the road on his way back to his army, after a short visit to Richmond. Dahlgren found the artillery strongly guarded by an infantry brigade and did not dare to attempt its capture. Withdrawing from that dangerous locality after tearing up the railroad for a mile from Fredericks Hall, he resumed his march. The rain fell in torrents, rendering the roads almost impassable. Men and horses were suffering for food and rest. Moreover, Dahlgren was led astray by a guide, who, through treachery or stupidity, guided him to Goochland, representing that the river was fordable at Dover Mills. No ford was found, and the false guide was hanged. An attack upon Richmond from the south side of the river

being thus impossible, Dahlgren determined to try to enter the city from the north side. On his way thither he burned the flour-mills and saw-mills, the boats and locks of the canal and the iron works at Mannakin, with the barns of Confederate Secretary of State Seddon, on whose farm the command encamped. Hearing that General Wise was on his farm near by, a detachment was sent to capture him, but he had fled. Dahlgren then proceeded down the Westham road, and about four miles from the city had a skirmish with the enemy's pickets and pursued them inside the outer lines of their fortifications. At the second line the enemy rallied in considerable force under cover of a wood. Skirmishers were deployed, who flanked the enemy and by successive charges, led by Colonel Dahlgren and Major Cook, the hostile infantry, comprising the Richmond City battalion, were driven across the fields nearly to the city. It was now dark and the city gas lights could plainly be seen. But here a large force was encountered whose longer line it was impossible for Dahlgren's small force to turn. He accordingly decided to withdraw and seek the main column. On this march, the main body of Dahlgren's men, in which was the Vermont detachment, became separated from Colonel Dahlgren, who fell into an ambush and met his death soon after. The larger body pushed on to the east and joined Kilpatrick at Tunstall's Station.

"No one," says Major Merritt of the Fifth New York, "engaged in that night's march, will ever forget its difficulties. The storm had set in with renewed fury. The fierce wind drove the rain, snow and sleet. The darkness was rendered more intense by the thick pines that overgrew the road and dashed into our faces almost an avalanche of water at every step. Being on unfrequented wood roads, we were halted frequently to remove trees fallen across the path, and to trace the course with our hands, for even the sagacity of the horses was often at fault. Tired and exhausted, the men

fell asleep on their horses. It became necessary to march by file, and at every turn of the path to pass the word to turn to the right or keep to the left of the tree. It was utterly impossible to see a yard in advance. Slowly and laboriously we thus toiled through to Hungary Station."

At eight o'clock A. M. of the 3d, the entire command resumed the march, the First Vermont acting as rear guard. That night it bivouacked within twelve miles of Williamsburg, and reached Yorktown March 4th. Here the entire force remained a week resting. On the 11th the First Vermont embarked for Alexandria; arrived there on the 13th; moving thence marched by way of Fairfax Court House on the 16th to Warrenton Junction; and arrived in camp at Stevensburg on the 18th. The loss of the regiment in this expedition was 12 wounded, seven of whom were captured, and 59 missing, most of whom were lost in the night marches.

For the next two weeks the regiment remained at Stevensburg, picketing the line of the Rapidan, and in camp near Grove Church. On the return from Richmond, the Seventh Michigan being without field officers, its lieutenant colonel having been captured, Major Wells was detached from the regiment, and commanded the Seventh Michigan for the month following.

The month of April brought great changes in the organization of the Cavalry Corps. One of General Grant's first measures as Commander in Chief was to relieve General Pleasonton and give the command of the corps to Brigadier General Philip Henry Sheridan. Aware that he had been an infantry division commander, the cavalry looked hard at him at first; but it was not long before they all owned that Grant knew his man, and that the man was equal to the place. Of the three division commanders of the corps but one now remained. The gallant Buford was dead and was replaced by Brigadier General Torbert, who had previously commanded a New Jersey infantry brigade. General Gregg

retained the Second division. Kilpatrick was sent to join Sherman in the west, and the command of the Third division, to which the Vermont cavalry belonged, was given to Brigadier General James H. Wilson, who had been recently taken from staff duty. The brigades were re-arranged. Custer's brigade was transferred to the First division, and the First Vermont with it. This arrangement, however, lasted for only eight days, and as finally arranged the Vermont cavalry became the first regiment of the Second brigade of the Third division, the other regiments brigaded with it being the Eighth New York, Third Indiana and Eighth Illinois. The brigade commander was Colonel George H. Chapman of the Third Indiana. April 28th, Colonel Sawyer resigned, and the command of the regiment devolved on Lieut. Colonel Preston, to whom this was no new responsibility. He was at once promoted to the colonelcy; but he did not live to see his commission.

At this time the regiment lost Assistant Surgeon Edson, whose professional skill, high spirit, and fidelity had been of the greatest service, by his promotion to the surgeoncy of the Seventeenth Vermont. He was succeeded by Dr. Edward B. Nims of Burlington.

The period of arduous service now about to open with the opening of Grant's overland campaign, was preceded by a review of the division, on the 3d of May, by General Wilson. That night at midnight the men were aroused by marching orders, and two hours later they were on their way to Germanna Ford, where they crossed with the division without much opposition. It was Wilson's duty to lead the way for the Fifth Corps, and when that corps arrived at the ford, he moved on nearly to the Old Wilderness Tavern and thence across the fields to the Orange Plank Road, and along this to Parker's store, where the division bivouacked. The regiment reached Parker's store at three P. M. A battalion was sent out on the road under Major Bennett, went several

miles and had a slight skirmish with a party of the enemy, and returned at dark.

CRAIG'S MEETING HOUSE.

This engagement was the first of the Wilderness campaign. At five A. M. of May 5th, General Wilson, leaving Colonel Hammond with the Fifth New York at Parker's store till the infantry came up, moved towards Craig's Meeting House on the Catharpin road. At the junction of the cross road leading from Parker's store with the Catharpin road, he stationed his First brigade and sent Chapman's brigade on to Craig's Meeting House. A squadron of the First Vermont, under Captain Cummings, had the advance. The brigade proceeded nearly thither unmolested. At about eight A. M. the advance squad reported a body of the enemy in sight. This was Rosser's brigade (of Hampton's division) which was reconnoitring. Cummings immediately brought his companies into line, sent a courier to brigade headquarters to announce the presence of the enemy, and in a few moments received a charge from Rosser's advance, in which a Vermonter had his skull laid bare by a sabre stroke and another was captured in consequence of a fall of his horse.

Cummings's squadron rallied, fired and fell back to the support of the brigade. Meantime Colonel Chapman had ordered forward Major Bennett's battalion and Bennett was moving out when he was met by the retreating detachment, and a moment later received the full brunt of the enemy's charge. For a few minutes there was a scene of much confusion, the enemy and the Union troopers being closely intermingled. Soon, however, as the Vermonters breasted back the enemy, the Confederates began to give ground. A captain and several of his men were captured, and the brigade coming up, Rosser was driven back two miles to the point where the fight began. Here at the left of the road

a strong skirmish line of dismounted men was sent forward, and became sharply engaged. This line held the enemy till afternoon when it was flanked on the left, and fell back with a loss of one or two men. Rosser had now been heavily reinforced with cavalry and infantry; and General Wilson, cut off by the enemy's infantry from Parker's store and the direct road, retreated with his division by way of Shady Grove Church, to Todd's tavern. Here he was joined by Gregg, who had been sent forward by Sheridan to help him, and Rosser and Fitzhugh Lee were driven back three miles to Shady Grove Church. In this action the regiment lost four killed, 31 wounded, of whom four died of their wounds, and 14 missing; total 45.[1] Major Bennett and Captain Grover were each wounded in the leg and Lieutenant Henry O. Wheeler of company A was shot through the chest, the ball entering near the heart.[2]

The regiment bivouacked that night near Lewis's Creek, a mile or so east of Todd's tavern, and picketed a line near the tavern the latter part of the night. In the morning it was relieved by Custer's brigade and returned to the trains at Piney Branch Church drew forage and rations, and then moved a mile or more to the right, where the brigade stood in line of battle most of the afternoon and till after dark, but did not become engaged. Surgeon Gale, who was now medical director of the division, was captured this day with his field hospital full of wounded men. He was held for a time as a prisoner; but he and the wounded were soon rescued.

May 7th, the rest of the Cavalry Corps attacked and

[1] Killed—Parker Cole of company B; Horace Hall of company D; John Q. French of company E, and George W Hemingway of company I. Died of wounds: Albert Taylor and Ebenezer Blongy of company A; Clarence E. Cushman of company E, and Cyrus S. Tuttle of company F.

[2] Lieutenant Wheeler's wound was supposed at the time to be mortal, and his death was reported in the Vermont papers. He was sent to Georgetown Seminary Hospital, recovered and returned to the regiment in time to take part in the Shenandoah Valley campaign.

defeated Stuart's cavalry near Todd's tavern; but Wilson's division was not engaged. On the 8th, starting early in the morning, Wilson moved to Spottsylvania Court House, expecting to be supported by the Fifth Corps. But Warren was delayed by Fitzhugh Lee, and Wilson was soon driven out of the village and back across the Ny by Longstreet's infantry. Company D of the Vermont cavalry was on picket that night, and captured a dozen men of the Thirteenth Mississippi, of Longstreet's corps, before rejoining the regiment next morning.

SHERIDAN'S RAID.

May 8th, 1864. Finding that the task of dislodging Lee from Spottsylvania was not likely to be a short one, and lacking forage for his cavalry, General Grant directed Sheridan to collect his corps, clear Stuart's cavalry from his way, and proceed to Haxall's Landing on the James river, south of Richmond, where he was to be supplied from General Butler's stores, and then to return to the army, wherever it might be. Starting next morning, the 9th, with Merritt's and Gregg's divisions, Sheridan moved to the east by the plank road, to get well clear of the enemy's infantry. At the point where the Telegraph road crosses Massaponax Run, he was joined by Wilson's division. Turning then to the south down the Telegraph road, he moved cautiously past the right of Lee's army. The corps moved in a single column, thirteen miles long; Merritt leading, Wilson in the centre, and Gregg in the rear. Stuart pursued with Wickham's, Lomax's and Gordon's brigades (numbering between 4,000 and 5,000 men), and harassed Davies's brigade, which was the rear guard, all the way from the Ta to Chilesburg, but did not hinder the march of the column. The weather was hot and a number of men were sunstruck.[1]

[1] Joseph Benoit of company D was among these. He was captured, and died in Andersonville Prison.

Wilson's division bivouacked that night on the north bank of the North Anna at Anderson's Ford. Custer was sent to cut the Virginia Central railroad at Beaver Dam, where he recaptured 375 officers and men taken prisoners in the Wilderness, and destroyed the depot buildings, with three locomotives, 100 cars, 90 wagons, ten miles of railroad, over 1,500,000 rations and nearly all the medical stores of Lee's army.

Next morning a shell which fell in the camp of the Vermont cavalry announced Stuart's presence, and the regiment mounted and moved into position, but was not called into action, Gregg doing the fighting, while Wilson crossed the river, and then with dismounted men in rifle-pits and artillery, protected Gregg's crossing. During the remainder of this day, the 10th, the column pressed steadily forward, crossed the South Anna at Ground Squirrel Bridge, and bivouacked at night on the south bank, the First Vermont camping in a large field just across the bridge. Throughout the day, Gordon's brigade hung on the rear, while Stuart with Fitzhugh Lee's division turned to the left and pushed on, hot foot, to get between Sheridan and Richmond. That night Davies's brigade was detached and sent to Ashland Station, where it destroyed the depot buildings, a locomotive and train of cars, a considerable quantity of military stores, six miles of the railroad and two bridges.

In the morning of the 11th some of Gordon's men charged into the field where the Vermont regiment was lying; but were easily repulsed.

YELLOW TAVERN.

Starting on again and striking a broad road, the column moved forward about six miles, when the advance encountered Stuart at Yellow Tavern, six miles north of the city of Richmond and three miles from its outer line of defenses,

so called from a large tavern which had stood at the junction of the Mountain road and the Brook turnpike, of which the chimneys now only remained. Each commander prepared at once for action. Sheridan formed between the turnpike and the Fredericksburg railroad, while Stuart took position at the intersection of the Brook pike and Mountain road. Wells's battalion was dismounted and put into the woods on the left, but was soon withdrawn and sent to the right to support Merritt, who had gained the Brook road. Here the battalion formed part of a long line of skirmishers which advanced till they found the enemy posted behind a knoll and fence, with artillery, which opened viciously from behind a curtain of timber. As the skirmishers were without cover they halted, and Wells moved his men to the left under some slight cover, connecting with a Pennsylvania regiment on the left. Custer's brigade was on the right of Wilson; and the edge of the woods nearest Custer's front was held by the enemy's dismounted men, who kept up a heavy fire. The Fifth and Sixth Michigan were dismounted and drove the enemy from this position. While this movement was in progress a portion of the First Vermont in an open field was exposed to a hot fire from a battery posted on or near the Telegraph road, and the men were becoming somewhat restive when General Custer rode by from the edge of the woods, where he had been superintending the operations of the skirmish line, and as he passed informed Colonel Preston that he was about to make a charge on that battery, and asked if he would like a hand in the affair. The colonel replied that he was agreeable, and was directed to wheel the regiment to the right into column of squadrons.[1] Custer then formed the First Michigan

[1] The story at the time was that Colonel Chapman, commanding the brigade, objected to Preston's joining Custer, and that the latter appealed to Sheridan, who told him to take any regiment that was willing to go with him.

under the cover of the woods, for the purpose of charging the battery on the flank, while the First Vermont attacked in front. As soon as the Michigan boys moved from the cover of the wood, the enemy opened a brisk fire from his guns. Before the battery could be reached, there were fences to be cleared and a broad ditch to be crossed. Surmounting these obstacles the Vermont and Michigan boys started on at a walk, then increased the pace to a trot, and when within two hundred yards of the battery, charged it with a yell. Two guns, with caissons filled with ammunition, and a number of prisoners, were the fruits of this charge, and the enemy was forced from his position and driven back. In endeavoring to rally his men, General Stuart was here mortally wounded by a ball through his stomach, and was taken from the field to Richmond, saying, as he left: "I had rather die than be whipped." The enemy's loss was over 200 in killed, wounded and prisoners. The two guns were the first captured by Grant's army during this campaign. In the death of General Stuart, the enemy lost by far the best cavalry general in the Confederate service, and his place was never supplied. The Confederate general James B. Gordon was also wounded in this engagement and Lieut. Colonel H. Clay Pate, commanding the Fifth Virginia cavalry, was killed. The Union loss was less severe. Among the Union wounded were Captain Frank Ray of company G, and Lieutenant A. G. Watson of company L. The regiment lost two killed and 10 wounded.[2]

After the fall of Stuart the enemy made a desperate rally, but Custer's brigade, with the First Vermont added, again charged, and the opposing force was cut in two and driven from the field, Hampton withdrawing to Richmond and Rosser retreating north to Ashland.

Misled by a report brought by the negroes that Butler

[2] Killed—Herbert A. Garvin and Michael Phillips of company L.

was making a demonstration against Richmond from the south, Sheridan now decided to go around Richmond on the east side, in order to help Butler He accordingly started at eleven o'clock that night, and moved slowly four or five miles toward Mechanicsville, massing his corps on the plain after midnight, south of Meadow Bridge. The only hindrance encountered was from torpedoes planted in the road, one of which exploded under company A of the Vermont cavalry, but did no harm except the killing of several horses. After the explosion of one or two of them, some of the Confederate prisoners were sent ahead to remove any remaining in the road. Next morning the First Vermont and Third Indiana, having the advance of the Third division, encountered the batteries of the enemy just before daylight near the Mechanicsville pike. These opened a brisk fire of grape. In view of this obstacle, Sheridan decided to cross to the north side of the Chickahominy. But this was not so easy, for the bridge had been destroyed, and the enemy's cavalry was strongly posted on the north bank. The situation seemed critical. The Chickahominy, without a bridge, with its muddy bottom and swampy banks, and a strong force of the enemy, were in front; in the rear were the fortifications of Richmond, from which General Bragg, in command, was advancing with infantry and artillery. To turn back whence he came would be to encounter the entire Confederate cavalry corps, reinforced by infantry. General Merritt was directed to repair the bridge. The enemy's guns causing great inconvenience to the working party, Merritt crossed two regiments dismounted, which were repulsed; but the work of rebuilding went on, and when the bridge was completed he crossed nearly his entire division, dismounted, drove the enemy out of his works, and having crossed his horses, mounted his men and moved to Gaines's Mill. In the meantime, General Bragg had advanced on the Mechanicsville road and attacked Wilson and Gregg. Wilson, receiving the brunt of the attack,

was at first driven back, but Gregg concealed a line of skirmishers in a ravine and when the enemy marched up he opened a destructive fire with repeating carbines, and the First Vermont at the same time coming in on their flank, their line broke in disorder and retired behind the fortifications. After this attack the enemy did not again show himself in force. Having collected the wounded and buried the dead, the remainder of Sheridan's command crossed on the bridge and by fords, and by four o'clock the whole force was on the north bank of the river, going into camp at Walnut Grove and Gaines's Mill. During the afternoon some enterprising newsboys from Richmond entered the lines and sold the morning papers, which showed that no little trepidation prevailed in that city; and there was good reason for their fright. Had General Sheridan's orders permitted him so to do, he could probably have entered Richmond this day [1] The loss of the regiment in this day's skirmishing was one killed, five wounded two of whom died of their wounds, and one missing.[2]

The next morning the corps moved forward, the second battalion of the First Vermont being detached for picket duty at Gaines's Mill, and remaining back while the rest of the regiment proceeded in advance of the corps to within two miles of Bottom Bridge and encamped. At nine A. M. the next day, the 14th, the cavalry crossed Bottom Bridge, burning it after them, and in the afternoon reached Malvern Hill, where they received a welcome of shells from some

[1] "I was so near Richmond that I could hear the bells ring. It was Sunday. and it was an awful temptation to go into Richmond that day and attend church. We hadn't been to service for a good while; but it was against orders, and I had to keep out."—General Sheridan, in an interview reported in the *National Tribune*.

[2] Killed—Arza P. Noyes of company H.

Died of Wounds—Hazen Gott of company H and J. W. Hillock of company L.

Union gunboats in the James river, which took them for a hostile body.

On the 15th the corps moved down the James to Haxall's Landing, where it remained two days, drawing rations and forage from the transports. On the evening of the 17th Sheridan started on his return, marching all night. Next day at noon he recrossed the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge, and that night encamped near Baltimore Cross Roads. On the 19th Gregg's and Wilson's divisions were sent to Cold Harbor, to demonstrate against Richmond, while Custer started north to destroy the railroad bridges over the South Anna.

On the 21st, in consequence of firing heard in the northwest, where Custer had encountered the enemy's infantry, the horses of Wilson's division were kept saddled all day. At two o'clock next morning, the 22d, the division left Cold Harbor and marched to White House on the Pamunkey, where the corps was again concentrated. Here it was met by transports sent from Fortress Monroe with rations and forage. During that day and night the other two divisions passed over the railroad bridge, made passable by a flooring of railroad ties. Wilson's division bivouacked that night on the south side of the river. Next day, the 23d, it crossed, and marched through King William Court House to Aylett's, the First Vermont acting as rear guard. Having learned that Grant had reached the North Anna river at Chesterfield, twenty miles to the northwest, Sheridan started thither and marched all day of the 24th. That night most of the cavalry corps rejoined the army.

The raid had occupied sixteen days. The men had not been hardly marched, but had been constantly on exciting duty, and they were glad to return to regular rations and to get their mails. They were, however, allowed but little time to rest. The whole army started on the 26th for Hanovertown. Torbert's and Gregg's cavalry divisions were

in advance, and Wilson's division relieved the infantry at the river crossings and brought up the rear. At noon of the 26th the regiment crossed the North Anna with the division and relieved the troops of the Sixth Corps. The regiment was in line for two hours; then, recrossing the river, the men stood to horse the rest of the night, while most of the army moved away to the southeast. At daylight of the 27th Wilson moved back from the river a short distance, while a part of the Ninth Corps, in which the Vermonters recognized the Seventeenth Vermont regiment, moved past. At daylight of the 28th the division brought up the rear of the army, marching toward King William Court House.

On the 31st, while Torbert and Custer were fighting at Cold Harbor, Wilson was ordered to occupy Hanover Court House, and did so after a sharp encounter with Young's cavalry, in which the Vermont regiment supported the troops in front, with the loss of one man killed and one or two wounded.[1]

June 1st, General Wilson took Chapman's brigade and started out to destroy the two railroad bridges across the South Anna, while the First brigade (McIntosh's) went to Ashland to cover the operation and destroy the railroads south of the river. Chapman reached and burned the bridges after a slight skirmish with the bridge-guard at the bridge of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad. McIntosh was attacked at Ashland, in front by Fitzhugh Lee and in rear by Hampton; and, calling for help, General Wilson sent the First Vermont to his assistance. Wells's battalion, which had been thrown forward while the rest of the regiment was engaged in destroying the railroad track, started first. As Wells reached the junction of the road to Ashland with that to Hanover Court House, a mile east of Ashland Station, the First Connecticut, which was McIntosh's rear guard, was coming back over the latter road, with the enemy in close

[1] Killed—Joseph Demareaux of company M.

pursuit. Wells at once attacked the latter and drove them back some distance, losing one man mortally,[1] and six others less severely wounded, and inflicting greater loss on the enemy. After holding Hampton's advance in check for half an hour, Wells was charged in force and driven back until he met Preston coming with the remainder of the regiment. The latter reached the cross roads at a critical moment. McIntosh had begun to withdraw his brigade, which had been almost all deployed dismounted, and was in serious confusion and in imminent danger of being roughly handled when Preston arrived. He at once charged the enemy on the flank and made a diversion which enabled the First brigade to get out. The First Vermont was then attacked and driven back by a greatly superior force, when the Fifth New York came up and opened fire with their carbines, and enabled the First Vermont to withdraw. Wilson then retreated. Hampton's pursuit ended at dark, and Wilson halted and bivouacked on the river road near Hanover Court House. In the action Colonel Preston, Captain Edwards, Lieutenant Williamson and a number of men were cut off from the rest and were supposed to be captured; but they made their way back and joined the regiment next morning. The loss of the First Vermont in this fight was seven wounded and two officers—Lieutenant C. P Stone of company F, and Lieutenant Emmett Mather of company H—and 24 men missing. Both of these officers, however, escaped, and subsequently made their way back to the regiment.

June 2d the division rested near Hanover Court House, while the two armies were preparing for the deadly clinch of Cold Harbor. After dark it started to the south to take position for its share in the fighting which was to begin at daybreak next morning.

[1] Sergeant Thomas F. Bartleff of company F.

HAWES'S SHOP.

It was part of Grant's plan of the battle of Cold Harbor that Wilson's division should co-operate in the general assault of June 3d by moving out from its position on the extreme right and attacking the enemy's left, held by Early's division, in flank and rear. In order to get within striking distance, Wilson moved his division during the night previous from Hanover Court House across the Pamunkey and to within about two miles of Hawes's Shop, where he bivouacked till daylight. Moving forward in the morning of the 3d, he soon encountered Barringer's brigade of Fitzhugh Lee's division, occupying rifle-pits which had been dug by the infantry in some of the previous operations. In disposing his command for attack, the First Vermont was placed on the extreme left of the division. There was some skirmishing for an hour or two, when, about ten o'clock A. M., the men were dismounted and moved to the front through a piece of woods. They soon became engaged with the enemy, the skirmishers on each side firing from behind the trees, Indian fashion. Seeing a line of men in front at a point midway between the main lines, which he probably supposed to be Union troops, Preston went toward it on foot. Suddenly he was fired on and a ball passed through his body near the heart. Major Wells, in front of whose battalion he fell, at once advanced the line in order to secure his body. The advance was obstinately resisted, and two attempts to reach the spot were unsuccessful. In a third attempt the enemy's line was driven back long enough to enable Sergeant Ide and some men of company D, Preston's old company, to crawl forward and reach the colonel. He was found speechless, but still living, and was taken back a short distance and placed upon a horse to take him to the rear, but his brave spirit had left his body before a surgeon could reach him. One of the men who rescued him, H. P. Danforth, was

wounded, receiving injuries from the effect of which he died two months after. Captain Cushman of company E was also killed nearly at the same time, and not far from the same place, as Colonel Preston.[1]

A little later the enemy was driven from the rifle pits, and withdrew on the road running east toward Enon Church. General Wilson then attacked the enemy's left rear on the road running south from Hawes's Shop, where he drove back an infantry brigade of three regiments. But failing to connect with Burnside's infantry, which was near Bethesda Church, Wilson withdrew to Hawes's Shop, where he received

Addison Webster Preston was born in the town of Burke, Vt., but removed in early childhood with his parents to Danville, which was thenceforward his home. He fitted for college, entered Brown University at the age of 21, and took high rank as a scholar; but after a year and a half, was obliged to leave college by the condition of his health, and as his physician advised a sea voyage, he sailed to Australia, where after a stay full of adventure, he sailed for California, where he spent several years. He had returned to Danville and was engaged in business there when the war broke out. He enlisted in September, 1861, in the First Vermont Cavalry, was chosen captain of company D, which he had been active in recruiting, and from that day gave all his energy of mind and body to the duties of a soldier. He had had the command of the regiment for much of the time during the twenty months preceding his death. He was one of the best disciplinarians that ever commanded the regiment. He took good care of his men and was popular with them. As a man he was frank, hearty, genial, quick of thought and action. As a fighter he was brave to a fault, impetuous, eager to strike, ready to go himself wherever he sent his men, and unwilling to leave any place of danger as long as there was anything to be done. He was twice wounded, at Hagerstown in the Gettysburg campaign and at Culpeper Court House two months later. His commission as colonel was delayed in transit by the exigencies of the campaign and reached the headquarters of the regiment the day after his death. Had he lived a few days longer he would have been promoted to a brigadier generalship; for he stood very high with his superiors, and they were only waiting for his appointment as colonel, to give him higher rank and more responsible duties. General Custer voiced the opinion of many, when, as he turned away from his corpse, he said: "There lies the best fighting colonel in the Cavalry Corps."

Colonel Preston's remains were taken to White House and thence to Vermont, where his funeral took place at Danville, with extraordinary demonstrations of honor and respect on the part of his townsmen and of

the general order suspending further offensive operations, in consequence of the bloody repulses of the Second, Sixth and Eighteenth Corps. A little church at the junction of the roads opposite Hawes's Shop, known as Salem Church, has given this engagement in some reports the title of "Salem Church." Its more frequent title in both Union and Confederate accounts is "Hawes's Shop." It was in fact part of the general battle of Cold Harbor.

The third day of June, 1864, was a sad day to the regiment. The loss of two such officers as Colonel Preston and Captain Cushman was a serious blow to the command, and it is not too much to say that the loss of Preston was felt not only throughout the regiment and brigade, but throughout the Cavalry Corps. The loss of the regiment was three killed and five wounded.[1]

Upon the death of Colonel Preston the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Wells, who was soon promoted to the vacant colonelcy.[2] Major Bennett was ad-

the citizens of the surrounding towns and of a large portion of Caledonia county. He left a widow, an estimable lady, whose maiden name was Juliette Hall, of Lowell, Mass., and two children.

Captain Oliver T. Cushman was one of the noble boys who entered the service from the highest motives. He was a student in Dartmouth College when the cavalry regiment was organized and left college at the age of 20 years to enlist in its ranks. He went out as a sergeant of company E, and was advanced through the intervening grades to the captaincy of his company. He was recognized as one of the finest young men and best soldiers in the regiment—gallant, patriotic, high-spirited and faithful to every duty. He was severely wounded at Gettysburg, receiving injuries which would have justified him in resigning; but instead he hastened back to his regiment almost before his wound was healed, and served till he met his death. His body was brought off by his men, and taken to Vermont and received an honored burial at his home in Hartland.

[1] Killed—George McIvor of company H.

[2] Colonel Wells was a native of Waterbury and one of the seven sons of the late William W. Wells of that town, four of whom served in the Union army. He was in business with his father when, at the age of 23, he enlisted in the First Vermont cavalry. He was elected first lieutenant when the company organized and went out as captain of company C. He

William S. Rosecrans

vanced to be lieutenant colonel and Captains Grover and Paige were commissioned as majors.[1]

The regiment remained in the vicinity of Hawes's Shop until the 6th, when if moved with the brigade (which about this time was strengthened by the addition of the First New Hampshire cavalry), to Bottom's Bridge, on the extreme right of the army, where on the 10th a slight picket skirmish took place in which one man was wounded. The regiment was engaged in picketing the north bank of the Chickahominy at that point and at Long Bridge, five miles below, for five days.

On the 12th of June began the preliminary movements of the march of the Army of the Potomac to the James river. The task of masking and covering the main movement was committed to Wilson's cavalry and the Fifth Corps. In the performance of its part of this duty, the regiment broke camp with the division in the evening of the 12th; crossed the Chickahominy on pontons at Long Bridge at one A. M. of the 13th, and marched to White Oak Swamp, reaching White Oak Bridge about daylight. Here the enemy was encountered in force, and a sharp skirmish took place. On the arrival of the infantry the enemy fell back and Wilson moved on with his main column toward Riddle's Shop, at the junction of the Charles City road with the road to Malvern Hill. Here Chapman's brigade, in advance, encountered Barringer's brigade of cavalry, and an

made his mark as an officer, was promoted to be major in October, 1862, and distinguished himself at Gettysburg, Hagerstown, Boonsboro, Culpeper Court House and other engagements, and was twice wounded. He was modest, brave, faithful, and equal to every position in which he was placed. He had the unanimous recommendation of the officers for the office of colonel, and in the trying experiences of the regiment while under his command he fully justified their choice. He was promoted to the command of a brigade before the close of the year, became a full brigadier general and brevet major general; and before he left the service was the ranking general and the last commander of the Cavalry Corps.

[1] Captain Paige however, was never mustered as major.

additional mounted force posted in the woods on thefarther side of an open field. Into this field the First Vermont moved with Chapman's brigade, and the men were dismounted under a fire by which several men and horses were wounded. The Eighth New York then charged the enemy in flank while a battery shelled them, and after a short resistance, they were driven back with considerable loss. The brigade then advanced about half a mile, extemporized some breastworks of fence rails, and awaited an attack, which came at the end of an hour, when an infantry line advanced and drove Chapman back to the edge of the woods. The brigade then fell back to its horses and the regiment mounted and prepared to charge the enemy as soon as they should leave the cover. This, however, they did not do, and some desultory skirmishing and artillery firing occupied the afternoon till about sundown, when a portion of Crawford's division of Pennsylvania troops came up and took position to the right of the cavalry. At dark the enemy charged from the woods, scattering the infantry skirmishers, but were held in check by the First New Hampshire and First Vermont, till the guns of the battery were withdrawn, when they fell back to the infantry supports. The division soon started forward and at three A. M. of the 14th bivouacked near Saint Mary's Church, ten miles to the southeast. The First Vermont was on the skirmish line, dismounted most of the time, from eleven A. M. to eight P. M. of the 13th, and lost during the day one man killed, 11 wounded and three missing. This action appears in the official list of engagements, under an erroneous date, as 'Ridley's Shop, June 30th."

On the 14th the regiment proceeded to Harrison's Landing, and toward night the First Vermont and Eighth New York with a section of a battery were sent out to reconnoitre toward Malvern Hill. After going two miles they halted for

[1] Killed—Sergeant Martin Heath of company C.

the night. Proceeding next morning, they met the enemy at Turkey Island Creek, which curves about the base of Malvern Hill. The Eighth New York, which was in advance, having been driven back, the First Vermont was dismounted and advanced to the creek. Here Lieutenant Williamson of company K received a gunshot wound in the thigh from which he died five days later.[1] The position was held until dark, with a loss of three men wounded, when they returned to the division, which moved to Wilcox's Landing. There the regiment with the division and the Sixth Corps remained covering the crossing of the army, until the morning of the 17th, when it crossed the James river on the long ponton bridge, bringing up the rear of the army, and marched to Prince George Court House, where the regiment bivouacked at ten P. M. Half an hour later it was sent back to Wilcox's Landing to guard some cattle which were being taken across the river. The cattle, however, had already gone across when at daylight the regiment arrived at the river, and the bridge had been taken up. The regiment rested till four P. M., and then returned to the brigade, having marched sixty miles in twenty-four hours.

WILSON'S RAID.

The Army of the Potomac having established itself in front of Petersburg, Wilson was sent by General Grant upon a raid against the Weldon, South Side and other railroads. He took for this his own division and Kautz's cavalry of General Butler's department, forming a force of over 5,000 sabres, with three four-gun batteries and a battery of mountain how-

[1] Lieutenant John Williamson was a deserving young officer, who left Middlebury College to enter the army, was chosen second lieutenant of his company upon its organization, and was subsequently promoted to the first lieutenantcy. During the winter of 1863-4 he was provost marshal of the Third cavalry division, on the staff of General Kilpatriek, and proved himself as capable, as he was brave in battle. He was taken to Chesapeake General Hospital at Fortress Monroe, where he died.

itzers. The column started from Prince George Court House at one o'clock in the morning of June 22d, and moved to Ream's Station on the Weldon road, burned the station and destroyed a piece of track, and then pushed on to the west. Discovering the departure of Wilson, General Lee promptly despatched General W F H. Lee with his division, to pursue and harass him. The latter overtook Wilson at Ream's Station. The First Vermont covered the rear of the column and was shelled by Lee's artillery as it left the burning station. A running skirmish followed, in which the regiment easily held back the enemy, for ten or twelve miles, with a loss of two men wounded. At the little village of Dinwiddie Court House, the enemy appeared in greater force, but was repulsed by the Twenty-second New York, which formed on each side of the road, and as the First Vermont fell back by the road, received the enemy with a sharp fire. Five miles beyond Dinwiddie Court House, Wilson struck the South Side railroad at Ford's Station, and there captured two railroad trains and burned them and the railroad buildings. On the 23d, commencing at three A. M., the command moved down the railroad, destroying it as it went. At two P. M., when the raiders had nearly reached Nottoway Court House, the enemy appeared in force in front. General Kautz, who was in the advance, had passed that point and gone on to Burke's Station, where he destroyed the depot and the track. Meanwhile, passing Wilson's division by by-roads, Lee interposed his division between Wilson and Kautz. Finding him in his way, Wilson at once attacked Lee, and an engagement ensued which lasted all the afternoon and a good part of the night. The First Vermont, with nearly the whole of Chapman's brigade, went in dismounted, and drove the enemy from their guns and across the railroad, but the latter rallied in stronger force, and the Vermonters were in turn forced back before they could drag away or spike the pieces. In an effort again to advance the line, Captain H. H. Hall

of company E was killed,[1] and Lieutenant J. H. Moore of company D and Lieutenant W L. Greenleaf of company L were seriously wounded. The regiment lost three killed and 21 wounded.

The First Vermont was kept in the skirmish line through the night until three A. M., when Wilson withdrew southward to Concord Church at Hungrytown, where the command halted. Here Corporal Woodbury of company D, mortally wounded the preceding day, was buried in the church yard. Starting at nine A. M. next day, the 24th, Wilson proceeded to Meherrin Station, on the Danville and Richmond railroad, there effecting a junction with Kautz at two P. M. The men were employed during the day in destroying the railroad track, which was a rail of wood armed with strap-iron. This was left in one long blaze for ten miles from Meherrin to Keysville.[2] Bivouacking at Keysville the division moved on to the south along the railroad next day, the Vermont cavalry having the advance of Chapman's brigade, and still employed in destroying the track, bridges, mills and stores of grain,

Captain Hiram H. Hall was a native of Williston. He graduated from the University of Vermont, at the head of his class, in 1859 and was studying law in the office of Hon. George F. Edmunds in Burlington when company L was organized. He enlisted as a private, was promoted second lieutenant of company E in February, 1863, and first lieutenant a month later. He was successively detailed for duty upon the staffs of Colonel DeForest and General Farnsworth, commanding the brigade, and of the division commander. He was provost marshal of the brigade in the Gettysburg campaign. He then returned to his company, and commanded it after the death of Captain Cushman. He had been appointed captain of company E June 4th, but his commission—as so often happened—had not reached him before his death. He was killed by a ball which entered above the left eye and penetrated the brain. He was one of the best officers in the regiment, and his genial spirit, generosity, bravery, steadfast fidelity and high sense of honor, won him the respect of all who knew him. He was buried at the time by his comrades near Hardaway's House, three miles from Nottoway Court House. His remains were subsequently disinterred and buried in Green Mount Cemetery in Burlington.

[2] The official list of engagements of the cavalry includes one under the title of "Keysville, June 24th." If any encounter took place there it must have been an unimportant skirmish.

cotton and tobacco along theline of march. In the afternoon the column reached the Stanton river at Roanoke Station, the important bridge at which place was found defended by a force of a thousand infantry, with artillery, strongly entrenched. While an unsuccessful attempt to carry the bridge was made by General Kautz, Chapman's brigade guarded the rear, which was soon attacked by Lee, and the First Vermont stood to horse all night. General Wilson now abandoned the effort to force a passage, and decided to return to Petersburg. Starting back before daylight in the morning of the 26th, he left the railroad bridge over the Little Roanoke in flames, and moved to the southeast to Christianville, where he destroyed large quantities of corn, and thence on to Buckhorn Creek, five miles from the Meherrin river, where the division halted for the night. Next day the column moved on to the east twenty-three miles, bivouacking on Great Creek, north of Lawrenceville, at nine P. M.

On the 28th, starting at three A. M., the division at noon crossed the Nottoway river at the Double Bridge, (Bolling's), thirty miles south of Petersburg. Then turning to the north, Wilson moved toward Petersburg for ten miles, to Stony Creek. Here there began to be trouble. General Lee, kept informed of Wilson's route and still holding the Weldon railroad which Wilson had expected to be seized by Grant the day after he started on his raid, had reinforced his cavalry by two brigades of infantry under General Mahone; and threw most of his cavalry, thus strengthened, across Wilson's homeward path. At Stony Creek Wilson found himself confronted by the enemy in force, and he was heavily attacked by Hampton about sunset. In resisting this attack the Vermont cavalry was dismounted and threw up some slight breastworks in a ploughed field, and held the enemy in check at that point with the help of about sixty men from the Second Ohio. The regiment was then advanced in the

darkness, while the artillery was firing canister over the heads of the men. Captain Cummings here received a minie ball in the face and Lieutenant Gilbert Steward of company G was mortally wounded.[1] Another advance brought the regiment under very severe fire. The worst of the fighting was over before midnight, but throughout the night the enemy would occasionally feel of the line, and fusillades of carbines, and often discharges of artillery, would break out along the front. The loss, however, was slight, being two officers wounded, one mortally, one man killed and one wounded. Just before daylight of the 29th Chapman's brigade moved back a mile to the west, with the division, in an effort to reach the old stage road to Petersburg, but was again attacked by Hampton with Butler's and Rosser's brigades and cut off from the rest of the division. The men were once more dismounted and put in behind a breastwork of fallen trees constructed during the night, and while most of the division moved off toward Ream's Station which Wilson supposed to be in the possession of Union troops, the First Vermont, Third Indiana and Eighth New York were left to withstand Hampton. The fire in front became heavier, as Hampton brought up regiment after regiment, and soon the line was heavily attacked from the left and rear. The men with the led horses, in a field a few rods back, retreated, leaving a considerable part of the regiment without horses. A hasty retreat was the only course open. The portion of the regiment that succeeded in regaining their horses, followed the brigade toward Ream's Station. Of the the rest, a part under Colonel Wells cut their way through the enemy. The remainder, including Captain Grant, Lieutenant Higley and sixty men, were captured. After a

[1] Lieutenant Steward enlisted from Clarendon as a private, was promoted from a sergeantcy to be second lieutentant and then first lieutenant. He was considered one of the best swordsmen in the regiment and was a brave and capable young officer. He died June 29th.

rapid ride of eight miles, the regiment overtook what remained of the brigade and soon joined the main body of the division at Ream's Station. Here Wilson was attacked by a force of 9,000 infantry and cavalry, and lost 1,500 men and 12 guns. In this disastrous battle Chapman's brigade took little part, its men and horses being used up by its forced retreat from Stony Creek. Many of the exhausted men fell down and slept during the battle. General Kautz got around the enemy's left and made his escape through the woods. Wilson retreated toward the Double Bridge, abandoning his wagons and guns and leaving his ambulances with the wounded parked in a field by the roadside. It was hard for the poor wounded fellows, some of whom had been carried over a hundred miles with much suffering, to be thus left, and all who could mounted horses and rode on.

In this retreat the First Vermont followed the First New Hampshire, which had the advance, and the two were the only regiments that retained their organizations. The retreat was made in a cloud of suffocating dust, and lasted during the afternoon and night. At the double bridge over the Nottoway, which was reached in the night, a terrible scene took place. Some 1,200 colored fugitives from slavery had accompanied the column. With these were hundreds of dismounted troopers. General Wilson placed a guard at the bridge and allowed no men on foot to pass till the mounted men had crossed. These had not all filed over the bridge, when the enemy rode up and opened fire on the helpless mass of unarmed men. The bridge at once became filled with a mass of footmen, black and white, mingled among the horsemen. Many were pushed over its sides, and fell upon the rocks or into the stream below. The enemy shot and sabred the negroes without mercy. Most of them that were not killed were surrounded and retaken, some 200 only succeeding in crossing the river and keeping up with the cavalry column.

Making his way back to Jarrett's Station on the Weldon railroad, Wilson struck off to the east and crossed the Nottoway river at Peter's Bridge, fording the stream, the bridge being destroyed, and then pushed north to Prince George Court House, crossing the Blackwater on a bridge constructed by the men, at three A. M., July 1st.

This raid was a hard piece of experience. Since June 22d the regiment had marched about three hundred miles, and had rested nowhere more than six hours. The loss of the regiment was three killed, 11 wounded, and one officer, (Lieutenant Moore, who was left wounded in an ambulance), and 75 men captured. Most of the wounded were also captured—an aggregate of 90.[1] The Sixth Corps was sent to Ream's Station, as has been related in previous pages, after Wilson's reverse. Had it been sent sooner, or had Wilson kept on to the east instead of striking for Ream's Station, the loss of 1,200 men might have been saved.

The regiment, much reduced in numbers by the vicissitudes of the past few days, went into camp with the division July 3d, at Light House Point on the James, northeast of Petersburg, where it remained for three weeks, when it was transferred on the 29th to the left of the army, to the position near the Weldon railroad which had been held by the First Vermont brigade before it went with the Sixth Corps to Washington to guard the capital from Early's raid. Next morning, July 30th, in the operations which were to accompany the explosion of the famous mine, Wilson was directed to make a lodgment on the Weldon railroad. He moved out accordingly with his division; but the failure of the assault on the mine involved the abandonment of

[1] The rank and file killed in Wilson's Raid were: Corporal Hannibal S. Jenne, company B; Daniel F. Perham, company F, and Adoniram J. Burr, company I.

Died of their wounds: Corporal J. W. Woodbury, company D; Edward J. Whipple and Corporal I. W Mattocks, company A, and Sergeant C. W. Bishop, company E.

this part of the programme. The regiment at this time did picket duty for a week in the vicinity of Davenport Church, when it moved to City Point with the division, on its way to join General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. The division embarked August 8th for Washington, arriving at Geesboro Point on the 10th. Here the return of 80 convalescents increased the effective number of the regiment to 450. On the 13th the regiment with the division moved out to Dranesville, and on the 15th, started for the Shenandoah Valley by way of Leesburg and Snicker's Gap.

BACK IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

On the 17th it arrived at Winchester, where Torbert's division, with some New Jersey infantry, was covering Sheridan's withdrawal to Berryville. The regiment went into line of battle with the brigade during the day. At night it fell back and bivouacked on Summit Ridge, where it remained until the 21st, guarding the crossing of the Opequon and scouting the east bank. On the 21st, when Early moved to attack Sheridan, Wilson resisted the advance of Anderson's division at Summit Point, and prevented him from aiding Rodes and Ramseur in their fight with Getty and the First Vermont brigade at Charlestown. In this engagement at Summit Point the First Vermont supported Pennington's battery, and one battalion was engaged on the line, with some loss of horses. After several hours of skirmishing Wilson fell back to Charlestown, the First Vermont forming part of the rear guard; and next morning retired to Bolivar Heights on the left of Sheridan's position at Halltown.

On the 25th General Torbert, who was now chief of the cavalry of the Army of the Shenandoah, moved out with Wilson's and Merritt's divisions to Kearneysville, and there encountered the larger part of the army of Early, who with

four infantry divisions preceded by cavalry was moving north and threatening a fresh invasion of Maryland. Supposing at first that he had only cavalry to deal with, Torbert attacked vigorously and drove back the advance of Wharton's division for three-quarters of a mile to their main body, when he was attacked in turn and driven back with some loss. In this engagement the First Vermont supported Pennington's battery for a time, and was then dismounted and placed on the skirmish line, where it was under fire for two hours. It then fell back, in good order, by the way of Duffield's Station, covering the rear of the division and facing about from time to time to fire on the pursuing force. In the fighting Wharton lost 200 men killed and wounded. The casualties in the Vermont cavalry were eight wounded, three of them mortally.[1] That night the division moved through Harper's Ferry and across the Potomac to Boonsboro to guard the South Mountain gaps in case Early should move into Maryland; but he did not see fit to do so.

On the 26th Early began to retire up the valley, and on the 27th Wilson's division marched to the Potomac, recrossed near Shepherdstown on the 28th, and proceeded to Charlestown, Va. During the week following, the Vermont cavalry took part in several reconnoissances, and Sheridan moved up to the Clifton-Berryville line, while Early took position at Bunker Hill.

On the 4th of September Wilson's cavalry had a skirmish with the advance of Anderson's division at Berryville, in which the First Vermont took part, and during the next two weeks it was employed in picket duty and on reconnoissances, in one of which, toward Paris, it had some skirmishing with a party of the enemy's irregular cavalry.

[1] Died of wounds—Edward S. Wright, company A; Sergeant Harmon D. Hall, company B, and William N. Day, company H.

THE OPEQUON.

In the battle of the Opequon, Chapman's brigade followed the First brigade through the defile, and when the infantry came up moved along the Senseny road to a position south of Abraham's Creek near the Greenwood Church. Here the second battalion of the First Vermont, Captain Ray, was deployed as skirmishers, and the rest of the regiment was dismounted and sent in against the right of Lomax's cavalry. General Chapman having been struck by a spent ball, Colonel Wells took command of the brigade and pushed Jackson's brigade, of Lomax's division, back across the creek to the crest beyond, where Jackson made a stand, with the aid of a battery; and finding him strongly posted the skirmishers withdrew across the creek. Several Vermonters were wounded as they remounted and moved back up the slope on the east side of the creek. Here the regiment held its position with the brigade till the general movement upon Early's lines took place at five o'clock, when Jackson was dislodged by the advance of Getty's division, and with the rest of Lomax's cavalry and of Early's army was soon in full retreat. The Vermont cavalry joined in the pursuit, which was kept up as far as Kernstown, when darkness and a line of Ramseur's infantry put an end to it for the night, and the regiment bivouacked after an exciting and victorious day.

Sept. 19, 1864.

When Early retreated to Fisher's Hill next day he sent Fitzhugh Lee's division, now commanded by General Wickham, Lee having been severely wounded in front of Winchester, to the Luray Valley, to hold that gateway to his rear. Sheridan thereupon sent Torbert with Wilson's and Merritt's divisions to drive Wickham up the Luray Valley, and having thus cleared the way, to cross to New Market, and cut off Early's retreat. In this movement, the First Vermont, having the advance of Wilson's division, followed

Wickham's rear guard along the Front Royal pike, as far as the river, where Wickham took position and Wilson halted. At daylight next morning, the 21st, Colonel Wells was ordered with the First Vermont and First New Hampshire to force a crossing upon the right of the pike. He dismounted the New Hampshire regiment and attempted to drive the enemy from the south bank, by use of his carbines; but Wickham's men held their ground. The Vermont regiment was then brought up, charged across the river, and dislodged the opposing line. The rest of the division meantime crossed along the pike, and joining the column, the regiment followed Wickham for two miles to Front Royal. Here the Vermont regiment was again detached and sent on in advance along the road known as "Gooney Manor Grade," leading to the hamlet of Gooney Manor, four miles above Front Royal. Here the Vermonters found Wickham's rear guard in position with artillery at the top of an ascent on the south side of Gooney Run. Skirmishing soon began and lasted till ten P. M., when troops of the First brigade relieved the regiment at the front, and it rejoined its own brigade.[1] Next morning Wickham had retired to Milford, where the valley contracts to a gorge, and where he made his main stand, having a creek in his front, and his flanks protected respectively by the Shenandoah river and a spur of the Blue Ridge. The position was a strong one; but Torbert had ample force to carry it and had no excuse for his failure to force or turn the defile.[2] In the skirmishing in front of Milford, after which he gave up the attempt to reach Early's rear, the Vermont cavalry had a prominent part. Torbert then withdrew his cavalry seven

[1] This day's skirmishes appear in Adjutant General Washburn's official list under the titles of "Front Royal" and "Mooney's Grade."

[2] "Its [the cavalry's] operations up the Luray Valley, on which I calculated so much, were an entire failure."—Sheridan to Grant, September 25th.

miles, to Buck's Ford, and the First Vermont picketed a line in front. After two days, and after Sheridan had cleared Early out of Fisher's Hill and Wickham had departed, Torbert boldly advanced, drove Payne's cavalry brigade from Luray, bivouacked at the Massanutten Gap on the night of the 24th; next day joined Sheridan at Newcastle, and went on with the army that day to Harrisonburg. Here General Chapman relinquished the command of the Second brigade, and was succeeded as brigade commander by Colonel Wells. The regiment was sorry to lose the latter as its immediate commander, for in the four months of his leadership he had handled the regiment with efficiency and fought it with vigor and judgment in more than a dozen engagements, and had won the full confidence of officers and men. Colonel Wells was succeeded in the command by Lieut. Colonel Bennett.

On the 26th the regiment started from Harrisonburg for Waynesboro, whither Torbert was sent with Wilson's division and Lowell's brigade of regular cavalry, to destroy the Virginia Central railroad bridge at that point. The brigade halted that night at Staunton, and next morning, while the rest were destroying Confederate stores and ammunition, the First Vermont and Eighth New York scouted ahead to Waynesboro, whither the division moved at night. Next day, the 28th, the troops were busy destroying the bridge and various mills, when Wickham's cavalry and Pegram's infantry, despatched thither by Early from Port Republic, appeared on Tunnel Hill; and, after some skirmishing, Torbert fell back to Staunton, and moved thence twenty miles north to Bridgewater, where large quantities of tobacco and stores were seized.

On the 30th of September General Wilson was relieved of the command of the Third division, and sent to be General Thomas's chief of cavalry in Tennessee. He was succeeded by the fiery Custer, under whom the division was to acquire its most brilliant fame. He was no stranger to the Vermont

troopers ; and they welcomed the change, though they knew it meant mounted charges, instead of dismounted skirmishing, and a foremost place in every fight.

During the first week in October the regiment was in camp on the north side of the North River, near Mt. Crawford. Its numbers had been increased by 140 recruits, and over 400 men were present for duty. Early, heavily reinforced, was now on the other side of the river, and becoming demonstrative ; and, on the 5th, Sheridan began his retrograde movement down the valley, his cavalry following the infantry and devastating the valley as they went. Custer's division moved by the Back road, parties being detached to right and left to burn the barns and hay-stacks. In this work of destruction, as it happened, the Vermont cavalry had little or no part, the duty falling to other troops. The brigade camped the night of the 6th near Brock's Gap, two miles west of Timberville, and next day moved on through Columbia Furnace. In the forenoon of that day, General Rosser, who had just joined Early with his cavalry, made his appearance with great suddenness, and began to crowd on the rear guard, which consisted of a squadron of the Vermont regiment. This had repulsed two attacks of Rosser's advance, when, at two P. M., at a point five miles north of Columbia Furnace, the wagon-train halted, and Bennett had hardly formed his regiment to cover it, when his line was charged once and again in considerable force. The repulse of these attacks was followed by a heavy development of force on the part of the enemy, and a line of dismounted skirmishers thrown forward by Bennett came near being captured owing to the retreat of the men who held their horses. These, however, were overtaken and brought back by Adjutant Gates, and the squadron, mounting, fell back to the main line of the regiment. A squadron of the Eighth New York and one of the First New Hampshire were now sent to Bennett's support. After some sharp skirmishing, he was

charged by a heavy force. This was checked by the small portion of the regiment, under Captain Watson, held in reserve; but was followed by an assault in still greater force, and Bennett was driven back in disorder for two miles, till he reached the support of the brigade and of a piece of artillery which General Custer had sent back. In this stampede, Lieutenant H. O. Wheeler of company A and 34 enlisted men were captured. Of these four were wounded; one died of his wounds,[1] and three others of wounds or disease in the hands of the enemy; two others reported missing also probably died in Confederate prisons.

Next day the division moved to Tumbling Run, near Mount Olive, the Eighteenth Pennsylvania being the rear guard, and having repeatedly to turn and fight. That night Sheridan came back to see what was going on. He found Custer enraged by the constant harassing of his rear and chafing under orders which compelled him to retreat from his old class-mate Rosser, whom he wanted to fight. Sending for Torbert, Sheridan ordered him to "start out at daylight, and whip the rebel cavalry or get whipped himself." The result of this order was the victory of Tom's Brook.

TOM'S BROOK.

This was, in Sheridan's words, "a square cavalry fight." The opposing corps were as a whole about evenly matched in numbers, 5,000 against 5,000. The opposing divisions, however, were not equally matched, Custer's 2,500 sabres being opposed to Rosser's 3,000 or more, while Merritt's 2,500 confronted Lomax's 2,000. Each division on each side had a battery of six guns. In carrying out Sheridan's order Custer and Merritt moved back at daybreak, the former by the Back road and the latter by the valley pike, there

[1] Edwin R. Jones of company C. It was currently reported that this man died of a sabre thrust wantonly inflicted by one of his captors after he had surrendered.

two miles apart. About nine o'clock they met Rosser and Lomax on the south side of Tom's Brook. The ground was favorable for a cavalry fight, the rail fences having long ago vanished from that thoroughfare of armies, and the ground being for the most part smooth and open. The hostile lines deployed along opposing crests, in plain view of each other, in the bright sunlight; and a fresh breeze cleared the smoke quickly from skirmish line and battery front, and left all in clear view. Rosser's line was on the higher ground of the two. His guns were posted on the rounded crests, and his skirmish line, dismounted, was behind a line of stone fences, near the base of the ridge. Custer's two brigades were deployed, his first on the right and Wells's on the left of the road. His guns were placed on separate knolls, and between them and not far behind his skirmish line fluttered Custer's headquarters flag. It is related that before he ordered the grand charge of his division, Custer rode out alone, in advance of his staff, and taking off his broad sombrero hat swept it to his knee in a knightly salute to his foe; and that Rosser from the crest beyond pointed him out to his staff, saying: "That's Custer; and I am going to give him the best whipping to-day that he ever got."[1] Instead Rosser got the worst whipping he ever had. As soon as his brigades were fairly in position Custer attacked in one sweeping charge. It was first a walk to the skirmish line, then a trot, then a gallop, then a wild rush of shouting troopers with waving sabres and frantic horses. The charge was so sudden and rapid that the enemy's fire of artillery and small arms took little effect, and before Rosser knew what had happened, his position was carried. His battery limbered up in haste and made for the rear. Its supports broke before they were fairly struck, and the entire force fell back half a mile to a belt of woods. Here Rosser re-formed his line and his battery opened and soon Custer's advance fell

[1] Whittaker's Life of Custer.

back before a counter-charge made by Rosser, which, however, was checked by Custer's artillery. Custer then reformed his division; and in a second charge swept all before him, taking all of Rosser's guns, caissons, wagons and ambulances, and following him on the run, for twelve miles, to Columbia Furnace.

Merritt meantime had made equally short work with Lomax, taking five of his six guns (the other having been crippled and sent back early in the battle) and chasing him through Woodstock to Mount Jackson. "The enemy," said Sheridan, "was defeated with the loss of all his artillery but one piece, and everything else which was carried on wheels."

In this memorable fight, the First Vermont cavalry had an active part. In the formation for the first charge the regiment was formed across the Back road, along which it moved to the charge. At the summit of the hill beyond the brook, the portion of the enemy's line in front of the third (Grover's) battalion, stood its ground better than some other portions and the battalion became slightly broken. The first and second battalions, however, came quickly to the support of the third, and the enemy fell back. Lieut. Colonel Bennett had his horse shot under him here. The regiment then moved on to the front of the woods where Rosser was making his second stand, and a stubborn contest followed, in which Captain Frank Ray, commanding a squad-

[1] "Rosser's men had been doing brilliant service, and were so greatly elated by it that they had adopted a laurel leaf as a badge, and permitted themselves to be called the Laurel Brigade. They came to the discouraged soldiers on the Shenandoah, therefore, with much swagger, and promised to clear the valley of Yankees in no time; but in the very first engagement Sheridan drove back those boasters and chased them at full speed for twelve miles. Juba Early's only comment on it, when he met the crest-fallen commander a day or two later, was to drawl out this remark: 'I say, Rosser your brigade had better take the grape leaf for a badge; the laurel is not a running vine.'"—Editor's Drawer, *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1884.

ron, fell mortally wounded.[1] After half an hour's fighting the line of the enemy began to waver, when the regiment, commanded for the time being by Major Grover, charged. The opposing line broke and fled and the Vermonters captured two field pieces with their caissons and a number of prisoners. The regiment here became divided in the rush. Part, under Adjutant Gates, went on with other troops on the right and followed the enemy for ten miles, to Columbia Furnace. The rest of the regiment met a stronger resistance, and made slower progress, but drove a superior force for miles, made a number of captures, and followed the enemy until recalled by Colonel Wells. "The conduct of the men," says Lieut. Colonel Bennett, "exceeded my most sanguine expectations, though upwards of 100 were recruits who had never drilled a day." He mentions Sergeants Haswell and Cook of company G, Frost of company A and Wright of company L, for conspicuous bravery. This battle demoralized Early's cavalry and contributed largely to the crowning victory of the campaign ten days later at Cedar Creek. The Union loss was small. The Vermont regiment lost one officer mortally wounded, two men killed, and several men wounded.[2]

On the 13th the enemy drove the pickets of the Second New York cavalry across Cedar Creek, behind which Sheridan's army now lay. Custer re-established the line, with some skirmishing which lasted till dark. The Vermont regiment moved out and stood in line with the division; but was not seriously engaged.

[1] Captain Ray died next morning. He was a Bennington man. He enlisted as a private in company G, and was promoted for bravery and efficiency through the intermediate grades to the command of the company. He was 25 years old at his death, had distinguished himself in a score of fights, and was regarded as one of the best officers in the line.

[2] Killed—James Lowell, company I, and Carlos Hodgdon, company L.

CEDAR CREEK.

On the morning of October 19th, Custer's division was guarding the fords across Cedar Creek, at the right of the infantry, and Wells's brigade was the extreme right of the division and of the army. At the sound of the first firing on the picket line, in the early morning, Wells put his brigade in readiness for action, and soon after sent forward the First battalion of the First Vermont under Captain Cummings, to reconnoitre. Cummings returned with information that the enemy's cavalry was in force in the edge of the woods in front; but they did not advance, and, with the exception of some artillery practice, there was little done on the right while the rout of the infantry was in progress to the left. About nine o'clock General Wright directed Torbert to transfer his cavalry to the extreme left, to assist the infantry there. In obeying this order, having learned through Lieut. Colonel Bennett that the enemy was moving upon the right, Torbert detached Wells with the First Vermont and two other regiments of his brigade to guard that flank. These had lively work to prevent Rosser from breaking through into the rear; but they held him back for over two hours with constant skirmishing, in the course of which Wells fell back about a mile under orders to keep in general line with the infantry. About noon Custer returned to the right with his first brigade and a battery,—having been recalled by Sheridan, who was now on the field,—and drove Rosser back almost to Cedar Creek. The cavalry held their position till Sheridan had completed his arrangements for the final movement. Of the service of the Vermont Regiment during this portion of the day, Lieutenant H. O. Wheeler says: "Our regiment was sent from one part of the field to another, as the needs of the place and hour required. Now it strengthened the picket line; now stood as a wall against the advancing foe and covered some retreating division as it fell back;

now it dashed down a road and checked some advancing column; now it kept up a lively skirmish; and now it charged into the woods to break or drive back the enemy's line. On whatever errand it was sent it did its duty."

In the final advance. Custer moved to the left and front, dividing Rosser's cavalry from the infantry. Then leaving his First brigade to engage the cavalry, he took the First Vermont and Fifth New York and went rapidly across the field, to strike the left and rear of Early's infantry, now trying to make a stand on the north bank of the creek. The enemy however, did not wait to be thus struck; but scattered across the creek before the grand charge of the Union infantry. Sheridan's infantry halted in their old breastworks; but Custer and Wells, with the two regiments named, kept on. The Vermonters were in advance, and led the way through a ravine to Cedar Creek, striking it at a ford a quarter of a mile west of the pike. Here Captain A. G. Watson, commanding the foremost squadron, before he allowed his men to cross, forded the stream and rode up the opposite bank to reconnoitre. Finding the enemy still retreating, he called his command over, and they advanced skirmishing to a stone wall some sixty rods from the creek, where they were received by a volley from some of Pegram's infantry. Watson fell with a ball through the shoulder and a wound in the head, and was taken to the rear; and the squadron halted till the remainder of the regiment came up. Not a moment was to be lost, for the enemy's artillery could be heard rumbling over the pike near by, and if Early's veterans should rally, the situation of the two regiments—over a mile from any support—would have been precarious.

Custer had stopped after telling the Vermonters that if they got a single gun he would be satisfied with them; but Wells went on with his command and now directed Bennett to charge the opposing line. As they started for the stone fence the Vermonters received a volley and then were over

the wall and among the enemy. "My men," says Bennett, "rushed upon them as though they were the appointed avengers of their comrades slain, [whose stripped and naked bodies they had passed on the way to the creek], and considering our numbers the slaughter was fearful." The enemy soon threw down their arms, and pushing on through their disorganized line, the two cavalry regiments, the Vermonters still leading, shortly struck into the valley pike, a mile below Cedar Creek. Darkness was now falling fast on the field; but there was light enough to see that the pike was filled with artillery and wagons. Several pieces of artillery were at once captured by the Vermonters, with the cannoneers. But not satisfied with this success they pushed on to find the head of the tangled column. They found this half a mile beyond Strasburg, where some wagons, upset by the breaking down of a little bridge over a brook, had blockaded the road, which for two miles back from there was a jam of guns, caissons, wagons and ambulances filled with wounded men. "Here," says Bennett, "with only about 20 men, four miles from any organized support, surrounded by prisoners thrice our number, and constantly augmenting, I was compelled to send captured ambulances and wagons without change of drivers, accompanied by small parties of prisoners, unguarded to the rear. Support came and midnight found my regiment again on the north bank of Cedar Creek, guarding the prisoners and captured property."

The captures here made by the First Vermont cavalry are described in the following receipt, which is perhaps the most eloquent piece of paper held by any regiment in the entire war:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION,
MIDDLE MILITARY DIVISION, October 22, 1864.

Received of First Vermont cavalry, Lieut. Colonel Bennett commanding, the following amount of property, and number of prisoners, captured on the 19th inst., at the battle of Cedar Creek: One hundred and sixty-one prisoners, among which were one general officer, one colonel, and one

lieutenant colonel; three battle-flags, 23 pieces of artillery, 14 caissons, 17 army wagons, six spring wagons and ambulances 83 sets artillery harness, 75 sets wagon harness, 98 horses and 69 mules.

Approved:

C. M. LEE,
Provost Marshal of Third Cav. Div.

G. H. ROGERS,
Lieut. and Provost Marshal of
Second Brigade, Third Cav. Div.

Of the forty-eight Confederate guns captured by Sheridan in this battle forty-five were taken by the First Vermont and Fifth New York cavalry, and of these, twenty-three, being one more than half, were taken by the Vermont regiment.[1]

Some noticeable personal incidents attended these captures. The general officer captured was Major General S. D. Ramseur of North Carolina, commanding a division of Early's army. He had been mortally wounded in front of Getty's division, and placed in an ambulance, which was halted on the pike by Corporal Fred A. Lyon of company A. To an officer or orderly accompanying the wounded general who wanted to know what he meant by stopping the general's ambulance, Lyon replied that he "guessed the General was the very man he was lookin' for"; and ordering the driver of the ambulance to turn about he marched the general and his escort to headquarters.

Soon after the regiment struck the pike, Lieutenant Trussell, commanding company D, of the leading squadron, riding in advance of his command on the right of the pike, saw in front a battery whose commander was urging it along the road. Riding up to him Trussell ordered him to "halt that battery!" Supposing that he was addressed by a Confederate staff officer, the latter replied that he was all out of ammunition, and that this was no place to use artillery anyhow. Trussell, placing a revolver close to the temple of the battery-commander, said in a low voice, "I am a Yankee,

[1] "As there were but forty-eight pieces of artillery captured by the entire army, this splendid achievement of the Green Mountain Boys can be fully appreciated. General Sheridan states that no regiment has captured so much since the war commenced. The First Vermont has long been a terror to the rebels."—Army correspondence *New York Tribune.*

and you are my prisoner; turn the head of this battery to the left!" The Confederate obeyed, and the battery wheeled from the pike, and company D, coming up, took it in charge. Its commander soon after escaped in the darkness, but the guns were brought in.[1]

Not far from the scene of these occurrences, Sergeant Eri D. Woodbury of company E met four Confederate footmen, each apparently carrying a musket. He ordered them to surrender, and they obeyed. As he was marching them away he noticed that one of them hung back, and that he was carrying his gun behind him in a peculiar way. Looking closer in the dusk, Woodbury discovered that instead of a weapon, the man was bearing a flag rolled on its staff. Woodbury thereupon relieved him of his burden, which proved to be the colors of the Twelfth North Carolina infantry, and delivered it and his prisoners at the brigade headquarters. Private James Sweeney 2d, of company A also captured and brought in a battle-flag. Lyon, Sweeney and Woodbury were sent to Washington after the battle, with others who had taken colors, to turn them over to the War Department. They were introduced personally to Secretary Stanton by General Custer, and each received from the secretary a medal of honor, together with a twenty-days' furlough. This was a larger share of these marks of especial distinction than fell to any other cavalry regiment. Of the eight medals of honor awarded to the cavalry for captures of colors at Cedar Creek, three went to members of the First Vermont cavalry, and two to members of the Fifth New York cavalry, of Custer's division. The Sixth Michigan cavalry, Sixth New York cavalry and Ninth New York cavalry, of Merritt's division, each had one medal.

[1] A quite similar incident, in which Sergeant Blinn Atchinson of company A was the chief actor, is related by Captain E. B. Edwards.

October 21st General Custer issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION,
October 21st, 1864.

Soldiers of the Third Cavalry Division:

With pride and gratification your commanding general congratulates you upon your glorious achievements of the past few days. On the 9th of the present month you attacked a vastly superior force of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by that famous "Savior of the Valley," Rosser. Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in numbers and position, you drove him twenty miles from the battle-field, capturing his artillery, (six pieces), also his entire train of wagons and ambulances, and a large number of prisoners. Again, during the memorable engagement of the 19th inst., your conduct throughout was sublimely heroic, and without a parallel in the annals of warfare. In the early part of the day, when disaster and defeat seemed to threaten our noble army on all sides your calm and determined bravery while exposed to a terrible fire from the enemy's guns, aided not a little to restore confidence to that portion of our army already broken and driven back on the right. Afterwards, rapidly transferred from the right flank to the extreme left, you materially and successfully assisted in defeating the enemy in his attempt to turn the left flank of our army. Again ordered upon the right flank, you attacked and defeated a division of the enemy's cavalry, driving him in confusion across Cedar Creek. Here, changing your front to the left at a gallop, you charged and turned the left flank of the enemy's line of battle, and pursued his broken and demoralized army a distance of five miles. Night alone put an end to your pursuit. Among the substantial fruits of this great victory you can boast of having captured five battle-flags, a large number of prisoners, including Major General Ramseur, and *forty-five* of the *forty-eight* pieces of artillery taken from the enemy that day, thus making *fifty-one* pieces of artillery which you have captured from the enemy within the short period of ten days. This is a record of which you may well be proud, a record made and established by your gallantry and perseverance. You have surrounded the name of the Third Cavalry Division with a halo of glory as enduring as time. The history of the war, when truthfully written, will contain no brighter page than that upon which is recorded the chivalrous deeds, the glorious triumphs, of the soldiers of this division.

G. A. CUSTER,
General Commanding.

This regimental history must hasten to its close. October 22d, 271 men and 12 officers whose term of service had expired left the camp of the Cavalry at Cedar Creek. They arrived at Burlington in the afternoon of the 29th, and were received with an address by Lieutenant Governor Underwood, and a substantial supper at the American House. The men

were then furloughed until November 18th, when reassembling they were mustered out of the service of the United States. The following officers were mustered out at this time: Lieut. Colonel John W Bennett, Major Andrew J. Grover, Major Henry M. Paige, Surgeon George S. Gale, Adjutant Clarence D. Gates, Captain Ellis B. Edwards, Lieutenants Cornelius W Morse, Waldo J. Clark, John Sawyer, Jr., Jacob Trussell, Brainard M. Parker, and Richard A. Seaver.

Four hundred men remained in camp, under command of Captain Cummings, who was promoted to be major. The following promotions were made at this time: Major Josiah Hall, a prisoner of war, to be lieutenant colonel; Captain Robert Scofield, Jr., of company F, a prisoner of war, to be junior major; Lieutenant Patrick H. Caldwell, of company I, to be quartermaster.

November 10th the regiment moved with the Army of the Shenandoah to Kernstown. On the 11th, the regiment was doing picket duty on the Middle road, when it was attacked by the enemy's cavalry. Its supports came up and a skirmish ensued which lasted until dark, when the enemy retired. The regiment captured several prisoners and lost one man killed and three wounded.[1]

On the 12th before daylight the regiment, which was still on picket, was again attacked by Rosser's cavalry, but held the line until Custer came up at 11 A. M. and drove Rosser back for two miles. The latter was then reinforced by Lomax and Custer fell back. Skirmishing continued all day, with occasional charges, till just before dark Merritt's division arrived and the enemy was driven from the field. This fighting was part of a larger indecisive affair entitled "Middletown" in General Sheridan's list of battles. Sheridan and Early were present and directed operations during the day, and portions of the infantry of both armies supported

[1] Killed—Michael Donovan of company H.

the cavalry on the two sides. "The regiment," says Major Cummings, "never fought better, though some 250 of its members were recruits just from the State, and had never seen a day's drill. The officers, Captain Chandler and Lieutenant Mitchell, acquitted themselves with great gallantry. We missed the colors (taken to the State by the men discharged) to rally the regiment on, more in this engagement than at any time since, on account of the small number of officers present." The loss of the regiment was one killed, 13 wounded and three missing.[1]

On the 21st the regiment started with the division on a reconnoissance made by Torbert with Custer's and Powell's divisions to determine the truth of a report that Early had left the valley. Beyond Mount Jackson, on the 22d, the enemy's infantry was discovered in force, and learning that only one division (Kershaw's) had left the valley, Torbert withdrew. The Vermont regiment was rear guard, and in a skirmish with some of the enemy's cavalry lost two men wounded and one captured. The regiment returned with the division to camp at Kernstown on the 23d.

On the 29th Custer's division was sent west across the mountain to Moorefield, to intercept Rosser, who had surprised and captured the post at New Creek, West Virginia. The regiment marched fifty miles in sixteen hours, reaching Moorefield next forenoon; but Rosser had already passed through that place on his return, and Custer returned to camp December 2d. On the 9th of December the regiment moved with the brigade to camp Russell, near Winchester. On the 18th of December, Custer's division made a demonstration toward Staunton to cover a raid of Torbert's on the Virginia Central Road at Gordonsville. The regiment moved with the brigade at daylight on the 18th and bivouacked near Woodstock that night. Next day while scouting in advance,

[1] Killed—Paul Dumas of company L.

the Vermont cavalry had a skirmish with a party of the enemy at the Narrow Passage near Edinburg. The division bivouacked at Lacy's Springs the night of the 20th—a stormy night with snow and sleet. There was picket skirmishing all night; and before daylight next morning Rosser's and Payne's cavalry charged into camp. Anticipating something of this sort the Vermont cavalry had saddled their horses before light, and mounting at the first firing they charged a body of the enemy and took 30 prisoners, without losing a man. This vigorous action checked the enemy, and enabled Custer to withdraw his command with a loss of fewer men than the Vermonters had captured. He returned to camp on the 22d.

The regiment remained during the winter at camp Russell in a comfortable camp of log houses built by the men on a slope near the Middle road. Colonel Wells was still in command of the brigade, and Major Cummings commanded the regiment until Lieut. Colonel Hall, having been exchanged, arrived from parole camp February 1st, and took command. The regiment on the 1st of January had an aggregate of 908 men, with 593 for duty and 292 on the sick list.

SHERIDAN'S SIXTH EXPEDITION AND MARCH TO PETERSBURG.

The Spring campaign of 1865 opened on the 27th of February, when Sheridan started out with the finest body of mounted men that took the field during the war. This was in two divisions of nearly 5,000 each, under General Merritt, who had succeeded Torbert in command of the corps. Sheridan was ordered to destroy the Virginia Central Railroad and Canal, take Lynchburg if practicable, and then join Sherman in South Carolina, if no other course seemed preferable.

Marching orders came on the 26th of February, and at daylight next morning the regiment moved to Kernstown, where the corps was concentrated and started on its march. Moving from Woodstock next day, Wells's brigade led the

column to Staunton, in rain and sleet and mud, which made the marching hard and progress slow. Meantime, Early with two brigades of infantry and Rosser's cavalry, took position at Waynesboro, in front of Rockfish Gap, to dispute the passage through the Blue Ridge. At one o'clock P. M. of March 2d, Custer reached the front of Waynesboro and found Early posted behind breastworks along a ridge west of the village. Custer decided to attack without waiting for the rest of the corps. Colonel Wells was thereupon ordered to throw forward a heavy skirmish line and to deploy two regiments in a hollow in front of the enemy's position. Lieut. Colonel Hall was directed to take the Vermont regiment to a position on the left. "Here," says Colonel Hall in his report, "the regiment formed in line of battle, just in rear of the skirmish line and in full view and easy range of the enemy's guns, partly to draw their fire and partly to cover the manœuvring of other portions of the division; and, although standing under a most galling fire and in a very exposed position, the lines were kept as complete and steady as on review."

While Early's attention was taken by these movements and by the skirmishers in front, Custer sent Pennington's brigade around his (Early's) left. As soon as firing was heard from the flanking force, the First Vermont advanced across the fields against the enemy's right. Soon Pennington emerged from the woods and Woodruff's guns opened with shell. The enemy dropped flags and muskets and fled in every direction. The retreat of the larger portion of Early's infantry was cut off by various detachments of Custer's cavalry, and he captured 1,600 of Early's men, with eleven guns and a great quantity of military stores. In the combined assault the Vermont regiment, after floundering through the swampy fields, entered the village from the left and charged upon the panic-stricken enemy, hundreds of whom surrendered there. The regiment pursued a flying body along the South River road, and captured most of them, with a gun and two cais-

sons. General Early and four of his brigadier generals—Wharton, Rosser, Long and Lilley—seeing that everything was lost, got out of the village into the woods and escaped capture. The Vermont regiment lost but one man killed[1] and one wounded. At nightfall the regiment crossed the river, moved over the mountain after dark, and encamped at the eastern base. Custer followed up his advantage vigorously by sending a force to Greenwood Station, where a train of cars, with five guns and large quantities of army stores were captured. In fine, half of Early's force and all of his artillery, with supplies and materials of war aggregating over a million of dollars in value, were taken, and the latter destroyed by Custer in this brilliant operation.

Next day the column plodded on to Charlottesville and bivouacked in the mud; the next passed near Monticello, the residence of Thomas Jefferson, and on the 6th passed the University of Virginia, moving by the roads parallel with the Lynchburg railroad, and destroying this and burning the bridges at many points. On the 7th Wells's brigade was detached and sent toward Lynchburg, and burned the Buffalo bridge near Amherst, within fifteen miles of Lynchburg, and other bridges. This day the main column reached the James river at New Market. Here Sheridan found that the ponton bridge he had brought was too short to reach across the river; and in view of the horrible condition of the roads and of the fact that the horses' feet were becoming diseased from constant marching and standing in the mud, he decided to relinquish the rest of his programme and to join Grant in front of Petersburg. His column moved thither along the north bank of the James river, marching for the most part on the tow-path of the canal, the embankments of which were broken at every convenient point. Near Columbia the column rested a day. Turning to the northeast on the 12th it moved in two columns by different

[1] Killed, Asa M. Bonway.

routes, to Frederick's Hall, where the Virginia Central Railroad was struck. Nearly the whole of the next day was spent in tearing up the railroad. A few shots were exchanged at this point with scattered parties of the enemy. Thence, by way of Ground Squirrel Bridge, the column marched to Ashland, where the First brigade had a skirmish with Pickett's infantry, which had been sent out from Richmond to intercept Sheridan. By withdrawing before this force the latter was drawn on by Sheridan across the South Anna, far enough to make it certain that it could not get back to the south side of the Pamunkey, to dispute his crossing. Then, crossing the North Anna at Hanover Junction, he turned to the southeast and moving down the peninsula between the Pamunkey and Mattapony, reached White House the 18th and went into camp, accompanied by a crowd of 1,500 colored fugitives. Here Sheridan rested for five days. On the 26th the cavalry marched across the peninsula, crossing the Chickahominy at Jones Bridge and moved by Charles City Court House, Malvern Hill and Deep Bottom, to Bermuda Hundred, the men leading their horses across the ponton bridge. The next day the column crossed the Appomattox and went into camp near Hancock Station on the military railroad. The corps had been for twenty-one days in the region held by the enemy, and made a longer march within the limits of the Confederacy than Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea. Of this march Sheridan said: "There perhaps never was a march where nature offered such impediments and shrouded herself in such gloom. Incessant rain, deep and almost impassable streams, swamps and mud were overcome with a constant cheerfulness on the part of the troops that was truly admirable. Both officers and men appeared buoyed up by the thought that we had completed our work in the Valley of the Shenandoah, and that we were on our way to help our brothers in arms in front of Petersburg, in the final struggle."

FIVE FORKS AND THE PURSUIT OF LEE.

The closing movements of the war were now at hand. Divining Lee's purpose to retreat from Petersburg, Grant on the 29th of March sent Sheridan around the right of Lee's lines to Five Forks. Lee could not permit him to occupy so menacing a position. Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's divisions of infantry were sent to support his cavalry, comprising two divisions under Fitzhugh Lee, and to drive Sheridan away. The latter fell back toward Dinwiddie Court House on the 31st. Next day, supported by the Fifth Corps and masking the infantry with his cavalry, Sheridan attacked Pickett and Fitzhugh Lee at Five Forks, and routed them with a loss of 5,000 men. In this battle, which was the beginning of the end for Lee, Custer's division held the extreme left of Sheridan's line, with one brigade dismounted. With the other two brigades he charged Fitzhugh Lee, who covered Pickett's right. In the final resistless assault, Custer's mounted brigades, led by Custer and accompanied by Sheridan in person, carried the breastworks in front of them and received the surrender of a thousand of the Confederate infantry. Fitzhugh Lee, separated from Pickett, struck off to the west, past Custer's left, and was pursued by the latter for six miles till after dark. The part taken by the First Vermont is thus described by Captain H. K. Ide:

On the night of the 29th the advance of the cavalry column occupied Dinwiddie Court House. As the continuous rains had rendered the roads almost impassable for teams, our division had to stay behind to guard and help the trains. In the afternoon of the 30th we finally left this position, and it seemed that the soil had no bottom, so deep was the mud. We lifted and tugged at the wagons, and cut trees and piled rails on the road for corduroy until night, when we lay down in the woods just where we happened to be. The next day we rested in the pine woods, some helping meanwhile with the wagons and some foraging. Throughout the day Sheridan was having a hard fight at Dinwiddie Court House. Toward night he sent back for help to Custer, who, only too

glad to leave the train to Colonel Wells, took Pennington's and Capehart's brigades and arrived at the Court House just in time to aid in the final repulse of the enemy. April 1st Wells's brigade was also summoned to the front, and leaving the wagons, hastened forward to Dinwiddie. The enemy had fallen back to Five Forks, and we followed, passing on the way some of the Fifth Corps. The firing in front of us was very heavy; and as we came in behind the First brigade (Pennington's), we found them dismounted, engaging an enemy who was protected by breastworks. The led horses were being taken to the rear, and as all were at full speed, things looked rather lively. We passed along the rear to the left of the line; and, as the enemy seemed to be flanking the First brigade, the Fifteenth New York cavalry was sent to drive them back. We saw the Fifteenth New York charge, and supposing we were to follow, advanced carbines and drew sabres and started, but were ordered back and came into line under shelter of a little ridge. Custer stationed his band on the top of the ridge in front and ordered them to play. The rebels shelled us, dropping the branches of the pine trees upon us, but inflicting no damage. The Fifteenth New York was repulsed, and returning took position beside us. Custer made a short speech to us; the bugle sounded a charge, and away we went.

The enemy fought well; but soon gave way all along the line. A column of the enemy's cavalry came toward us. The Fifteenth New York was on their right, our infantry on their left and we in front of them; but they came right down toward us as cool and in as good order as if on dress parade until they were within pistol-shot, when they broke and fled, we after them, helter-skelter, until we struck a road which we followed a short distance; then across the fields to another road leading to the right. We captured several prisoners, but as it was getting dark, we went slow. We soon saw before us some mounted men who asked, "Who are you?" Some one answering: "We are Vermonters," they replied: "We are Carolinians," and fired. But it was so dark and they were in such a hurry that no one on our side was hurt. But it threw us into some confusion; and when we got straightened out they were gone. We pursued them some distance, but hearing Custer's bugle on the other road, which showed that we were too far in advance, we

[1] General Custer, in this advance, rode for some distance with the third battalion (Watson's) of the Vermont cavalry.

returned to the column, which marched back a mile or so and went into bivouac. In this battle the usual order had been changed, the infantry doing the flanking, while the cavalry charged the enemy's works in front."

Colonel Wells led the first charge of his brigade, thus described, and received several bullets through his clothes and was also struck in the chest with a piece of a shell; but kept his saddle and command, and directed the subsequent movements of the brigade. After the repulse of the Fifteenth New York, Custer mounted Capehart's brigade and placed it on the left of Wells. In the subsequent advance the two brigades made a detour to the left over very broken ground and coming in partially on the flank of the enemy's line, struck a strong body of the enemy's cavalry. The front line drove the enemy some distance and was then driven in turn, and fell back to the line of the First Vermont, which had followed at a short interval. When within pistol-shot of the First Vermont, as described, Hall was ordered to charge. He did so and was joined by the other regiments on right and left, and the enemy was routed all along the line. A number of the Vermont cavalry-men were wounded; but most of them only slightly.

During that night the sound of artillery from the lines in front of Petersburg was almost continuous, and increased to a steady roar just before daybreak,when the Sixth Corps went through A. P Hill's lines. Later in the day word came from Meade to Sheridan that Petersburg was taken, and that the cavalry must start at once to head off Lee's retreat. This was led by Anderson, who with his own and what was left of Pickett's division and Hill's corps, was sent forward along the south side of the Appomattox, while Lee's main army retreated by the roads on the north side of the river. Fitzhugh Lee covered the rear of Anderson with his cavalry. Custer's division followed along the south side of the Appomattox and bivouacked that night at Ford's Station. On the

2d the regiment crossed the South Side railroad, following Devin's division, till the latter was brought to a stand shortly before dark at Scott's Corners by Lee's rear guard of infantry and cavalry. The firing soon became rapid and heavy in front and the Vermont regiment, alone of Custer's division, was sent forward, and was stationed, dismounted, in a piece of woods through which the shells were flying; but it did not become engaged. Next morning Wells's brigade led the division, with the First Vermont in advance, along the Namozine road leading into Amelia County. At the ford of Namozine Creek Fitzhugh Lee's rear guard, consisting of Barringer's brigade, now commanded by General Gary, was posted behind breastworks on the opposite bank. Company D was deployed as skirmishers and sent forward, and the Eighth New York advanced to the creek. Custer, who as usual was near the head of the column, came forward with Colonel Wells to examine the position and they at once took measures to force the crossing. A detachment of the First Vermont under Captain Hazelton was dismounted and sent down the stream for a short distance to a shallower place where they forded the creek and attacked the opposing line on the flank, while a piece of artillery was brought up in front and opened with grape. The enemy soon gave way, and, crossing the stream, Wells pursued them as rapidly as possible. At one point they had abandoned a broken down caisson, after setting it on fire, and the exploding ammunition compelled the command to make a circuit around it through the woods. Near Namozine Church, six miles beyond, the enemy made another stand on the crest of a hill. His rear-guard was at once charged by the Vermont regiment in column by battalion and driven back on the main body, which was then attacked by Wells with most of his brigade and routed with the loss of the Confederate brigade commander and 350 prisoners and a field piece. The gun was captured by Q. M. Sergeant Jerome B. Hatch of the Vermont regiment, and of the prisoners a large

portion were taken by the Vermonters, among the number being Gary's adjutant general, who was captured by Major Cummings.[1] Two Vermonters were killed and nine wounded in this brilliant engagement.[2]

Captain Chandler with 100 men was here detached to guard prisoners, and next day turned over 673 Confederates to the provost marshal at army headquarters, being more prisoners than he received, the number being increased by accessions of stragglers picked up on the way.

On the 4th the division crossed Deep Creek and followed it down to the Appomattox; and, marching all night, next morning reached Jetersville on the Danville railroad, having got beyond Lee and between him and Burke's Junction, which he was trying to reach. Here the regiment stood in line of battle all day with the division, expecting to be attacked; but Lee, finding his way to the south blocked, had struck off across the country due west, aiming for Lynchburg.

On the 6th, while Sheridan and Wright and Humphreys were fighting Ewell and Anderson at Sailor's Creek, Wells's brigade was detached and sent back to Amelia Court House; but found no enemy there, Lee having passed on, leaving behind a hundred limbers and caissons with a large amount of ammunition. Wells rejoined the division that night beyond Sailor's Creek, crossing on the way the field of the battle of Sailor's Creek, fought that day, covered with the dead piled one upon another.

That night Sheridan had almost all of his old Army of the Shenandoah encamped by him on Sailor's Creek. Wright, Merritt, Devin, Crook and Custer were there. Custer was

[1] "The pursuit of Lee was taken up early on the 3d. The leading brigade of Custer's division, commanded by Colonel Wells, overtaking near Namozine Church the rear of Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, Barringer's brigade, which suffered severely in the contest, its commander and many others being captured."—Humphrey's Virginia Campaign, p. 374.

[2] Killed—Andrew Calderwood of company I; Willis Lyman of company L.

guarding about 6,000 prisoners, captured that day, and next morning was riding round with an escort of 29 men, each carrying a Confederate battle-flag taken the day before.

That morning, the 7th, the cavalry were off again, Merritt being sent with Custer's and Devin's divisions to the southwest to Prince Edward Court House, whence on the 8th he moved to Appomattox Station. Custer, leading the column, had halted two miles from that point, when he learned at sunset that the enemy was loading several trains of cars at the station with artillery and ammunition. He started thither at once, and speedily surrounded the trains, which appeared to be unguarded. Suddenly a cannonade opened upon him from the guns of Lee's reserve artillery, which had been sent there to be loaded on the cars, and upon Custer's approach had gone into battery on a knoll near by. Custer at once started in the direction of the flashes of the guns. A portion of Wells's brigade was dismounted and sent against these, through a piece of woods, while the First Vermont with other cavalry advanced in front, returning pistol and carbine shots for the canister which the enemy dispensed freely. The result was the capture of thirty guns and a wagon-train. The First Vermont took eight of the guns, and eighteen in all were taken by Wells's brigade, among them being the Washington Artillery of New Orleans. One Vermont cavalry-man was killed[1] and five wounded, among the latter being Lieutenant E. D. Woodbury, acting adjutant of the regiment, who was struck by a ball which took off two fingers of his right hand and passed through his left arm, and Lieutenant Willard Farrington, also severely wounded.

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE.

April 9th, the last day of fighting for the two armies which for four years had been in almost constant contact,

[1] Killed—George B. Dunn of company M.

opened clear and bright. Lee had not quite given up the hope of forcing his way on to the west, and his orders to Fitzhugh Lee and Gordon were to attack Sheridan's cavalry at daylight and force a way if possible; but if infantry were found supporting the Union cavalry they were to halt and report to him. Skirmishing began at sunrise and lasted till 9 A. M., when Gordon's infantry made an attack in front and flank upon Crook's cavalry division, which was driven back. Custer then brought forward his division, Wells's brigade leading, in column by squadron, with the First Vermont in front. As the brigade moved on at a trot, it passed through a brigade of colored troops of General Foster's division of the Twenty-fourth Corps, then deploying at double quick in splendid style. Wells formed his line in front of Gordon, but had not stood long when the order came from General Sheridan to withdraw and unmask the lines of the infantry of the Fifth Corps on the right, and of the Twenty-fourth on the left. In the withdrawal Custer moved to the right across the enemy's front, the Vermont regiment still leading the column, which passed as if in review between the two armies. "Never," says Captain Ide, "did the regiment, even on dress parade, keep in better line than it did then, though it was the especial mark of two batteries." As the division came around upon the left flank of the enemy, it came in sight of Lee's supply trains, with a confused mass of men about the wagons. Custer at once ordered Colonel Hall to charge them. Hall made the proper disposition of his command and the first battalion had broken into a gallop and the others were following at a fast trot when a staff officer came up on the run, with an order to halt, as a flag of truce had arrived, understood to be to announce Lee's surrender. Before the regiment could be halted, the first battalion, commanded by Captain Harris B. Mitchell, had passed the confederate pickets next to the trains, and in another moment would have struck the latter. The regiment was then brought back into line to await

events. Later it moved toward the left, where a portion of Merritt's cavalry was preparing to resist an attack of General Gary's brigade, which had not received the order to stop fighting. If this attack had been made, Wells's brigade would have supported the line in its front, and the men were in line of battle with carbines advanced, when Lieut. Colonel Whittaker, of Custer's staff, accompanied by two Confederate officers, rode along the line, saying: "Lower your carbines men, lower your carbines. You will never have to raise them again in this war!" The men threw up their caps and hurrahed; but there was but little other demonstration of joy It seemed difficult to realize that the war had ended. About five P. M., General Custer rode along the lines and announced that the terms of surrender had been signed, and the cavalry bivouacked where they stood, with but scanty rations for themselves and little forage for their horses. The regiment captured some prisoners and had two men wounded in this final day of fighting. It received, and in part executed, the last order given for a cavalry charge in the Army of the Potomac.

That day Custer issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION,
APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 9th, 1865.

Soldiers of the Third Cavalry Division:

With profound gratitude to the God of Battles, by whose blessings our enemies are humbled and our arms rendered triumphant, your commanding general avails himself of this his first opportunity to express to you his admiration for the heroic manner in which you have passed through the series of battles which to-day resulted in the surrender of the enemy's entire army. The record established by your indomitable courage is unsurpassed in the annals of war. Your prowess has won for you even the respect and admiration of your enemies. During the past six months, although in most instances confronted by superior numbers, you have captured from the enemy in open battle, 111 pieces of field artillery, 65 battle flags, and upwards of 10,000 prisoners of war, including several general officers. Within the past ten days, and included in the above, you have captured 46 pieces of field artillery and 37 battle flags. You have never lost a gun, never lost a color, and have never been defeated; and notwithstanding the numerous engagements, including the memorable

battles of the Shenandoah, you have captured every piece of artillery which the enemy have dared to open upon you. The near approach of peace renders it improbable that you will again be called upon to undergo the fatigues of the toilsome march, or the exposure of the battle field; but should the assistance of keen blades, wielded by your sturdy arms, be required to hasten the coming of the glorious peace for which we have been so long contending, the general commanding is proudly confident that in the future, as in the past, every demand will meet with a hearty and willing response. Let us hope that our work is done, and that blessed with the comforts of peace, we may soon be permitted to enjoy the pleasures of home and friends. For our comrades who have fallen let us ever cherish a grateful remembrance. To the wounded and those who languish in Southern prisons, let our heartfelt sympathy be tendered. And now, speaking for myself alone—when the war is ended, and the task of the historian begins; when those deeds of daring which have rendered the name and fame of the Third cavalry division imperishable, are inscribed upon the bright pages of our country's history—I only ask that my name be written as the commander of the Third cavalry division.

GEORGE A. CUSTER,
Brev. Major General.

Custer's men fully reciprocated his attachment and admiration, and formally adopted as a division badge the scarlet neck-tie, which they had so often seen streaming back over Custer's shoulder as he led them into battle.

In the morning of the 10th the regiment started back with the army and arrived at Petersburg on the 18th, going into camp west of the city near the Appomattox river, whence on the 20th it moved camp to Powhattan, on the north side of the river. Here it remained in camp until the 24th, when the cavalry and the Sixth Corps were ordered to North Carolina. Starting on the 24th of April the column moved to the southwest by the Boydton plank road, crossed the Staunton river on flat-boats on the 27th, and camped that night near Clarksburg, four miles from the North Carolina border—the most southern point reached by the regiment during its service. At Clarksburg news was received of the surrender of Johnston's army, and on the 29th the division started back. The Vermont regiment passed through Petersburg on the 3d of May, and went into camp a mile north of the city. On the 10th it started with the Cavalry

corps for Washington, passing through the camp of the Army of the Tennessee, crossing the James on a double ponton bridge, marching through Richmond with drawn sabres and camping that night on the Brook turnpike at Yellow Tavern. The next morning they moved over that and other battle-grounds of the year before and marched by the familiar way of Stevensburg, Catlett's, Manassas Junction and Centreville to the Potomac, going into camp on the 15th near Alexandria. The difference between this and their other marches over the same ground was marked by the circumstance that two ladies, Mrs. Custer and Mrs. Pennington, rode for the whole distance at the head of the column.

May 19th, Colonel Wells was promoted to be brigadier general; and Lieut. Colonel Josiah Hall, an efficient and popular officer, was appointed colonel. Both promotions were well deserved. May 21st the regiment moved camp to near Bladensburg, Maryland. On the 23d, it took part in the grand review of the Army of the Potomac, bearing its new colors received that morning from Vermont. At the close of the review General Custer, who was ordered to Texas, bade farewell to his division, and General Wells succeeded him in command.

On the 7th of June the regiment took part in the review of the Vermont troops, at Bailey's Cross Roads, by Governor Smith. Next day it received orders to start for home, and that night the camp of the brigade was illuminated in its honor by the other regiments of the brigade. June 9th it marched on foot over Long Bridge to Washington, and went thence by way of New York and the Hudson river to Burlington, where it arrived June 13th, and had a cordial reception. The Third battery, which had arrived the day before, fired a national salute. The regiment was received by Mayor Catlin in the City Hall and welcomed home by Lieutenant G. G. Benedict, Colonel Hall responding; and a collation was served by the Burlington ladies, after which the men

marched to quarters on the Hospital grounds. On the 21st of June, 21 officers and the recruits whose terms of service would expire before October, some 400 in number, were mustered out at Burlington.

The officers so mustered out were Colonel Josiah Hall, Major Robert Scofield, Jr., Major Charles A. Adams, Regimental Commissary William H. Eastman; Captains Horace K. Ide, Alexander B. Chandler, Eben Grant and Alexander G. Watson; Lieutenants W H. Burbank, Eri D. Woodbury, Josiah H. Moore, Frederick G. Cook, R. A. Howard, Jonas R. Rice, Barney Decker, Charles N. Jones, James Barrett, Carlos A. Barrows, Jonas Stevens, Ozro F. Cheney and George Miller. Lieutenants Eli Holden and H. O. Wheeler had been mustered out in March previous and Lieutenant Edwin H. Higley in May previous. The remainder, comprising 26 officers and 446 men, were consolidated into a battalion of six companies, under Lieut. Colonel Cummings, and were assigned to duty on the northern frontier. They were stationed, one company at St. Albans, two at Champlain, N. Y., one at Malone, N. Y., one at Ogdensburg, N. Y., and one at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y. Colonel Cummings's headquarters were at Champlain. Lieutenant Eugene Consigny of company M was appointed adjutant. These companies had easy duty until August 9th, when they were concentrated at Burlington, paid off and mustered out of the United States service, after which the military rendezvous at Burlington was broken up.

The officers so mustered out were Lieut. Colonel William G. Cummings, Major John H. Hazelton, Adjutant Eugene Consigny, Quartermaster Patrick H. Caldwell, Surgeon Almon Clark, Assistant Surgeon Edward B. Nims, Chaplain John E. Goodrich, who had been chaplain since June, 1864, Captains Mason A. Stone, Harris B. Mitchell, Ebenezer K. Sibley, Clark P Stone, Alvah R. Haswell and Emmett Mather, Lieutenants James Kinehan, Jerome B.

Hatch, Willard Farrington, Stephen A. Clark, William W Foster, Abraham S. Van Fleet, Martin V B. Vance, Henry C. Streeter, Charles B. Stone, William C. Joyce, Marvin M. Mason and Samuel F Stearns.

General Wells, who had been brevetted major general of volunteers for gallant and meritorious service March 13th, 1865, remained in the service; was the last commander of the Cavalry Corps; and after the corps was broken up commanded the First Separate Brigade of cavalry, with his headquarters at Fairfax Court House. He was finally mustered out on the 15th of January, 1866.

The following members of the First Cavalry regiment died in Confederate prisons:

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST VERMONT CAVALRY WHO DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

COMPANY A.

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Zebina Landon,		Richmond, Aug. 22, 1862.
Edward J. Whipple,	June 29, 1864,	In Confed. hosp'l, July 12, 1864.
Joshua L. Day,	" 1, "	Andersonville, Oct. 7, 1864.
Louis Green,	" 29, "	In prison, "
John M. Humphrey,		Andersonville, July 23, "
John McCune,	May 5, "	Charleston, S. C., "
Orville Rounds,	June 29, "	In prison, "
Henry E. Sweet,	July 6, 1863,	Belle Isle, 1863.

COMPANY B.

Lieut. Horace A. Hyde,	Oct. 11, 1863,	Andersonville.
Joseph E. Brewer,		Belle Isle, Oct. 20, 1863.
Andrew J. Farrand,	May 5, 1864,	Andersonville.
Joseph B. Farrand,	Nov. 16, 1863,	Belle Isle, Nov. 16, 1863.
Frank B. Jocelyn,	March 1, 1864,	Andersonville, July 24, 1864.
Nelson M. Perry,	July 6, 1863,	" " "
Lyman C. Wright,	Oct. 11, "	Florence, S. C., Sept., "
Milo Farnsworth,	March 1, 1864,	Andersonville, July 27, "
Henry Jerdo,	June 29, "	Wilmington, March 2, 1865.
Benson J. Merrill,	Sept. 13, 1863,	Andersonville, Aug. 30, 1864.
William O. Spoor,	July 3, "	" April 20, "

COMPANY O.

Wesley Dodge,	June 23, 1864,	
Malon Norris,	July, 1863,	Richmond, Feb. 1, 1864.
Horace M. Abbott,	Oct. 7, 1864,	" Jan. 1, 1865.
Horace G. Atwood,	June 23, "	Andersonville, Sept. 28, 1864.
Joseph Jordon,	March 14, 1865.	

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Walter W. Kingston,	June 29, 1864.	Charleston, Nov. 14, 1864.
Eri McCrillis,	March 2, "	Andersonville, Aug. 1, "
George H. Nownes,	June 29, "	" " 23, "
George W Scott,	" " "	" " 17, "
John S. Towner,	" " "	Charleston, Oct. 2, "
George E. Watkins,	" " "	Andersonville, Sept. 8, "
Joseph N. Wright,	Oct. 7, "	

COMPANY D.

Orange S. Ayers,	June 29, 1864,	Supposed dead.
Charles Cunningham,	Feb. 26, "	"
John Horn,	June 29, "	"
Darwin J. Wright,	" " "	Florence, S. C., Oct, 20, 1864.
Dennison C. Badger,	May 5, "	" " Nov. "
Joseph Benoit,	" 9, "	Andersonville, Aug. 22, "
Norman J. Kingsbury,	June 29, "	Petersburg, July 12, "
Silas Kingsley,	July 6, 1863,	Andersonville, Sept. 4, "
Frederick A. Powers,	March 1, 1864,	In prison, "
Walter Stone,	" " "	Richmond, "
Charles P. Varnum,	Oct. 7, "	Libby Prison, Feb., 1865.
Samuel Washburn,	July 6, 1863,	Andersonville, Aug. 2, 1864.
Sias T. Worthing,	June 29, 1864,	" Nov. 6, "

COMPANY E.

Henry A. Smith,		Richmond, Feb. 25, 1864.
Amos S. Lamson,	July, 1863,	" Dec. 9, 1863.
Ransom T. Fay,	June 29, 1864,	In prison, 1864.
Francis A. Gibbs,	" " "	" " "

COMPANY F.

George H. Forbush,	July 6, 1863,	Richmond, Oct. 11, 1863.
Herbert S. Pierce,	June 1, 1864,	In prison.
Jason A. Stone,	Oct. 11, 1863,	Richmond.
George B. Roundy,	July 13, 1863,	Richmond, Oct. 19, 1863.
Cassius M. Stickney,	June 1, 1864,	" July 20, 1864.
Cyrus S. Tuttle,	May 5, "	Andersonville, July 22, "
Eugene McCarthy,	June 1, "	In prison.
Thedore Witt,	" " "	Andersonville, Sept. 3, 1864.
William F Barnes,	" " "	" Aug. 23, "
John Bathrick,	March 1, "	In prison, July 18, "
Charles A. Corey,	July 6, 1863,	Andersonville, May 11, "
Julius Cunningham,	Mar. 1, 1864,	" Sept. 3, "
Patrick Donahue,	June 1, "	" Aug. 17, "
Francis Drew,	March 1 "	" July 9, "
James H. Howard,		" Oct. 25, "
William C. Ingraham,	June 29, "	" " 1, "
John C. Pierce,	" 1, "	In prison.
Henry C. Spaulding,	March 1, "	" " Aug. 11, 1864.

COMPANY G.

Charles Sherwood,	July 4, 1863,	Richmond, Feb. 29, 1864.
Henry Squires,	May 24, 1862,	" Aug. 1862.
Joseph Taylor,	" " "	" " "
William W Wickwire,	" " "	" " "

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Palmer Clapp,	July 3, 1863,	Richmond, Dec. 19, 1863.
Lewis Conger,	" " "	" March 7, 1864.
Eugene F. Bellows,	" 6, "	" "
Winslow A. Colby,	March 1, 1864,	" "
William J. Fuller,	June 29, "	Andersonville, Aug. 24, "
Daniel M. Russell,	March 1, "	In prison.
George H. Calkins,	March 1, "	Richmond.
Nelson Dragoon,	" " "	" 1864.
Charles C. Dunn,	" " "	"
George E. Dunn,	" " "	Andersonville, Aug. 18, "
William N. Dunn,	" " "	" Oct. 6, "
Lewis Knapp,	" " "	" July 26, "
Charles Mattison,	July 3, 1863,	Richmond, April 7, 1865.
Samuel Simmons,	March 1, 1864,	Andersonville, Aug. 23, 1864.
	COMPANY H.	
Frederick Cowley,	July 3, 1862,	Richmond, Oct. 27, 1863.
Samuel P. Bailey,	Oct. 11, 1863,	Andersonville, Aug. 18, 1864.
William O'Brien,	July 3, "	" April 23, "
John McIntire,	" " "	" June 17, "
Dean W Reed,	" " "	" " 13, "
John C. Smith,	Oct. 11, "	" July 5, "
Malverton R. Claflin,	May 12, 1864,	Richmond, May, "
Joseph Collett,	Oct. 11, 1863,	Andersonville, June 15, "
James M. Cowley,	" " "	" " " "
Hazen Gott,	May 12, 1864,	Richmond, May 22, "
Joseph Hodge,	March 1, 1864,	Andersonville, Dec. 17, "
	COMPANY I.	
Silas Hinds,	July 6, 1863,	In prison.
Elias M. Quimby,	June 29, 1864,	" "
John J. Cook,	Nov. 13, 1863,	Andersonville, Sept. 10, 1864.
James M. Manchester,	March 1, 1864,	" " 16, "
Warren M. Reed,	June 29, "	In prison.
Chauncey C. Thurston,	July, 1863,	" "
Andre M. Washburn,		Andersonville.
	COMPANY K.	
Thad. A. Canfield,	July 27, 1863,	Richmond, June 8, 1864.
Frank R. Tremble,	March 1, 1864,	" March 9, "
Alfred A. Mosey,	July 27, 1863,	Andersonville, June 1, "
Jenness Thomas,	June 23, 1864,	In prison.
Samuel F. Whitlock,	Oct. 15, 1863,	About June 1, "
Franklin J. Blood,	March 1, 1864,	
Elmer J. Leonard,	" " "	Richmond, March 3, "
Oliver Lupien,	" " "	Andersonville, Sept. 3, "
William W. Pond,	June 29, "	In prison.
Daniel Ross,	" " "	" "
John Shea,	" 1, "	Andersonville, Jan. 8, 1865.
John Sheldon,	March 1, "	" " 29, "
Horace Taylor,	" " "	Richmond, March 18, "
Hiram E. Tupper,	June 18, "	Andersonville, Sept, 11, 1864.
	COMPANY L.	
Albert R. Green,	July 3, 1863,	Richmond, Oct. 12, 1863.
Hugh Mooney,	July 13, "	" Sept. "
Albert F. Sawyer,	" " "	" " "

Name.	*Captured.*	*Died.*
Joseph A. Brainerd,	May 5, 1864,	Andersonville, Aug. 16, 1864.
Joseph P. Brainerd,	" " "	" Sept. 12, "
Thaddeus H. Clark,		" Nov. 18, "
Charles D. Harvey,		Richmond, Jan. 1, 1865.
Frederick H. Bliss,	" " "	Andersonville, Aug. 15, 1864.
Aug. M. Boyd,	March 1, "	" " 3, "
James Little,	May 5, "	Florence, S. C., Nov, 7, "

COMPANY M.

William Russell,	July 6, 1863,	Richmond, Nov. 16, 1863.
Joseph Buchanan,	March 1, 1864,	Andersonville, Aug. 1, 1864.
Henry Labonty,	July 6, 1863,	" " 3, "
Joseph Martin	Feb. 24, 1864,	" " 8, "
David Niles,		In prison, July "
Harry G. Sheldon,	March 1, "	Andersonville, Oct. 14, "

The battles and skirmishes in which the regiment took part were 75 in number, averaging two for every month of its service in the field. These were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE FIRST VERMONT CAVALRY.

Mount Jackson,	April 16, 1862.
McGaheysville,	April 27, 1862.
Middletown,	May 24, 1862.
Winchester,	May 25, 1862.
Luray Court House,	June 30, 1862
Culpeper Court House,	July 10, 1862.
Orange Court House,	Aug. 2, 1862.
Kelley's Ford,	Aug. 20, 1862.
Waterloo Bridge,	Aug. 22, 1862.
Bull Run,	Aug. 30, 1862.
Ashby's Gap,	Sept. 22, 1862.
Aldie,	March 2, 1863.
Broad Run,	April 1, 1863.
Greenwich,	May 30, 1863.
Warrenton,	June 18, 1863.
Hanover, Pa.,	June 30, 1863.
Hunterstown, Pa.,	July 2, 1863.
Gettysburg, Pa.,	July 3, 1863.
Monterey,	July 4, 1863.
Leitersville, Md.,	July 5, 1863.
Hagerstown, Md.,	July 6, 1863.
Boonsboro, Md.,	July 8, 1863.
Hagerstown, Md.,	July 13, 1863.
Falling Waters,	July 14, 1863.
Port Conway,	Aug 25, 1863.
Port Conway,	Sept. 1, 1863.
Culpeper Court House,	Sept. 13, 1863.
Somerville Ford,	Sept. 14, 1863.

Raccoon Ford,	Sept. 15, 1863.
James City,	Oct. 10, 1863.
Brandy Station,	Oct. 11, 1863.
Gainesville,	Oct. 18 and 19, 1863.
Buckland Mills,	Oct. 19, 1863.
Falmouth,	Nov. 4, 1863.
Morton's Ford,	Nov. 28, 1863.
Mechanicsville,	March 1, 1864.
Piping Tree,	March 2, 1864.
Craig's Meeting House,	May 5, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 8, 1864.
Yellow Tavern,	May 11, 1864.
Meadow Bridge,	May 12, 1864.
Hanover Court House,	May 31, 1864.
Ashland,	June 1, 1864.
Hawes's Shop,	June 3, 1864.
Bottom Bridge,	June 10, 1864.
White Oak Swamp,	June 13, 1864.
Riddle's Shop,	June 13, 1864.
Malvern Hill,	June 15, 1864.
Ream's Station,	June 22, 1864.
Nottaway Court House,	June 23, 1864.
Roanoke Station,	June 25, 1864.
Stony Creek,	June 28 and 29, 1864.
Ream's Station,	June 29, 1864.
Winchester,	Aug. 17, 1864.
Summit Point,	Aug. 21, 1864.
Charlestown,	Aug. 22, 1864.
Kearneysville,	Aug. 25, 1864.
Opequon,	Sept. 19, 1864.
Front Royal,	Sept. 21, 1864.
Gooney Manor Grade,	Sept. 21, 1864.
Milford,	Sept. 22, 1864.
Waynesboro,	Sept. 28, 1864.
Columbia Furnace,	Oct. 7, 1864.
Tom's Brook,	Oct. 9, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 13, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Middle Road,	Nov. 11, 1864.
Middle and Back Roads, or Middletown,	Nov. 12, 1864.
Lacy's Springs,	Dec. 21, 1864.
Waynesboro,	March 2, 1865.
Five Forks,	April 1, 1865.
Scott's Corners,	April 2, 1865.
Namozine Creek,	April 3, 1865.
Namozine Church, or Winticomack Creek,	April 3, 1865.
Appomattox Station,	April 8, 1865.
Appomattox Court House,	April 9, 1865.

The final statement of the regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 44; enlisted men, 1130; total.....1174

GAINS.

Promotion from other regiments—com. officers, 1; transfers from other regiments, enlisted men, 11; total..... 12
Recruits—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 1106; total.....1111

Aggregate.....2297

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers, 8; enlisted men, 55; total..... 63
Died of wounds—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 37; total..... 39
Died of disease—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 110; total..... 112
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 171; from accident—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 9; total. 183

Total by death..... 397
Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 24; (disability), 4; enlisted men (disability), 340; com. officers (for wounds), 1; enlisted men (for wounds), 26; enlisted men (paroled prisoners), 5; total..... 400
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 5; total..... 7

Total discharged..... 407
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—com. officers, 4; enlisted men, 3; total..... 7
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, Navy, etc..... 119
Deserted, 150; unaccounted for, 6; total..... 156

Total loss.....1086
Mustered out—com. officers, 62; enlisted men, 1149; total.....1211

Aggregate.....2297
Total wounded..... 275
Total re-enlisted..... 171

THE FRONTIER CAVALRY.

In December 1864, in the preparations for the protection of the northern frontier from invasion from Canada, following the St. Albans raid, two companies of cavalry, each of 100 men, were raised for the First regiment of Frontier Cavalry, which became companies M, Captain Josiah Grout,

Jr., and F, Captain George B. French, of that regiment. Elisha May was appointed regimental commissary in May, 1865, and Edward L. Richmond sergeant major of the regiment. The companies were mustered into the service of the United States January 10th, 1865, and were stationed at St. Albans, where they did guard and patrol duty for nearly six months. March 22d, Captain Grout was promoted to be major of the regiment and was succeeded as captain by First Lieutenant Edwin M. Baldwin. First Lieutenant George D. Howard of company M resigned March 16th, and Second Lieutenant Carlos E. Cheney took his place, and Sergeant John P Eddy was appointed second lieutenant. No deaths occurred in their number during their term of service. They were mustered out of the United States service at Burlington, and disbanded, June 27th, 1865.

The final statement of these companies is as follows :

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 6 ; enlisted men, 200 ; total	206
LOSSES.	
Honorably discharged—com. officer (resigned)	1
Deserted	1
Total loss	2
Mustered out—com officers, 8 ; enlisted men, 196 ; total	204
Aggregate	206

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LIGHT BATTERIES.

The First Battery—Organization—Voyage to Ship Island—Service under General Phelps at Carrollton—Assigned to the Nineteenth Corps—Expeditions and Reconnoissances——Plain's Store—Siege of Port Hudson—At Brashear City—Red River Campaign—Pleasant Hill—Monette's Bluff—Yellow Bayou—Expedition to Sabine Pass—Stay at Morganzia—Muster Out and Return Home.

The Second Battery—Organization—Voyage to Ship Island—Occupation of New Orleans—Attached to Nineteenth Corps—Plain's Store—Siege of Port Hudson—Jackson, La.—Duty at Port Hudson—Muster Out and Return Home.

The Third Battery—Organization—Departure for the War—Attached to Ninth Corps—Wilderness Campaign—Service in front of Petersburg—The Mine—In Fort Sedgwick—Transferred to Sixth Corps—Stationed at City Point—At Fort Fisher—Fall of Petersburg and Storming of Forts Gregg and Whitworth—Back to City Point—Return Home and Muster Out.

THE FIRST BATTERY.

Vermont sent three batteries of light artillery to the field. The First battery was raised for General Butler's New England division, for service in the Gulf. Recruiting stations were established November 18th, 1861, at Montpelier, in charge of George T. Hebard of Chelsea, and at South Shaftsbury, in charge of George W Duncan of that village. On the 16th of January 1862, the recruits, about 100 in number, assembled at Montpelier, and elected George W Duncan captain; George T. Hebard first lieutenant, and Henry N. Colburn of Rutland second lieutenant. The battery was ordered into camp at Brattleboro, where its number was filled, and its organization was completed by the election of Edward Rice of Shaftsbury as junior first lieutenant and Salmon B. Hebard of Chelsea as junior second lieutenant. William Todd was appointed sergeant major and Thomas Reade, quartermaster sergeant. Captain Duncan was a man of 45 years and had

seen ten years' service in the regular army, having been a member of Captain T. W Sherman's battery, company D, Third United States Artillery, during the Mexican war, and seen subsequent service in the Seminole war in Florida, and in California and Oregon. Lieutenant Hebard was a graduate of Norwich University and had served under General Sigel in Missouri. The other officers had had no previous military experience.

February 18th the battery was mustered into the service of the United States, and left Brattleboro March 6th, with the Eighth regiment, for New York, whence it sailed on the 10th, with a part of that regiment, on the transport Wallace, and after a voyage of three weeks, arrived at Ship Island April 5th. Here it was assigned to the brigade of General John W Phelps, and went into camp about two miles from the landing. Being as yet without horses or guns the men were chiefly drilled as infantry, having however some practice with some brass Napoleon guns supplied by General Butler. On the 6th of May the centre section, under Captain Duncan, was sent to Fort Pike, at the Rigolets, which had been occupied by two companies of the Seventh Vermont, and a week later, the right and left sections under Lieutenant Hebard were sent with the remainder of the Seventh regiment to Carrollton, where on the 16th the battery reported to Brigadier General Phelps and went into camp at Camp Parapet, a mile above Carrollton. Captain Duncan with the centre section came thither on the 4th of June. The battery was equipped at Camp Parapet with six brass field pieces with caissons, battery wagons and forge; but was as yet without horses. The men were drilled daily in the manual of the piece, varied by heavy artillery practice on the siege guns. After a time the battery was assigned to the charge of some heavy barbette guns, mounted by the men, commanding the river. Sergeant Greenleaf was detailed by General Phelps as ordnance sergeant of the

post, and under his direction the other sergeants instructed squads of colored men in the use of the heavy guns, until the process was stopped by General Butler's orders and the resignation of General Phelps. On the 2d of August First lieutenant Colburn was drowned while bathing in the Neuse river, near camp Parapet. In the reorganization of the troops of the Department of the Gulf by General Banks, on the 31st of December, the battery was attached to the First division (General Thomas W Sherman's) of the Nineteenth Army Corps, and on the 17th of January, 1863, was ordered to New Orleans, where it was mounted and received its permanent equipment of six 3-inch steel rifled pieces.[1] Here it was quartered in the Bacchus Street stables. Captain Duncan resigned February 11th and Lieutenant Hebard was promoted to be captain, and Second Lieutenant Rice to be junior first lieutenant. The battery was frequently drilled as light artillery, by Lieutenant J. Schuyler Crosby of the First United States Artillery, a very efficient officer on General Banks's staff, and the battery soon became one of the best drilled batteries in the Department. March 1st the battery was moved to Annunciation Square, New Orleans, where it remained two weeks, and was then moved out to the Metairie Ridge race course, where it went into camp, designated as "Camp Farr," with the Forty-seventh Massachusetts regiment, Colonel Lucius B. Marsh.

On the 18th of April the right and centre sections under Captain Hebard joined an expedition to the east side of Lake Ponchartrain. Embarking with the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regiment New York volunteers, under command of Colonel D. S. Cowles, on the steamers Empire Parish and J. Morgan Brown, they went to Fort Pike and thence up Mullatt's Bayou, as far as the draught of the boat would permit, when a party was landed who went about

[1] The horses selected for the centre section were cream colored; and for the other two sections grays.

four miles farther up the Bayou to a place where three schooners were concealed. These were captured and burned, as the water was too shallow to allow them to be floated out. The party then re-embarked and returned to Fort Pike. The next day the expedition went up Pearl river, about thirty miles, to Gainesville, Miss. The town was occupied and the men in town arrested. The Brown went several miles farther up the river, and seized 220 barrels of rosin, and the other steamer was loaded with tar, turpentine and cotton, found in Gainesville. Information having been received that a large steamboat lay some twelve miles farther up the river, a party under command of Captain Hebard was sent across the country thither and seized the steamer A. G. Brown. The valves having been removed from the engine by the enemy, the boat was poled down the river to where the other boats lay. It having been ascertained that the wife of the owner of the A. G. Brown was in Gainesville, she was arrested and compelled to disclose the hiding place of the missing valves. These were replaced and the steamer was taken to Fort Pike, stopping long enough on the way to seize a small schooner discovered in a bayou. Leaving Fort Pike the morning of the 21st, the expedition returned to Hickok's Landing, having seized property to the value of over $50,000. May 1st the first death occurred, being that of Private Cornelius Gould.[1]

Up to the 19th of May the service of the battery was comparatively uneventful. On that date it was ordered to Baton Rouge, whence it was to move with Sherman's division of General Augur's command, to co-operate in the investment of Port Hudson. Fifty recruits sent from Vermont had supplied the losses from death and discharge. It

[1] Gould had been detailed some time before as mounted orderly to General Richard Arnold, chief of artillery, Nineteenth Army Corps, and was with him at the battle of Bisland. General Arnold commended him very highly for his services and especially for carrying orders which saved a battery from capture. He died of disease in hospital.

went by steamer to Baton Rouge on the 20th ; and leaving there its baggage and taking only shelter tents, it started on the 21st for Port Hudson, seventeen miles to the north, accompanied by a zouave regiment, the One Hundred and Fourteenth New York, Colonel E. B. Smith.

PLAIN'S STORE AND PORT HUDSON.

The column halted in the afternoon, after marching ten miles; and the battery-men were feeding their horses, when all were roused by the sound of artillery from the front, where Augur, with a portion of his division, including the Second Vermont battery, was engaging a force of the enemy which had advanced to meet him at Plain's Store, four miles from Port Hudson. After an hour's waiting, during which ambulances laden with wounded men began to pass to the rear, the bugles sounded ; the zouaves led off and the battery followed them to the field. Here it took position, with the infantry, on the right, to prevent a flank movement of the enemy; and one of the enemy's guns in a piece of woods, from which it was firing upon a portion of Augur's line, was silenced by the left section of the battery. The action soon after closed upon the retirement of the enemy at nightfall. The battery remained in position and the men bivouacked around the guns. The gunboats and mortar-boats in the river bombarded Port Hudson during the night. In the evening of the next day the battery was withdrawn for a mile to the rear, where it and its supporting infantry bivouacked. Next day, it took position with General Neal Dow's brigade a short distance to the left. On the 24th it moved forward, through a belt of timber, following an infantry line of battle, to a position on the left of the Union lines and within a mile of the enemy's works. In the evening of the 25th the right section, under Lieutenant Rice, was ordered to a posi-

May 21, 1863.

tion near the division headquarters; and Captain Hebard was ordered to take another section forward to annoy the enemy. He accordingly took the left section, in charge of Sergeant Gould, to a position about 1,500 yards from the enemy's works, and opened fire about midnight. The enemy returned the fire with solid shot which took effect chiefly on the tree-tops. At daybreak each side obtained better range, Hebard's shells bursting in the opposing works, while the enemy's heavy guns paid especial attention to the Vermont battery. Soon a shell struck the trail of gun No. 5, wounding three men with the splinters. These, Corporal J H. Sendell and Privates George E. Allen and Thomas Ritchie, were the first men of the battery hurt by hostile missiles. Corporal Sendell, a brave boy of 19, was struck in the abdomen and died from his injury three weeks later. The carriage of the other gun was struck an hour later and disabled and another man and two horses were wounded. The pieces were then withdrawn. In the afternoon the centre section, under Sergeant-Major E. E. Greenleaf, was ordered forward to the edge of the timber, and opened on the works, the enemy replying with two heavy barbette guns and a field piece. A shot from the latter broke a wheel and nearly dismounted gun No. 4; but the section was kept at work, and prevented the mounting of a heavy gun on an angle of the opposing parapet. The enemy ceased to respond, and at five P. M. the section stopped firing. At dark, however, it again opened fire, to annoy the enemy and keep him from resting, and kept it up till midnight, the enemy responding irregularly.

Before daylight of the 27th the left section was ordered down to the left of the centre section, and at early dawn the firing was again commenced, and after a time was returned by the enemy; but with so high elevation that his shells did no damage. At daylight the right section, in command of Lieutenant Rice, was ordered to a position on the road in front of

Slaughter's house, to silence a 44-pound rifled gun in an angle of the works. This was soon accomplished with the loss of private Andrew Ward, killed,[1] and private Thomas Armstrong wounded in the head by the explosion of a shell.

This day the first general assault upon the works of Port Hudson was made. In preparation for this the battery was ordered forward into the field in front to engage the enemy's batteries while the infantry charged. Moving out at two P. M. it took a position within 500 yards of the enemy's parapet, and opened a vigorous fire. It came under the fire of the enemy as soon as it left the edge of the timber, but fortunately suffered no casualties. General Sherman fell, almost at the commencement of the charge, with a wound which cost him a leg;[2] the division was repulsed with heavy loss, and the battery returned to its former position in the edge of the timber. It retained this position near Slaughter's house until the 9th of June, during which period it was almost constantly employed in cannonading the enemy's works, sometimes firing at intervals of fifteen minutes, during every hour of daylight, for three days at a time. The enemy's fire slackened as the siege proceeded and the Union troops were kept busy advancing the parallels and constructing additional works. Captain Hebard was appointed acting chief of artillery for the First division of the Nineteenth Corps, now commanded by General William Dwight, and the command of the battery devolved on Lieutenant Rice. In the night of June 9th it was moved a mile to the left, to Battery No. 4, a redoubt built of sand-bags and earth, about 800 yards from the enemy's works. Here its guns commanded two of the bastions of a Confederate earthwork in front; beyond which the upper story of a large cotton

[1] Ward's body was buried on the field by his comrades.

[2] General Sherman's horse, also badly wounded, ran back after losing his rider, among the battery horses, and was shot by Captain Hebard, to put him out of his misery.

gin was visible, occupied by the Confederate troops. The battery occasionally tried its guns on this target, with how much effect was not apparent. Preceding the unsuccessful assault of the 13th the battery maintained a constant fire on the enemy's works, firing at five-minute intervals. On the 8th of July Port Hudson was surrendered, and the battery moved forward and bivouacked within the enemy's fortifications.

On the 11th it broke camp, and marched with Dwight's division for Baton Rouge, arriving there on the morning of the 12th, after marching nearly all night. It remained at Baton Rouge, the usual routine varied by occasional foraging expeditions, for two weeks, when it was ordered back to Port Hudson. It took transport in the evening of July 23d, leaving Lieutenant Rice and a number of men sick in hospital, and on the 24th landed at Port Hudson and went into camp near the brigade headquarters. Here it remained during the month of August.

On the 1st of September the battery was ordered to New Orleans to join General Franklin's expedition against Sabine Pass, Texas. On the 3d, two sections—the transport not being large enough to take the whole battery—embarked, leaving the centre section under Lieutenant Gould, and went to New Orleans, where, on the 4th, they started with the expedition on the transport Exact; arrived at Sabine Pass on the 7th; anchored off the bar, and mounted two guns on deck; but had no occasion to use them. The expedition having failed, the battery returned to New Orleans on the 11th, and on the 12th disembarked at Algiers and went into camp next day, with Lieutenant Rice—who had returned from hospital—in command. On the 16th the centre section arrived from Baton Rouge, and the same day the battery took train to Brashear City. Leaving two of its guns there, the rest of the battery crossed the bay to Berwick City. On the 23d the battery marched twenty miles to Fort Bisland,

where it camped for four days. On the 28th it returned to Brashear City, and remained there five months, until March 3d, 1864. The battery was here transferred to the Fourth division of the Nineteenth Corps.

From October 16th to 29th, 1863, Lieutenant Reade with one gun and a detachment of 12 men, was absent on a reconnoissance up the Atchafalaya river.

Numerous deaths in hospital and discharges reduced the battery to its lowest point of numbers, and it began the year 1864 with but 98 officers and men on the roll, with 86 reported present for duty. First Lieutenant Reade resigned December 14th. 1863. Second Lieutenant Greenleaf was promoted to the vacancy February 14th, 1864, and Sergeant-Major James B. Riker was commissioned as second lieutenant at the same date.

January 30th, 1864, Captain Hebard, with 20 men and two guns, went on an expedition to Grand River, returning on the 2d of February.

THE RED RIVER CAMPAIGN.

On the 3d of March the battery marched twenty-nine miles to Franklin to join the troops under General Banks in the Red River campaign. At Franklin the armament of the battery, which had been reduced by the transfer of two rifled guns to the First Indiana battery, was made good by the addition of two twelve-pound Napoleon guns. The battery marched with the First division of the Nineteenth Corps, under General Emory, one hundred and eighty miles to Alexandria on the Red River, arriving there March 26th. After two days' rest, it proceeded eighty miles farther to Natchitoches, Miss., reaching there the 2d of April. On the 6th it started again and marched forty miles to Pleasant Hill, arriving there the 7th; and thence the next day moved on fifteen miles to Wallace's Mills. General Richard Taylor, com-

manding the Confederate troops in that quarter, had collected his forces to dispute the advance of his old antagonist in the Shenandoah Valley, and in the afternoon of the 8th the battle of Mansfield, or Sabine Cross Roads, was fought, after which the portions of Banks's army engaged retired to Pleasant Hill, where General Banks concentrated his forces, re-formed his lines, and awaited the enemy's attack on the day following.

The First Vermont battery was not engaged in the fighting of the 8th. About seven P. M. that day it was ordered forward from Wallace's Mills, with two other batteries, to assist General Emory; but the roads were blocked with trains and troops falling back from the front, and after marching three or four miles the artillery was ordered back to Pleasant Hill. The Vermont battery moved back with Cameron's division of the Thirteenth Corps, and at three in the morning bivouacked for the remainder of the night.

PLEASANT HILL.

In the disposition of the artillery next day, the battery was posted about noon on the left of the Natchitoches road, along which the enemy assaulted, and on the right of Colonel Benedict's brigade of Emory's divison, which received the brunt of the attack. It was the first service of the battery in resisting infantry in the open field; but officers and men stood firmly to their guns, and showed that the confidence reposed in them was not misplaced. At three o'clock the advancing lines were within range and the battery opened fire with shell, with noticeable effect. The enemy brought forward two 10-pound Parrott guns to reply, one of which was soon dismounted by the fire of the Vermont battery. Parsons's Missouri division then advanced upon the left flank and front of Benedict's brigade. The battery fired shell till the enemy

April 9, 1864.

was within 80 yards and then, changing to canister, and assisted by the fire of the Eighty-ninth Indiana regiment, it drove back the Missourians, who left the ground covered with their killed and wounded.[1] Lieutenant Rice, with the right section, was then detached and sent to assist Battery L, First United States artillery, and the other two sections were advanced several hundred yards, halting and opening fire at various points. In the advance of the reserves, which finally drove back the enemy, one of the guns of Battery L, from which the gunners had retreated, was rescued by the infantry, and was drawn in behind the First Vermont battery, by some of the men of the latter. Though several shells exploded over the guns and many bullets whistled by, the Vermont battery escaped with one man wounded,[2] and five horses killed and wounded. Officers and men behaved well, not a man leaving the guns, though the enemy charged to within 50 yards of them.

The battery remained on the field till two o'clock next morning, when General Banks, having decided to retire to Grand Ecore, 40 miles down the river, the battery started thither with Emory's division; arrived at six P. M. next day, and went into camp on the edge of the bluff. Here the battery was transferred to the Reserve artillery of the Nineteenth Corps, and its guns were taken for a time to arm transports on the river.

General Banks having been instructed by General Grant to return to the Mississippi, the battery left Grand Ecore with the corps on the 22d, for Alexandria, and made a rapid march of forty miles to Monette's Bluff, on Cane river. Here

"Captain Hebard, being advised, as the enemy approached within pistol-shot, to spike his guns and retreat, turned to his men, threw his hat upon the ground and said: 'Not by a —— sight, boys! These guns are not going to be spiked or captured. Give them double canister!' and they did it, saving the guns and driving back the enemy."—Army Letter.

[2] Wounded,—Jesse Laundry.

General Bee with several thousand men and four batteries had taken a position commanding the road leading to Alexandria. On the 23d this position was forced by General Emory, who while engaging the enemy in front across Cane river sent a strong column under General Birge to cross the river three miles above, and to flank the enemy. During Birge's attack Captain Hebard with two of his own guns,—the rest of his pieces not having been yet returned to him,—and three 20-pound Parrotts belonging to the First Indiana heavy artillery, engaged the enemy's batteries with good effect. General Bee got away in a hurry, and the battery joined the cavalry in pursuit of the enemy till midnight, when a halt was ordered and the troops bivouacked in the pine forest. One of the enemy's battery wagons filled with supplies, was brought off from Monette's Bluff by Sergeant Howland, and several prisoners were captured by the men of the battery. The casualties were two horses wounded. On the 24th the infantry came up and the march was continued to Alexandria.

Meantime General Taylor had sent a thousand men under General Major, with artillery, to David's Ferry, on the Red River, 25 miles below Alexandria, to interrupt Banks's communications by way of the river; and at this point on the 2d of May the transport Laurel Hill was fired into by Major's artillery. Sergeant Emery with one gun of the Vermont battery was on the transport, as guard, and returned the fire, and after an hour's engagement silenced the enemy's piece and drove its supports out of sight. For ten days following the river was blockaded by the enemy's batteries, and rations began to be scarce in Banks's army, so that the daily ration was cut down one-third. On the 13th of May the battery left Alexandria with the corps, marched 15 miles, and bivouacked without grain or forage for the horses. The march continued slowly, the horses being jaded and scantily fed on corn obtained in the country, for four days, when on

the 17th the battery arrived with the First division artillery at Simsport. The enemy pressed closely on the rear with his cavalry and there was some sharp skirmishing near Mansura on the 16th, but the battery, being attached to the advance cavalry, was not engaged. Next day, however, it took part in the battle of Yellow Bayou, near Simsport, when Polignac's Confederate division attacked Banks's rear, and was repulsed with a loss of 500 men, killed and wounded.

In this action Lieutenant Rice reported with the four rifled guns of the battery to General Mower, commanding the rear division, and taking position near Bayou De Glaize, engaged the enemy's batteries with effect for forty minutes, and was subsequently engaged at other points, accompanying the infantry in its movements. On the 19th the battery held a position all day to guard the rear of the column; but was not engaged. Before daylight next morning it crossed Yellow Bayou, and went into position on its east bank, and engaged the enemy's batteries, which fired feebly. That afternoon it retired through Simsport with the command and crossed the Atchafalaya on a bridge of steamboats lying side by side. A broken trail of a gun was all the damage received in these engagements. "The battery" says Captain Hebard, "was highly commended by General Mower." The officers and men behaved with determined courage. Captain Hebard specially commended Lieutenants Rice and Greenleaf for efficiency and recommended private Lemwin for promotion.

The battery now rejoined the reserve artillery of the Nineteenth Corps, and marched with the corps to Morganzia, where it arrived on the 23d, and was glad to rest after its march of nearly 500 miles. At the close of the campaign the battery reported an aggregate of 140 men, with 111 for duty and 28 on the sick list.

While at Morganzia, the Eighth Vermont regiment, returning from its furlough after re-enlistment, joined the Nineteenth Corps at that place, and the regiment and battery,

which began their service together, were again near each other. While here the battery was temporarily attached to Lawler's brigade of the Thirteenth Corps.

Under the ruling of the War Department, alluded to in the histories of the Seventh and Eighth regiments, the term of service of the original members of the battery expired on the 1st of June, 1864. The battery accordingly proceeded early in July to Baton Rouge, where the guns, equipments, and horses were turned over to the Thirteenth Wisconsin battery. The recruits whose term had not expired, 46 in number, were transferred to the Second Vermont battery, and the 82 officers and men remaining of the original number made their preparations to return home. Captain Hebard went to New Orleans and was there mustered out of the service August 10th, and as Lieutenant Rice was absent on sick leave in Vermont, the command of the battery devolved on Lieutenant Greenleaf.[1]

The battery left Baton Rouge late in July on the steamer Constitution, went up the Mississippi to Cairo, and thence by rail via Chicago to Brattleboro, where it was mustered out of the service August 10th, 1864, with three officers and 75 men.

THE BATTLES OF THE FIRST BATTERY.

Plain's Store,	May 21, 1863.
Siege of Port Hudson,	May 25 to July 9, 1863.
Pleasant Hill,	April 9, 1864.
Monette's Bluff,	April 23, 1864.
Yellow Bayou, or Bayou de Glaize,	May 18, 1864.

[1] Lieutenant Greenleaf had been for a time detached from the battery as adjutant of the Reserve artillery of the First division of the Nineteenth Corps, but returned to the battery and commanded it until its final muster out.

The final statement of the battery is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 151; total	156
GAINS.	
Recruits—enlisted men	61
Aggregate	217
LOSSES.	
Killed in action—enlisted men	1
Died of wounds—enlisted men	2
Died of disease—enlisted men	42
Died from accident—com. officers	1
Total of deaths	46
Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 4; enlisted men (for disability), 28; total	32
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, Regular Army, and other batteries—enlisted men	55
Deserted	3
Total loss	136
Mustered out—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 76; total	81
Aggregate	217
Total wounded	6

THE SECOND BATTERY

The Second battery, like the First, was enlisted under the act of November 21st, 1861, authorizing the raising of two regiments and two batteries of light artillery, to form part of General B. F. Butler's New England Division. A number of Vermonters had previously enlisted as members of a regiment of New England cavalry, which General Butler was raising at Lowell, Mass. under a permission, granted by Secretary Cameron, to "fit out and prepare such troops in New England as he [Butler] may judge fit for the purpose, to make an expedition," etc. This erection of the New England States into a recruiting department independ-

ent of the State authorities, caused immediate friction and in time an angry controversy between Governor Andrew of Massachusetts and General Butler; ending in the revocation of the authority given to General Butler, and the giving to the governors the control of the volunteer recruiting service in their respective States. The State authorities of Vermont, as well as those of Massachusetts, refused to recognize enlistments for the New England cavalry; and the 22 Vermonters who had so enlisted were allowed to transfer their enlistments to the Second Vermont battery.

A recruiting office was established at Leicester, subsequently removed to Brandon, in charge of Lensie R. Sayles of Leicester, and on the 13th of December, 1861, the battery organized at Brandon by the choice of officers as follows: Captain L. R. Sayles, First Lieutenants Benjamin N. Dyer of Leicester and Coridon D. Smith of Calais, and Second Lieutenants John A. Quilty and John W Chase of Brandon, Sergeant Major Elbridge S. Williams, Q. M. Sergeant Moses C. Hunt. These officers and 89 men were mustered into the United States service December 16th, 1861. Twenty additional men were mustered December 24th and next day the battery went into camp at "Camp Chase," Lowell, Mass.,—being the only Vermont organization whose rendezvous was in another State.

Before leaving Lowell, 21 more men were added by enlistment, raising the aggregate of the battery to 130 officers and men. It was armed with six 12-pound Sawyer (rifled) guns. Before the battery left Lowell, Captain Sayles resigned and Lieutenant Pythagoras E. Holcomb, at that time first lieutenant in the Seventeenth United States infantry, was appointed captain in his place. Captain Holcomb was a native of Ohio, but was residing in Texas when the war broke out; was driven from his home on account of his Northern birth and loyalty, and went to Illinois, from which State he was appointed first lieutenant

of the Seventeenth United States infantry, Colonel Heintzleman. He was recommended for the captaincy of the battery by General Butler, and was one of the best artillery officers in the Department of the Gulf. During the first week in February the battery left Lowell, and on the 6th of that month embarked, at Boston, with the First Maine and Fourth Massachusetts batteries, on the sailing ship Idaho, bound for Ship Island. The Idaho reached Ship Island on the 8th of March, after a long and stormy voyage. She ran aground in approaching her anchorage, and it was four days before she was got off after throwing over part of her cargo. After thirty-four days on shipboard the battery at last landed on the 12th of March and was attached—with the First Vermont battery, which had not yet arrived—to General John W Phelps's brigade.

The battery formed part of the force selected by General Butler to accompany Farragut's fleet in the operations against New Orleans. It embarked on the steamer Matanzas with the Ninth Connecticut regiment on the 11th of April; lay off the passes during the four days' bombardment of the forts; and moving thence to New Orleans, disembarked on the 2d of May, being the first Union battery landed in that city. The first and second sections of the battery were stationed at the United States Mint, and the third section at the St. Charles Hotel, where General Butler established his headquarters. The shotted pieces and the presence of the resolute men who handled them had a noticeable effect on the lawless mob of that turbulent city. Not all the inhabitants of New Orleans, however, were rebels, for between 20 and 30 men, most of them, it is true, of foreign birth, enlisted in the battery, in that city, during the month of May.

May 31st the battery was ordered to camp Parapet, at Carrollton, and landed there June 1st with 149 men. During the last week in July, Captain Holcomb with the first sec-

tion of the battery, accompanied an expedition, sent, under Major Peck of the Twelfth Connecticut, to the northern shore of Lake Ponchartrain. They went by the United States gun-boat Gray Cloud, to Pass Manchac, where some buildings and bridges were destroyed, and thence to the Tchefuncta river. At a point three miles below Covington the channel was found obstructed by sunken boats, and a detachment was landed and sent to the village. On their return the Gray Cloud was fired into by guerrillas from the shore, and the battery raked the bushes with canister. Pearlington on the Pearl river, Shieldsboro on the Bay of St. Louis, and other points were visited and the expedition returned to Camp Parapet August 20th. The battery remained at camp Parapet till the end of October, the men suffering much from heat and miasma. During the four months there the battery lost 16 men by disease, and 22 discharged for disability; and, on the morning of October 31st, when it left Carrollton for New Orleans, only 15 men reported for duty. During this period First Lieutenants B. N. Dyer and Coridon D. Smith were dismissed for misappropriation of commissary stores; and on the 1st of November, Second Lieutenant John W Chase was promoted to be first lieutenant and Sergeant Major Charles H. Dyer to be second lieutenant. At New Orleans the battery was stationed at Annunciation Square and at the Factors' Cotton Press. It was now for the first time fully mounted. Its armament consisted of two six-pound Sawyer guns, two 12-pound howitzers and two three-inch rifled guns.

In the last week of December 1862 the battery was sent with the unlucky expedition to Galveston, Texas, which resulted in the loss of the United States gun-boat Harriet Lane and the blowing up of the United States gun-boat Westfield. The transport which carried the battery did not arrive at Galveston till after these transactions had taken place, and it then returned to New Orleans, and to its former

quarters at the Factors' Cotton Press. On the 25th of January, it was sent seventy-five miles up the river to Donaldsonville, with the Second Louisiana infantry, and on March 17th it went on an expedition to the vicinity of Port Hudson, returning two days later. In April the battery was sent to Baton Rouge, where it was attached to Augur's division of the Nineteenth Corps, and soon after took part with that division in the campaign against Port Hudson.

PLAIN'S STORE AND PORT HUDSON.

The battery left Baton Rouge May 18th in light marching order, with two days' cooked rations, and next day accompanied Dudley's brigade to a point six miles east of Port Hudson, where a Confederate cavalry outpost was dispersed by a few rounds from the battery. On the 21st Chapin's brigade joined Dudley's, and moving forward two miles to Plain's Store, encountered the enemy in force. The latter was dispersed chiefly by Augur's artillery, the Second Vermont battery taking an active part. In the course of the action it engaged a Confederate battery, and after an hour's rapid firing, dismounted one of the opposing pieces, crippled another, and as Captain Holcomb reported, killed a lieutenant and 16 men. The enemy retired behind the fortifications of Port Hudson; and the Union troops bivouacked on the field, and next day, the 24th, moved to the front of the enemy's works. In the general assault of the 27th one section of the battery shelled the Confederate skirmishers out of the woods; and at two P. M. the battery was ordered forward to within seven hundred yards of the works and fired rapidly for an hour, when the infantry assaulted and were repulsed. The battery then resumed its former position. This it held until the morning of the 13th of June, when it took position in an earthwork within 300 yards of the enemy's works, in the centre of the line, on the Clinton road. In the

second general assault, on the morning of the 14th, the battery opened before daylight and continued firing until six o'clock, and afterwards at intervals until the infantry attack had been made and failed. Two men, Frank Sebastian and David Sweenier, were wounded this day.

From this time on until the surrender of Port Hudson the battery was constantly on duty, firing more or less daily to keep the enemy from strengthening their fortifications. It was almost constantly under fire from the heavy siege guns of the enemy. It was nearer to the enemy's works than any other Union battery in that portion of the Union lines, and the flag of truce sent by General Gardner in the night of July 7th, to negotiate the surrender, was received by Lieutenant Chase.

During the siege four more men—J. A. Howard, J. Shoro, James Rixley and George Snyder were wounded, together with three men of the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York, serving temporarily in the battery, two of whom, Sergeant Charles Jacobs and Private William Quinn died of their wounds.

Upon the surrender of Port Hudson, July 8th, the Second Vermont battery had the honor of being the first of the Union artillery to enter the stronghold. The battery remained at Port Hudson during the last year of its service, on guard and garrison duty, varied by occasional expeditions into the interior. During this campaign the number of effective men became so much reduced by sickness, wounds, discharges and deaths, that there were not enough to man the guns, and they were reinforced by details from the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York volunteers and the Forty-second Massachusetts volunteers. Forty-three men of these regiments were thus for a time on the roll of the battery.

On the 3d of August a serious disaster befell the battery. The day before, the second section, under command of Lieu-

tenant C. H. Dyer, was ordered to accompany an expedition sent to Jackson, Louisiana, 15 miles north of Port Hudson, in hope of capturing a small force of the enemy which had appeared there. The force sent thither comprised about 500 colored troops, under command of Major Hanham, a newly appointed field officer of the Twelfth regiment, Corps D'Afrique. They marched to Jackson, arriving there in the evening found no enemy, and remained there during most of the next day. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d, through want of precaution on the part of Major Hanham, they were surprised by a much larger force of Forest's cavalry. Lieutenant Dyer was feeding his horses, near the Asylum buildings, when he received the first notice of the presence of the enemy in a volley from a thicket near by. He took his guns to some higher ground and fired a few rounds at the enemy, when he was ordered to change his position. While making the movement the battery was fired upon by a line of the enemy behind some fences. Lieutenant Dyer was wounded by a ball, which passed through his leg, disabling him and killing his horse. Several of the battery horses were killed; and as the infantry supports had disappeared, Dyer directed his men to look out for themselves. They accordingly scattered. The lieutenant with 15 men and the two guns were captured by the enemy. The colored troops lost about 30 men killed, wounded and captured. Dyer was paroled, and next day was brought in to Port Hudson by a party sent for him under a flag of truce. The men were taken to Andersonville, where five, John Crow, Frank J. Hubbard, Edmund Green, Jacob Metzler and John Plude, died in the enemy's hands. The rest were finally released in the spring of 1865.[1] The loss of the guns was a deep morti-

[1] These were Eugene Alexander, John Foley, John Green, O. A. Gould, H. N. Partlow, and four men of the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth New York, temporarily serving with the battery. John Foley and John Green escaped from Andersonville.

fication to the officers and men. Lieutenant Dyer always maintained that if the infantry had supported him, he could not only have preserved his pieces but have repulsed the enemy. The captured guns were re-captured by some troops of General Herron's command, near Morganzia, a year later, and restored to the battery.

During this month of August, 1863, the battery lost its efficient commander by the promotion of Captain Holcomb to be major of the First Texas loyal cavalry.[1] Lieutenant John W Chase of Brandon, was thereupon commissioned captain in his stead; Second Lieutenant C. H. Dyer was promoted to be first lieutenant; and Sergeants Perry A. Baker and George W Daskam were appointed second lieutenants. Captain Chase commanded the battery during the rest of its service and was a faithful and competent commander.

In January, 1864, 45 recruits were received, giving an aggregate of 133 men, of whom 111 were on duty and 19 sick. At the expiration of their term of enlistment the original members of the regiment had been reduced to 41 men. Of these 21 re-enlisted. The remaining 20 were mustered out September 20th, 1864. The battery retained 136 officers and men. This number was doubled, by the addition of recruits, in October, and at the opening of 1865, it had an aggregate of 260 officers and men. This being in excess of the regulation number, in March, 1865, under orders from the Department commander, 119 of the recruits were organized as a company of heavy artillery, under the title of First Vermont Company of Heavy Artillery, for service in the works at Port Hudson. Sergeant Major Henry

[1] Major Holcomb resigned his commission as major in October, 1864, and returned to his regiment in the regular army, the Seventeenth infantry, with which he served through the war. He was brevetted captain U. S. A. for gallant service in the siege of Port Hudson, and brevetted major U. S. A., March, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war. He was honorably retired in 1869.

W Fales was appointed captain of this company, Sergeant Martin Peil first lieutenant, and Sergeant William W Kasson second lieutenant. This company remained on duty at Port Hudson during the remainder of the term of service of the men.

On the 28th of July, 1864, the battery went on an expedition under General Herron to Clinton, La., having a long and fatiguing march, without any obvious results.

In June, 1864, Second Lieutenant Perry A. Baker was promoted to be first lieutenant, and Sergeant Major Miranda R. Blake was appointed second lieutenant. Lieutenant Blake resigned in March, 1865, and Q. M. Sergeant Henry F. Tower was appointed second lieutenant.

The battery remained at Port Hudson till the 7th of July, 1865, when it and Captain Fales's company marched in the night of the 7th to Baton Rouge, where the guns and horses were turned over; and, on the 9th, accompanied by the Twelfth Massachusetts battery, they took steamer up the river to Cairo, and went thence to Vermont by rail. They arrived in Burlington at noon of July 20th, and were received with a salute of artillery; were escorted to the City Hall by a procession of citizens headed by the band of the First Vermont brigade; were welcomed by Professor M. H. Buckham of the University, and a collation was served by the ladies, with accompaniments of singing, flowers and cheers.

On the 28th the artillery company was mustered out with three officers and 78 men, and the battery was mustered out on the 31st of July, 1865, with five officers and 148 men.

THE BATTLES OF THE SECOND BATTERY.

Plain's Store, near Port Hudson, La.,	May 21, 1863.
Siege of Port Hudson,	May 25 to July 9, 1863.
Jackson, La.,	Aug. 3, 1863.

The final statements of the Second battery and the First company of Heavy artillery are as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT OF THE SECOND BATTERY.

Original members—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 106; total..... 111

GAINS.

Transfers from other batteries—enlisted men, 51; recruits, 295; total. 346

Aggregate..... 457

LOSSES.

Died of wounds, 1; died of disease, 47; died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, 5; died from accident, 1; total..... 54
Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 3; enlisted men (for disability), 70; total..... 73
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 1; total..... 3
Promoted to U. S. A. and other Vermont organizations..... 6
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, Regular Army, and other Vermont organizations..... 123
Deserted..... 18

Total loss..... 277
Mustered out—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 175; total..... 180

Aggregate..... 457
Total wounded..... 8
Total re-enlisted..... 21

FINAL STATEMENT OF THE FIRST COMPANY HEAVY ARTILLERY.

Promotion from other Vermont organizations—com. officers..... 3
Transferred from other Vermont organizations—enlisted men..... 116

Aggregate..... 119

LOSSES.

Died of disease, 3; (unwounded) in prison, 1; by accident, 1; total.... 5
Honorably discharged—enlisted men (for disability)..... 3
Dishonorably discharged—enlisted man..... 1
Deserted, 1; unaccounted for, 1; total..... 2

Total loss..... 11
Mustered out—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 105; total..... 108

Aggregate..... 119

THE THIRD BATTERY.

The Third battery was one of the last two organizations sent from Vermont to the war. It was raised under Governor Holbrook's General Order of August 3, 1863, authorizing the raising of two regiments of "Veteran Volunteer Infantry" and one battery of "Veteran Volunteer Artillery." It was expected that it would be quickly filled by the re-enlistment of nine-months men whose terms had just expired. Romeo H. Start of St. Albans, and W. A. Phillips of Montpelier, were appointed recruiting officers. The work of recruiting lagged, however, and it was not till the last week in December that the battery rendezvoused at Burlington. On the first of January 1864, it was mustered into the United States service, with 151 officers and men, eleven men who had enlisted in excess of the maximum being thrown out. The battery was organized with the following officers appointed by the Governor: Captain, Romeo H. Start; First Lieutenants, Roswell C. Vaughan and W A. Phillips; Second Lieutenants, J. H. Wright and Aaron F. French. All but Lieutenant French had had military experience. Captain Start had had nearly two years' experience as lieutenant and captain in the line of the Third regiment. Lieutenant Vaughan had been adjutant of the Twelfth regiment throughout its term of service. Lieutenant Phillips was second lieutenant of company H, of the Thirteenth regiment. Lieutenant Wright had been first sergeant of company B, of the Fourth Vermont. Lieutenant French was an ingenious mechanic and inventor, who was designated for his office by a vote of the company. First Sergeant W R. Rowell was a youth of 19, a son of Hon. A. J. Rowell, of Troy, and had been a cadet at West Point. Quartermaster Sergeant John B. Langdon had served in the Second and Thirteenth regiments. The rank and file included many re-enlisted veterans.

The battery started for Washington January 15th, arrived

there on the evening of the 18th, and marched through mud and rain to Camp Barry, the Artillery Camp of Instruction on the Bladensburg road, and went into quarters in barracks, with twelve other light batteries. January 23d, 1864 the men received their horses, and a few days later the men presented horses to Captain Start and Lieutenant Phillips, with mutual compliments. On the 30th of January the first death took place, that of Byron K. Oakes, a promising young soldier, who died of typhoid fever in the camp hospital. The battery soon received its guns, and was occupied for three months in drill, in which it made rapid progress. April 5th it was assigned to the Ninth Corps, then reorganizing at Annapolis, proceeded to Alexandria, and marched with the corps through Fairfax Court House, to Bristoe Station. On the 29th it was assigned to the Fourth division (Ferrero's) consisting of two brigades of colored troops, and went back with the division to Manassas Junction. Thence it started May 4th to join the rest of the corps, which was moving to the Rapidan. On the 5th it crossed the Rappahannock at Rappahannock Station, and, on the morning of the 6th, crossing the Rapidan at Germanna Ford, joined the Army of the Potomac on the field of the Wilderness. During the battle of the Wilderness, the division was employed in guarding the roads and army trains near the Rapidan, and was not engaged. From the 9th to the 17th of May, the battery was with the division on the right of the army north of Todd's tavern. On the 17th it moved with the division to Salem Church. Moving thence on the 20th the battery marched through Bowling Green, Milford Station, Newtown, Tunstalls, New Kent Court House and Charles City Court House, to Wilcox's Landing. During this month of battles for the Army of the Potomac, the battery shared with the division the responsible but bloodless duty of guarding the army trains. June 17th it crossed the James on the long ponton bridge and went into camp on the river bank a mile above the crossing. It was

about six o'clock: supper was preparing and the guns in park when a Confederate battery which had been firing at some of the Union gun-boats in the river from the high opposite bank, elevated its guns and suddenly began to pitch shells into the camp of the Vermont battery. It was the first time that the battery had been under artillery fire. Its lower position did not permit of its replying. The only thing to do was to strike tents, harness up and move to a better position. This was done with a coolness and good order which showed that the men had the right stuff in them.

June 18th the division moved to the lines of Petersburg, and rejoined the Ninth Corps, from which it had been separated for six weeks. It was placed, after one or two changes of position, in the second line of trenches on the east of Petersburg, in an unfinished earthwork, occupied later by the Seventeenth Vermont regiment. This work was completed with sand-bags, by the men, working by night and keeping under cover by day. On the 20th the battery moved into the strong earthwork known as Fort Morton, on the right of the Norfolk railroad. Here it fired from 20 to 100 shot and shell each day. It was under frequent heavy artillery fire from three of the enemy's batteries in front, and was so near the enemy that the men were in constant danger from the Confederate sharpshooters. Several of the battery horses were killed and wounded, but the men escaped. The constant firing and excitement night and day, however, affected the health of the weaker men, and the sick list increased to upwards of 30. The effective men became experienced artillerists, and under Captain Start's industrious and capable command, established a reputation for discipline, efficiency and accuracy of fire, second to that of no other battery in the corps. In the battle of the mine on the 30th of June, the battery was actively engaged. Two sections were in Fort Morton, otherwise known as the "Fourteen-gun Battery," which was General Burnside's headquarters during the bat-

tle, and a section in Battery 16, to the left of Morton. They opened fire with the rest of the artillery, immediately upon the explosion of the mine, and in the five hours following fired 395 shot and shell. The work of the battery was done largely under General Burnside's eye, and he expressed his approval of it.

July 2d First Lieutenant Vaughan was appointed U. S. commissary of subsistence, and left the battery; Second Lieutenant Wright was promoted to the vacancy, and First Sergeant Rowell was promoted to be second lieutenant.

For two weeks after the disaster of the mine, Fort Morton was under continual fire from heavy guns and mortars and the men suffered much from want of sleep as well as from the intense heat. During the active operations of August 18th, when Hancock made a demonstration against Richmond and the Fifth Corps seized the Weldon railroad, the enemy's batteries opened heavily upon the works of the Ninth Corps, and Fort Morton was subjected to a tremendous fire of mortars and heavy ordnance, which began at nine o'clock in the evening of the 18th and lasted until nearly dawn. The guns of the fort, including those of the Third Vermont battery, returned the enemy's fire. Several artillerists were killed in the fort, but the men of the Third battery escaped with a few contusions from fragments of shells.

During the 19th the battery was relieved, and moved half a mile to Romer's battery, near the Avery house. On the 21st, when Lee attempted to regain the Weldon railroad, the battery was sent to the left and out upon the Jerusalem plank road for three miles to the Williams house, where it relieved the Twenty-seventh New York battery. On the 23d it has ordered to take position near the Aiken house, where it assisted in sustaining the lines which the troops of the Fifth and Ninth Corps were entrenching upon and near the Weldon Railroad. On the 25th it was ordered to report to General Wilcox of the First division, who was then moving to

the assistance of General Hancock at Ream's Station but did not reach there in time to take part. On the 27th, the battery reported back to General Ferrero, whose division was then near the Aiken house, and remained in camp at that point until the 30th. Thence it was ordered to Fort Sedgwick, called by the soldiers "Fort Hell," from the constant fire from heavy siege guns and mortars to which it was subjected. Here it remained until September 6th, when it was assigned to the Reserve Artillery of the Second Corps, and went into camp near the Avery house. Having but about 100 men for duty, the battery at this time turned in two of its guns and Captain Start went to Vermont on leave of absence, leaving Lieutenant Phillips in command. Soon after the battery was transferred to the Reserve brigade of the Sixth Army Corps, which had been left behind when the corps went to the Shenandoah Valley. Service in the reserve artillery at this time was by no means easy service. The battery was ordered hither and thither at very short notice. The horses were often kept harnessed for several days at a time, and horses and men became much worn by constant duty, night and day. During the flurry caused by the raid of Rosser's cavalry in the rear of the army on the 16th, a section of the battery was suddenly ordered to Prince George Court House. The men were tired, having just moved to Battery 16, but they turned out promptly and marched seven miles to the Court House, in mud and rain, in an hour. Before its arrival, however, Rosser had escaped with his booty of beef cattle, and the battery was not called into action, though it remained on the alert all night. It returned to its camp next day.[1]

[1] HEADQUARTERS ARTILLERY BRIGADE, SIXTH CORPS.
September 21, 1864.

Lieutenant W. H. Phillips, commanding Third Vermont Battery:

"For the prompt action in reporting for duty and getting into position and excellent execution done by yourself and men on the 16th inst. at Prince George Court House, the commanding officer highly commends you. After enduring the hardships, strain and fatigue your battery has for the past few weeks, their promptness merits the highest praise and thanks."

W. A. HARN, Captain commanding.

September 19th the battery was stationed in Fort Meikel in front of the Avery house. Here it was under frequent fire and in reply fired, on an average, 35 shots per day. It remained here until October 3d, when it was withdrawn and moved a mile to the left, to Battery 27, near the Jerusalem Plank Road, where the men had a much needed respite, as the work was but little exposed to the enemy's fire.

October 5th the battery reported to General Ferrero at Poplar Spring Church, where his division was supporting the movement against the Boydton Plank Road, and fortifying the ground gained. In this work the Third battery took part, and erected an earthwork which the men named Fort Phillips, afterward officially designated as Fort Urmston. This work the battery occupied until October 12th, when it moved back into Battery 16, and was again under constant fire. On the 25th Captain Start was ordered to take his battery to City Point, where he reported on the 26th to General H. Benham, commanding the defenses of that point, and was stationed in Fort McKean, which was one of the principal works which guarded the base of supply of the army. Here the battery changed its guns for light 12-pounders, and here it remained for three months. During September and October, 83 recruits carried its aggregate up to 223, with 181 present for duty, and it became again a six-gun battery. January 15th, 1865, it was ordered to report to General Wright, commanding the Sixth Corps, and moved to Warren Station on the Weldon railroad and went into camp near the corps headquarters. The weather was severe, with snow and rain, and for a week the men suffered from the cold, until they built some winter quarters for themselves. In the movement to the left on the 6th of February, the battery moved with the Sixth Corps artillery, and was stationed in Fort Fisher, where the men found excellent quarters vacated by the Second Corps artillery. January 2d

Sergeant W B. Perrin was commissioned as second lieutenant, in place of Lieutenant French, discharged October 10th, 1864, for disability. Lieutenant Phillips was also honorably discharged early in February, for disability resulting from sickness. Second Lieutenant Rowell was advanced to the vacancy, and Quartermaster's Sergeant Eben Taplin was promoted to be second lieutenant.

In the important capture of the enemy's intrenched picket line, in front of Fort Fisher, on the 25th of March, the Third Vermont battery had a highly creditable part. At this time Lieutenant Rowell was in command, Captain Start being on leave of absence. Two sections of the battery were in Fort Fisher, and one section under Lieutenant Taplin was in Battery Lee, at the left of the fort. The First brigade of the Second division of the Sixth Corps, commanded by General James M. Warner, had advanced but had been checked by the enemy's artillery, and was still annoyed by the fire from a small earthwork to the left. Warner thereupon sent to General Wright for some artillery, and Colonel Cowan, commanding the Sixth Corps artillery, directed Lieutenant Rowell to send him a section of his battery. Rowell at once hurried to the skirmish line with the first section, and, reporting to General Warner, was directed to a crest, along which Warner's men were hugging the ground. Taking his guns thither he opened fire on the troublesome battery, distant about 700 yards. Rowell's guns were carefully aimed, and after forty minutes of active firing the enemy's guns were silenced, and Warner's lines, advancing again, carried the entrenched picket line in its front. Rowell's handling of his pieces on this occasion was warmly complimented by General Warner. Lieutenant Perrin was with him and rendered efficient service. The battery suffered no loss, being kept sheltered behind the crest, to the top of which the guns were run by hand. Lieutenant Taplin's section was also engaged during the

afternoon, firing from Battery Lee, and did good execution.

From March 28th to April 1st, during which the final assault was in preparation, the greatest vigilance was exercised, the cannoneers standing to their guns at three A. M. each morning and remaining till after daylight. On the 30th, in consequence of a general order reducing all light batteries to four guns, two guns of the battery were again turned in.

On the night of April 1st, the honor of giving the signal for the charge of the Sixth Corps, which pierced the lines of Petersburg, was assigned to the Third Vermont battery and was given by it, as described in previous pages. The officers and men of the battery were of course on the *qui vive* during the exciting events following. They knew that the army had gone through the works and held the battery in readiness for any call. At eight o'clock everything west of the inner line of Confederate works facing west, along the line of Indian Town Creek, west of Petersburg, had been carried by the various Union corps; but operations had been brought to a stand by the resistance made in this line of works by the enemy, who realized that on the holding of them depended the last hope of holding Petersburg and Richmond. Two powerful works, Fort Gregg and Fort Whitworth,[1] on the west side of the creek, guarded the front of the line. General Gibbon had been ordered to carry these, and had assaulted them with Foster's and Turner's divisions of the Twenty-fourth Corps, without success, largely for want of artillery with which to reply to the guns (of the Washington artillery) in the forts. He thereupon dispatched Colonel Peter S. Michie, serving temporarily on his staff, to the nearest Union fort, for a battery or batteries. The nearest fort was Fisher, and thither Michie hastened. His somewhat excited request for a bat-

[1] This fort is called Fort Baldwin on some of the maps.

tery was promptly responded to by Captain Start. Moving north a mile, the battery passed the captured picket line, and first took position 300 yards from Battery Owen, a Confederate work, without artillery, in front of Gregg. From this the enemy's sharpshooters were soon dislodged. Then moving forward to a position due south of Fort Gregg, the battery opened an effective fire on that work. The desperate defense of this fort was witnessed by General Lee in person, and it has been the theme of Confederate historians and the pride of the Southern soldiers.[1] Its guns replied with spirit, and a solid shot from one of them carried away half of the stock of one of Start's pieces. But an hour's vigorous firing on the part of the latter silenced the guns in Gregg, disabling two of them, which were captured in the fort, and killing several gunners.[2] Turner's infantry then renewed the assault and stormed the fort, taking in it 300 prisoners, with a Union loss of over 600 men killed and wounded.

Many of the shots of the Third battery, aimed at Fort Gregg, passed over it and took effect in Fort Whitworth, which was in line with Gregg and about 400 yards north of it, and contributed to the fall of that work, which was carried by Foster's division after the fall of Gregg.[3] The officers of the Third battery saw no Union guns except their own in these

[1] "Fort Gregg was the Confederate La Tourgue. When it falls all of the old traditions of the South fall with it. When the Federal standards wave over it, there is then to be centralization, negro government and four times the ruin inflicted on the South as was put by Germany on France." —Napier Bartlett, in A [Confederate] Soldier's Story of the Late War.

[2] Fifty-five dead bodies lay around the guns when the fort was captured.

"The enemy had planted a battery in a field seven or eight hundred yards beyond the creek. It had been so posted as to have Gregg and Whitworth in the same line, and shots that passed over the former could and did strike the latter."—General C. M. Wilcox, Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. iv, p. 27.

[3] General Wilcox adds that the fire of this Union battery was "a brisk and well directed fire."

operations; and as General Wilcox, who commanded the troops which defended the forts, mentions but a single Union battery as concerned in the attack on them, there is reason to believe that the work of the Union artillery in these decisive events was chiefly, if not entirely, done by the Third Vermont battery. Its conduct was highly commended by Generals Gibbon and Turner.

After the fall of the forts the battery again moved forward and engaged the works on the east side of Indian Town Creek. On these a fire was maintained, with brief intervals, during the rest of the day; but pending the result of the operations further to the right, Grant did not push his infantry against these works that day, and next morning they were found to be undefended, Lee having evacuated Petersburg in the night.

Captain Start says the behavior of officers and men throughout the day was "splendid," and he especially commends Lieutenants Rowell and Perrin; Sergeants Parker, Thomas, and Clay; Corporals Kelly, Gilman and Sibley, and Private William Washburn for coolness and gallant conduct.

Next morning Captain Start was placed in command of the Reserve Artillery brigade of the Sixth Corps, consisting of four batteries, including his own. Twenty pieces of artillery captured by the corps in the defenses of Petersburg, were also placed under his charge, and were taken by him to City Point. Lieutenant Eben Taplin was made assistant adjutant general of the brigade, and held the position until June 5th. The Reserve brigade did not join the corps in the pursuit of Lee, and the battery remained at City Point for a month, when, May 3d, it took up its line of march, with the artillery of the Army of the Potomac, for Alexandria. Marching by way of Richmond and Fredericksburg it arrived on the 18th at Alexandria. On the 3d of June the guns were turned over to the Ordnance Department, and on the 5th the battery, numbering 218 officers and men, started by rail

for Burlington, where they arrived on the morning of the 9th.

On the 13th, they were mustered out, paid off, and dispersed to their homes. The officers so mustered out were Captain R. H. Start; First Lieutenants W R. Rowell and W. B. Perrin; and Second Lieutenants Eben Taplin and John W Marsh, Second Lieutenant John H. Wright having resigned and received an honorable discharge a few days before. The battery had been singularly favored in respect to casualties, and brought home a greater proportion of its original members than any other Vermont organization which took the field.

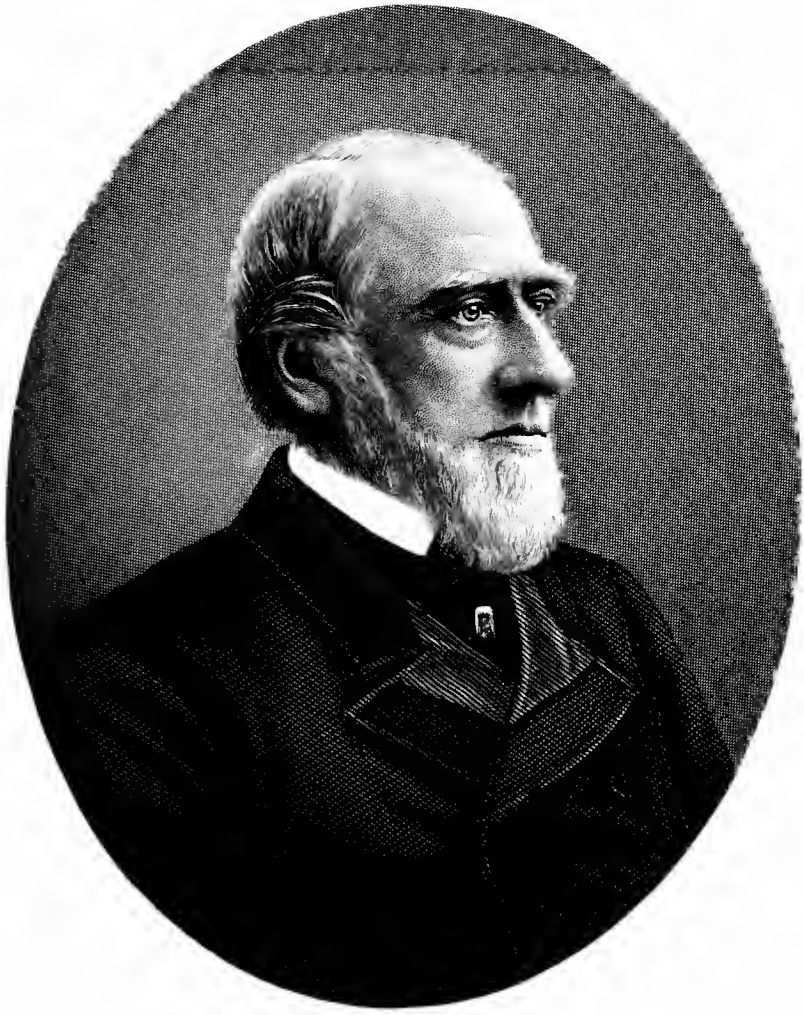
THE BATTLES OF THE THIRD BATTERY.

Petersburg Mine,	July 30, 1864.
Petersburg,	Aug. 18, 1864.
Petersburg,	March 25, 1865.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.

The final statement of the Third battery is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 148; total	151
GAINS.	
Promotion from other regiments—com. officers, 1; recruits, 103; total	104
Aggregate	255
LOSSES.	
Died—enlisted men (from disease), 20; (from accident), 1; total	21
Honorably discharged for disability—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 3; total	6
Promotion to U. S. Vols.—com. officers	1
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps—enlisted man	1
Deserted	7
Total loss	36
Mustered out—com. officers, 5; enlisted men, 214; total	219
Aggregate	255
Total wounded	3



Yours truly

J. Gregory Smith

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SHARPSHOOTERS.

Company F, First U. S. Sharpshooters—Organization—Departure for Washington—Camp of Instruction—Joins Army of the Potomac—The Peninsula Campaign; Yorktown; Hanover Court House; Mechanicsville; Gaines's Mill, and Malvern Hill—Second Bull Run—Fredericksburg—Attached to Third Corps—Chancellorsville—Gettysburg—Wapping's Heights—Kelly's Ford—Mine Run—Wilderness—Spottsylvania—Cold Harbor—Siege of Petersburg—Weldon Railroad—Expiration of Three Years' Term—Burgess's Mill—Assigned to Fourth Vermont—Final Statement.

Companies E and H, Second U. S. Sharpshooters—Organizations—Camp of Instruction—Assigned to McDowell's Corps—March to Falmouth—Sent north to intercept Stonewall Jackson—Railroad accident—Pope's Campaign; Rappahannock Station; Sulphur Spring and Second Bull Run — South Mountain — Antietam — Fredericksburg — Attached to Third Corps—Chancellorsville—Gettysburg—Wapping's Heights, Kelly's Ford and Brandy Station—Mine Run Campaign—Re-enlistment—Attached to Second Corps—The Wilderness Campaign—Totopotomoy and Cold Harbor—Siege of Petersburg—Deep Bottom—Boydton Road—Fall of Petersburg—Close of Service.

The organization of the United States Sharpshooters as a distinct branch of the service, was due to Hiram Berdan of New York. Impressed by the need of skilled shots, armed with long-range rifles, to meet the marksmen so numerous in the Confederate ranks, he called the attention of the War Department to the subject. The result was the commissioning of Mr. Berdan as a colonel, and the enlistment in the first year of the war, under the direct authority of the government, of two regiments of sharpshooters. The eighteen companies comprised in these regiments were recruited in the States of Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin. Of the total number, the Green Mountain State furnished more than one-sixth—more in proportion to popu-

lation than any other State—sending into the ranks of these regiments not less than *six hundred and twenty* superior marksmen, and furnishing two lieutenant colonels and a number of other officers to the commands. The sharpshooters were men of superior spirit and endurance, as well as skill. The lists of their killed and wounded, which far exceeded the general ratio of the army, indicate the danger and severity of their duty. They took part in almost every important battle fought by the Army of the Potomac. Their officers made few reports. Fighting commonly in detachments, the credit for what they accomplished was usually appropriated by the larger organizations to which they were attached. Yet it is safe to say that the service they rendered was second in value to that of no other equal number of enlisted men who took part in the war for the Union; and the writer of these pages deeply regrets the necessity, imposed on him by the limits of this volume, which compels him to condense their brilliant record into such small compass.

The conditions for enlistment required that each recruit should, in a public trial, firing from the shoulder and without telescopic sights, in ten shots place ten bullets within a ten-inch ring, at a distance of 200 yards; and this test was rigidly exacted. The uniform was distinctive, being of green cloth, to harmonize with the colors of nature, with leather leggings and knapsacks of leather tanned with the hair on. Most of the men took out their own rifles, which before they took the field were exchanged for Colt's revolving rifles, and later for a better arm.

COMPANY F, FIRST UNITED STATES SHARPSHOOTERS.

Vermont was one of the first States to respond to a circular sent by Colonel Berdan to the governors, conveying authority to recruit companies of sharpshooters. A com-

mission as captain was thereupon, in August, 1861, issued to Dr. Edmund Weston, Jr., of Randolph, and by him and subordinate recruiting officers in other towns, over 100 marksmen who passed the test were recruited within a month.

The First Vermont company organized at West Randolph, September 13th, 1861, with 113 men, officered as follows: Captain, Edmund Weston, Jr., of West Randolph; First Lieutenant, C. W Seaton, of Charlotte; Second Lieutenant, M. V B. Bronson, of Rutland; First Sergeant, H. E. Kinsman, of Royalton. Next day the company left the State for the regimental rendezvous at Weehawken, N. J., whence in ten days it went to Washington to a Camp of Instruction, and was mustered into the United States service, October 31, 1861, with three officers and 100 men, the 13 in excess of the regulation number being rejected. The men were here drilled by Lieut. Colonel Frederick Mears, of the regiment, and improved in marksmanship under Colonel Berdan's instructions. On one occasion they displayed their skill before President Lincoln and General McClellan, and some surprising shots were made, Colonel Berdan hitting, at 600 yards, the right eye of the painted figure of a man, used as a target, having before announced that he would do so. President Lincoln himself took a rifle from Sergeant Peck of company F and took part in the firing.

In November Lieut. Colonel Mears resigned, and on the 29th of that month William Y. W. Ripley of Rutland, Vt., was appointed lieutenant colonel. He had seen service as captain of company K of the First regiment; was 29 years old, a man of high intelligence and spirit, of commanding figure, an admirable shot, and possessed of qualities which amply justified what might have been the doubtful experiment of bringing to the command—which during most of its service devolved upon the officer second in rank—an outsider, known to few of the officers and men. Lieut. Colonel Ripley

took hold of his duties with enthusiasm, and was ably seconded by Major Caspar Trepp, a Swiss who had seen service in European wars. The regiment remained during the winter in the Camp of Instruction and became proficient, especially in skirmish drill, in which the orders were given by bugle. Chambered breech-loading Colt's rifles were supplied and reluctantly accepted, as the men had no confidence in them. March 20th, the regiment was attached to the division of Fitz John Porter, then about to join the army under McClellan at Fortress Monroe, and on the 22d joined the division at Alexandria, was taken by steamer to Hampton, Va., and went into camp half-way between that place and Newport News.

The first service of company F was in a reconnoissance in force on the 28th, to Big Bethel, where a slight skirmish took place with a party of the enemy's cavalry, who experienced the accurate fire of the sharpshooters. April 4th, in the advance of the army up the peninsula, the sharpshooters led the right hand column, to the front of Yorktown. Here, April 5th, company F took position in a peach orchard, alluded to in the Confederate reports as "Palmentary's peach orchard," surrounding a farm house and its out-buildings, about 500 yards from a line of breastworks running from the main Confederate redoubt in front of Yorktown to the head of Warwick Creek, garrisoned by troops under command of General Gabriel J. Rains, who mustered in the first three Vermont regiments. The range was soon obtained and gun after gun in front was silenced, for 1000 yards to right and left. At one time the staff and escort of a general officer came within range as they passed over a knoll behind the works, and about half the saddles were emptied by the sharpshooters. The enemy in turn placed some marksmen in small pits in advance of their works, and among others wounded by them Corporal C. W. Peck of company F received a severe wound —the first man of the company hurt by a hostile bullet.

One spot was soon marked as the covert of a particularly skillful rifleman, and a duel took place between him and one of the New Hampshire company, named Ide. Several shots had been exchanged between them, when Ide fell dead, shot through the forehead, and the enemy, who were watching the shooting, raised a cheer. Their exultation was short, however, for Colonel Ripley, snatching the loaded rifle from the dead man's hand, and taking his place behind the corner of a building, soon saw the Confederate marksman raise himself into view. The two rifles cracked simultaneously. The rebel bullet came so nearly through the corner of the house against which Ripley leaned that it bruised his shoulder. Ripley's bullet found its mark, and no more shots came from that spot, or cheers from the enemy. The work of the sharpshooters this day was highly praised by General Porter, and their fire is alluded to in Magruder's report as especially deadly. As the siege progressed the opposing rifle-pits were advanced within 50 yards of each other, and several skirmishes took place in them, in which company F took part.

While here the first lot of 100 Sharpe's rifles was received, and they were issued to company F, in recognition of its efficiency. It was a superior arm and entirely satisfactory to the men. The Vermont sharpshooters were among the first troops to enter Yorktown after the evacuation, and hauled down the Confederate garrison flag.

The next time company F met the enemy was May 27th, near Hanover Court House, when, leading the advance of Morell's division of Porter's corps, to which it was attached, it found at a fork of the roads the way disputed by Branch's brigade of North Carolina troops. These were dislodged, with the loss of a 12-pound howitzer, in the capture of which company F had a prominent part. Later in the day Morell returned to assist Martindale, who had been left to hold the fork of the roads and had been heavily attacked, and drove back the enemy, who lost 600 men captured. Company F

had three men wounded this day, one of them mortally.[1]

The regiment was in camp near Gaines's Mill, in front of Richmond, for a month, furnishing daily details for picket duty where the danger was greatest. In the battle of Mechanicsville, June 26th, it was brought in to assist McCall's division at the close of the day; slept on the field, and next day, withdrawing before daylight, covered the retreat of the column to Gaines's Mill. Here, in the battle of the 27th, the sharpshooters were posted along the edge of a ravine in front of the line of Morell's division. There was heavy skirmishing during the afternoon. in which each side by turns gained and yielded ground. When at nightfall Morell was forced from his position by superior numbers, the sharpshooters, though almost out of ammunition, retained their position till the general disruption on right and left compelled them to withdraw. The regiment was commanded this day by Lieut. Colonel Ripley, and he was active in reforming the broken Union lines for the final stand. Three men of company F were wounded, two of them mortally.[2]

The regiment marched with the army in the famous change of base. On the 29th it was posted on the New Market road near Glendale, or Charles City Cross-roads, and repulsed several advances of the enemy's cavalry, and that night company F accompanied General Porter on a reconnoissance; struck and drew the fire of the enemy's pickets; and then joined the main column of the Fifth Corps moving on to the James. At noon of the 30th it reached Malvern Hill, where the regiment took a brilliant part in the battle of the next day. In this it was deployed in front of Morell's division on the northern slope of the hill, in a wheat-field, broken by a ravine, in front of the Crew house. Soon after noon, the Confederate columns approached, and their skirmishers began to fire from the edge of the woods in front.

[1] Died of his wound—W. F. Dawson.

[2] Died of wounds—B. W. Jordan and James A. Read.

The artillery of both sides, including the heavy guns of the Union gun-boats, fired over the heads of the sharpshooters, making their position one of much danger. At three o'clock the enemy advanced a heavy skirmish line, which was driven back with serious loss by the sharpshooters. The opposing line was reinforced and again advanced both on front and flank. Ripley then withdrew his command far enough to escape the flanking fire, and held the enemy in check by the accuracy and rapidity of the fire of the breech-loaders. Soon the Confederate commander advanced a battery, which burst suddenly from the woods, the great gray horses whirling the guns behind them like child's toys. As the pieces went into battery, the sharpshooters' rifles began to crack and men and horses began to fall. Soon there were no longer horses to haul the guns, and the gunners sought to put their pieces into battery by hand; but nothing could stand those unerring rifles, and the few surviving cannoneers, leaving the guns in the open field, took shelter in the woods. Not a gun was afterwards placed or fired from that quarter during the day.[1]

In the repulse of the successive charges of Magruder's corps, the sharpshooters took active part, till their ammunition was exhausted and they were withdrawn. Four Vermont sharpshooters were wounded in this battle, among the number being Lieut. Colonel Ripley and Lieutenant Seaton. Ripley's wound was a very serious one. He had remained after his command had retired, to assist in disposing the troops which beat back Magruder's last desperate charge. While he was stationing a regiment under the direction of

[1] This battery was McCarthy's Richmond Howitzers, attached to Barksdale's brigade, and was composed of the flower of the young men of that city; it was their first fight, and to many their last. A member of the battery said to Lieut. Colonel Ripley, after the close of the war: "We went in a battery and came out a wreck. We staid ten minutes by the watch and came out with one gun, ten men and two horses, and without firing a shot."

General Martindale a musket-ball struck him in the right leg, shattering the bone. His orderly tied a handkerchief around the leg, and he started for the rear; but soon fainted and fell from his horse.[1] He was then placed in an ambulance and taken to Haxall's Landing, where his wound was dressed and he was laid under a tree. He was left there that night when the army moved on to Harrison's Landing; but was saved from capture by some of his men, who, learning that he had been left behind, went back for him, found him just before daylight, and carried him on a stretcher to Harrison's Landing. It was three months before the bullet was extracted, and Ripley narrowly escaped amputation. He was discharged a month after, for promotion to the colonelcy of the Tenth Vermont regiment; but his wound, which did not heal for two years, did not permit him to return to the service. In his departure the sharpshooters lost the man who had hitherto been their fighting commander, and one who had the highest confidence and regard of the entire command. The loss was especially felt by the men of company F August 2d, 1862, Captain Weston resigned, and Lieutenant Seaton, a brave and faithful officer, became captain of company F, Lieutenant Bronson first lieutenant, and Sergeant E. W Hindes second lieutenant.

The company, reduced by death, wounds, sickness and discharges to less than forty effective men, marched down the peninsula to Fortress Monroe, with the Fifth Corps, and departing thence by way of Acquia Creek and Falmouth, marched to the north with the corps, to join the army under General Pope, arriving at Bristoe's on the 28th. In the second Bull Run the regiment was advanced as skirmishers in front of Barnes's and Butterfield's brigades, against Jackson's troops posted behind the embankment of the unfinished

[1] The noble animal had received three balls, but staggered along under his master's weight till Colonel Ripley fell from the saddle, when he too lay down and died within ten minutes.

railroad leading from Sudley Springs. The main attack failed, but the sharpshooters gained the shelter of a sunken road forty yards from the enemy's lines and held it till crowded out by superior numbers of Longstreet's men. Three men of company F were wounded, Corporal H. J. Peck receiving a wound which occasioned his discharge. The regiment was not again seriously engaged in Pope's campaign.

September 1st the regiment went into camp near Fort Corcoran, in the defenses of Washington, and on the 12th marched with the Fifth Corps into Maryland. During the battle of Antietam, September 17th, the corps was held in reserve, and for once the men of company F were merely spectators of the fighting. On the 18th, Lieutenant Bronson arrived with 50 recruits, and on the 19th the sharpshooters led the column of the corps in the pursuit of Lee, overtaking his rear guard at Shepherdstown Ford.[1] The enemy's riflemen held the opposite bank but the sharpshooters crossed, fording the stream under fire, and, supported by the Fourth Michigan, drove them away. Moving on a short distance, a party of sharpshooters, under Corporal Cassius Peck, discovered a small body of the enemy guarding two guns which had been left by the retreating column. The enemy were driven away with the loss of one prisoner, and the guns were captured and brought off. The sharpshooters were withdrawn to the north bank at night and the enemy re-occupied the south bank. That night Lee sent back a heavy force to the ford, and next day, the 20th, a severe engagement took place, in a renewed attempt of Barnes's brigade to force a crossing. In this, the One hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania, a new regiment, in its first battle, crossed the stream under the cover of the fire of the sharpshooters and took shelter under the bank. When subsequently ordered back the Pennsylvanians could not be

[1] Also called Blackford's and Boteler's Ford. This action is erroneously entitled "Blackburn's Ford" in the official list.

induced either to advance or retreat, though the sharpshooters did their best to encourage them, but finally got back with a loss of 269 men, killed, wounded and missing.

The regiment was next engaged at Fredericksburg, December 14th, when it crossed the river with the Fifth Corps, and was stationed in the village of Fredericksburg. It was on picket in front of the heights the night of the 15th, during which Burnside withdrew his shattered columns. The sharpshooters were not recalled till just before daylight; but by propping up some dead bodies to represent men they got away, protected by a picket line of corpses. December 30th the company accompanied a reconnoissance to Richards' Ford,[1] and did some shooting in a skirmish next day with the enemy's cavalry.

Early in January, 1863, the Second regiment of sharpshooters joined the First at Falmouth and the two regiments constituted an independent brigade, Colonel Berdan being attached for a time to the general staff, as Chief of Sharpshooters. Company F remained near army headquarters. In February, in the reorganization under Hooker, the brigade was attached to the Third division (Whipple's), of the Third Corps, under Sickles. February 21st Lieutenant Bronson resigned, and was succeeded by Lieutenant E. W Hindes, and Sergeant C. D. Merriman was promoted to be second lieutenant.

The sharpshooters distinguished themselves in the Chancellorsville campaign. They covered the crossing of Sedgwick's corps, at Franklin's Crossing, April 28th. May 1st they crossed at United States Ford, joined the Third Corps near the Chancellor house, and assisted in repulsing a body of the enemy which felt of the Union line at that point. On the 2d the regiment was detached and reported to General Birney, whose division filled a gap between the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, south of the Chancellor clearing, and was sent by him with other troops to attack the column

[1] Called "Elles' Ford" in Adjutant General Washburn's list.

of Stonewall Jackson, who was making his detour to the north and west of the Union position. General Rodes, of Jackson's corps, had stationed the Twenty-third Georgia, Colonel Best, in and about the Iron Furnace, to guard his flank while marching through the clearing south of the furnace. Best deployed a line of skirmishers in the woods, where they were found by the sharpshooters, including company F of the First regiment and E of the Second, and were driven back to their picket reserve, posted in and about the furnace buildings. Here they were hemmed in by the sharpshooters, under the deadly fire of whose rifles not a man of the enemy could leave his shelter unharmed. The few who endeavored to escape across Lewis Creek to the main body, were shot down, one of them falling by the hand of Chaplain Barber of the First regiment, who was in the ranks with his rifle. The rest soon surrendered. Advancing thence the sharpshooters flanked and captured the remainder of the regiment in the railroad cut near by, Colonel Best and twenty men alone escaping. The sharpshooters thus took twenty officers, including the major of the Georgia regiment, and 300 men. This exploit has prominent mention in all the reports, and was almost the only redeeming feature of that disastrous day. After sundown the sharpshooters were withdrawn from the skirmish line, and bivouacked in the rear of Birney's division, and a portion of them fell into line to resist an attack; but they were not called into the action. In the affair at the furnace, company F had two men wounded.

Next morning Colonel Berdan reported back to General Whipple with the sharpshooters, and the First regiment was posted on the north of the plank road, the Second regiment being held for a while as a reserve and afterwards posted to the right of the First.

In the defensive battle of that day, May 3d, the sharpshooters formed a movable skirmish line. They were held in the open ground south of Fairview Cemetery and west of

the crest on the farm of Hazel Grove from which Jackson's artillery opened on the Third Corps. Four companies of the First regiment, advanced as skirmishers, were active in the repulse of A. P Hill's corps, in the morning. They drove back a heavy skirmish line of the enemy at one point, killing many; captured many prisoners, who had pushed into a gap on their left; and advanced till they met the double main line of Hill's corps, when they retired, firing, to their supports.

When, late in the day, Hooker had taken up his new position in front of Fairview, General Whipple was asked by Sickles to send a brigade to occupy a wooded knoll in his front. Whipple thought a regiment sufficient for the purpose, and sent the First Sharpshooters. The enemy had already occupied the knoll. and received the sharpshooters with a heavy volley from the edge of the woods. But the latter kept on and drove the enemy from the position. Company F took a leading part in this assault, in which the major and adjutant of the regiment, with other officers, were wounded. Company F had three men wounded. It was on picket that night, and next day with the regiment was deployed in front of Whipple's line, and assisted in repelling the assault of Jackson's (now Stuart's) corps, which was driven back after several hours of fighting, in the course of which General Whipple was killed. In this battle company F had seven men wounded.

May 15th, Captain Seaton, who had never entirely recovered from the effects of his wound received at Malvern Hill, resigned, and Lieutenant E. W Hindes was commissioned as captain. Second Lieutenant C. D. Merriman was promoted to be first lieutenant and Sergeant H. E. Kinsman to be second lieutenant.

June 11th the company started for the north with the Third Corps, being attached to Ward's brigade (the Second) of Birney's division of the Third Corps. The march ended

at Gettysburg at sunset of July 1st. In the morning of the second day of the great battle the First regiment was posted on the left flank of the Third Corps, in front of Little Round Top. About ten o'clock Colonel Berdan was directed to make a reconnoissance out beyond the Emmittsburg road, to develop the position of the enemy, who was supposed to be extending his lines to the south. He took out a detachment of 100 men, of which company F, Captain Hindes, numbering about forty rifles, formed a part. Supported by the Third Maine, Colonel Lakeman, a small regiment of 200 men, the sharpshooters moved out to the Emmittsburg road, beyond the picket line of Birney's division. Then, turning south so as to be sure to be south of the enemy, they went as far in that direction as Sherfy's peach orchard, when, taking the cross road to the west, they advanced to the belt of woods extending for a mile and a half behind Seminary Ridge. On reaching the woods the sharpshooters were deployed as skirmishers, and had moved to the right—that is in a northerly direction—about 250 yards, when they struck a skirmish line of the enemy, which fell back as they advanced. This was the Tenth Alabama regiment, of Wilcox's brigade which received such rough handling from Veazey and the Sixteenth Vermont next day. It was the advance brigade of R. H. Anderson's division, which at this time was the extreme right of Lee's line and was taking position in front of the woods. A mounted officer, in command of the Confederate skirmish line, was killed by the fire of the sharpshooters at this point. Without halting for the Confederate skirmishers, the sharpshooters drove them rapidly back, making it so warm for the Alabamians that they broke and ran back into the hollow near Pitzer's Run. They rallied, however, in the woods, and supported by the Eleventh Alabama and a second line, advanced, and drove back the sharpshooters and the Maine regiment which had moved up into their line. This was not accomplished without some sharp

fighting,[1] in which 18 sharpshooters and 48 of the Third Maine were killed, wounded or captured. The enemy's loss was still greater. Sergeant Cooper of company F was here killed, and W H. Leach and George Woolly wounded, the latter losing an arm, and the former being shot through the body. The position of the enemy having been thus developed, Colonel Berdan withdrew the detachment to the Emmittsburg road, and thence to the Third Corps line This was the first fighting of the second day and doubtless contributed essentially to the delay of the Confederate formation for offensive operations on their right, to which delay the Confederate generals attributed their failure to end the battle that day in their own favor. The official maps of the field show that on that day, as on the third, Vermont troops were farther to the front, upon the left centre, than any other troops of the Army of the Potomac.

Company F returned to the position of the regiment and was under fire but not actively engaged in the fighting of the afternoon of the second day. That night it lay with the regiment back of the ridge north of Little Round Top. During the cannonade which heralded the great Confederate assault next day, a portion of the regiment, including company F, was sent to the right and front near the line of the Second Vermont brigade, and took part at long range in the reception given to Pickett's division. It also assisted in the repulse of Wilcox's and Perry's brigades, commencing fire on them at long range, and continuing till their discomfiture was completed by the charge of the Sixteenth Vermont.

On the 4th the regiment was sent forward to the Emmittsburg road near Sherfy's buildings, where Lee was maintaining a front to cover his retreat. The enemy's pickets were posted behind the walls and fences in front of the woods and

[1] General Wilcox calls it "a hard fight," and General Anderson, "a sharp skirmish."

suffered severely. The sharpshooters were able to take their time and pick their men, and did some effective shooting. Two men of the company were wounded here.

The regiment followed Lee into Virginia with the corps and the army. Marching on the east side of the Blue Ridge, July 22d they reached Manassas Gap, and next day the First regiment, supported by the Second and other troops, was pushed into the gap, to open a passage through which to strike Lee's column, the rear of which was passing on the west side of the mountain. The sharpshooters, deployed as skirmishers, met the enemy's pickets and drove them through the gap, expending sixty rounds of ammunition per man; but the advantage was not improved.

The regiment spent the first half of September resting in camp near White Sulphur Springs, and for the three weeks following was at Culpeper. In the retrograde march of Meade's army to Centreville, the sharpshooters were engaged at Cedar Run, where the enemy disputed the crossing. The sharpshooters here attacked in line of battle, with the other regiments of the brigade, and had a man severely wounded. On the 20th they were back at Cedar Run (having been meantime to Centreville with the army) and spent the next two weeks in camp at Catlett's. About this time they were transferred back to DeTrobriand's brigade. Captain Hindes was honorably discharged November 7th for disability. Lieutenant Merriman became captain; Lieutenant Kinsman was promoted one grade and Sergeant Lewis J. Allen was appointed second lieutenant. On the 7th the regiment took part with high credit in the action at Kelly's Ford, which was an adjunct of the battle of Rappahannock Station. It there led the attacking party through the stream and against the enemy posted in rifle pits on the opposite bank. Captain Merriman was one of the first to mount the breastworks, and 506 Confederates were captured in them, most of

whom surrendered to the sharpshooters. Company F had one man killed and three wounded.[1]

The regiment was eighteen days in camp at Brandy Station and was next engaged in the battle of Orange Grove, also called Locust Grove, in the Mine Run campaign, fought by the Third Corps, October 27th. In this battle the sharpshooters fought near the Tenth Vermont, and taking position behind a rail fence repulsed four heavy assaults of the enemy. The colors of a Confederate regiment in front of company F fell four times by the fall of as many color-bearers, who went down before the rifles of the Vermonters. The company lost one man killed and four wounded.[2]

With the exception of a single reconnoissance to the Rapidan, February 6th, 1864, the sharpshooters remained in winter quarters near Brandy Station till the opening of the Wilderness campaign. In the reorganization of the army in April preceding, the regiment was attached to the Second brigade (Alexander Hays's) of the Third (Birney's) division of the Second Corps, under Hancock. Company F took the field with 56 officers and men present for duty. It crossed the Rapidan at Ely's Ford, May 4th, and bivouacked near Chancellorsville, on the ground on which it fought twelve months before. In the battle of May 5th the sharpshooters were detached from the brigade and fought on the skirmish line a short distance to the left of the Orange Plank road and of the First Vermont brigade, and did some admirable work. Company F lost five men killed and mortally wounded, five others wounded and two captured. Next day the company joined the brigade, which had lost its commander and half its men the day before, and again fought in the front line, advancing as the enemy was pressed back, and being crowded back in turn by Longstreet's masses to the breastworks on the Brock road. Driven from these for a

[1] Killed—Patrick Murray.

[2] Killed—E. S. Hosmer.

time by the flames of the burning woods, they returned and joined in the final charge which drove the enemy back within their intrenchments, even beyond which the colors of the regiment were carried—the only Union flag so far advanced. A man of company F was killed. Next day, while the armies rested, the sharpshooters were sent out to feel of the enemy, and drove the Confederate skirmishers back to their works. In this skirmishing, which lasted four hours, two men were killed and Lieutenant Kinsman and three men were wounded, making a loss of 19 men, or over a third of their number, in the three days in the Wilderness.[1]

After another night on the field, amid hundreds of unburied corpses, the stench from which filled the air, the sharpshooters were relieved on the morning of May 8th and brought up the rear of the Second Corps in the march to Todd's tavern, where the corps took position to guard the rear of Grant's army. In the skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, which hung on their rear, company F had a man wounded and captured.[2] In the heavy skirmishing at Todd's tavern in the afternoon, company F was on the skirmish line west of the tavern. Next morning it repulsed the attack of a body of cavalry, killing and wounding a number of them, and capturing a wounded captain whose sabre was taken by Captain Merriman to replace his sword which had been shot from his side the day before. Marching toward Spottsylvania, they found at the Po the rest of the corps preparing to force the crossing. A Union battery was endeavoring in vain to drive the Confederate observers from a signal station some 1,500 yards away. After watching the ineffectual firing for a while the men of company F con-

[1] Killed—Corporal David M. French, Edward Giddings, W. J. Domag, Joseph Hagan and E. E. Trask.

Died of Wounds—A. C. Cross and William Wilson.

[2] William Wells. He died a prisoner at Florence, S. C., four months later.

cluded to take a hand. Fitting sticks to the sights of their rifles to increase the elevation, they opened with 23 rifles upon the tree-top from which the tell-tale flags were waving, and the latter came down with great alacrity. General Hancock, who watched this episode, complimented the Vermonters for their ingenuity and skill; and that night General Birney directed the sharpshooters to report to his headquarters as an independent command.

In Hancock's famous assault on the salient at Spottsylvania on the 12th of May, the sharpshooters were deployed in front of Birney's front line, and took an active part in the assault, and in the subsequent fighting around the bloody angle. Twice during the day company F exhausted its ammunition, which was replenished by a supply brought by the stretcher bearers. Company F lost this day five good men, three killed and two wounded.[1]

On the 21st, in the march of the army toward Richmond, the sharpshooters dashed into the village of Bowling Green and liberated several hundred negroes, who had been swept up by the enemy in their retreat and confined till they could be removed farther south. On the 23d they covered the crossing of the North Anna by Birney's division at Chesterfield Station, and next day had a long range skirmish with the Confederate sharpshooters near the Fox house, which lasted several hours.

At Totopotomoy Creek on the 30th, Captain Merriman narrowly escaped capture. He had been sent out before daylight to station a picket detail of 25 men. In the darkness he went forward till he struck the enemy's pickets, who opened fire on him, and only by very skillful management did he succeed in extricating himself and his men.

At Cold Harbor June 3d, the sharpshooters were in the second line of the division, and escaped with the loss of three

[1] Killed, Henry Mattocks, Thomas Brown and John Bowen.

men wounded, one of whom died.[1] That afternoon the division picket line was held by a regiment for whose marksmanship the enemy displayed much contempt, exposing themselves freely with jeering shouts, and keeping up a continual and annoying fire. Company F lay in the rear of the pickets and somewhat exposed to the stray bullets which flew over the front line. Merriman became restive, and taking Sergeant Peck, went forward to give a little admonition to the Johnnies. A daring southerner who was conspicuously reloading his gun in full view of the Union pickets dropped at Peck's first shot. Several others received similar hints and the enemy's firing along the front soon ceased. During the 4th, company F and another company were engaged in keeping down the enemy's fire on Barlow's division, which had occupied an advanced position. Company F lost one man, Joseph Bickford, killed. From the 5th to the 12th inclusive, the sharpshooters lay near Barker's Mill, on ground on which they fought two years before at the battle of Gaines's Mill. They were engaged in almost daily picket skirmishing, and had a man wounded on the 12th.

Moving to the front of Petersburg with the corps, company F participated in the assault of June 16th and lost a man, Caspar B. Kent, killed. Next day company F held an advanced position close to the enemy's line; used up a hundred rounds of ammunition; and received a fresh supply, brought by Sergeant Cassius Peck, at great personal risk, in haversacks slung around his person. Corporal C. B. Mead was killed this day and Henry E. Barnum mortally wounded. On the 20th Corporal Edward Lyman, one of the best men in the company, was mortally wounded. For three days at this time the company was stationed in the Hare house, where, seated in the owner's mahogany chairs,

[1] Died of Wounds—Alvin Babcock.

they aimed through the windows at his friends in the rifle-pits in his garden.

In the movement of the Second Corps against the Weldon railroad June 22d, company F took part and lost two men killed and three wounded.[2] Only a dozen men were now left for duty, 35 having been killed or wounded and two captured since they crossed the Rapidan.

July 27th the sharpshooters crossed the James with Barlow's division at Deep Bottom, in Hancock's demonstration against Richmond, and helped carry a work on the east side of Bailey's Creek, in which four 20-pound Parrott guns and a number of prisoners were captured by the skirmishers. August 14th the regiment took part in the stronger demonstration against Richmond made by the Second and Tenth Corps under Hancock. On this the regiment, now reduced to less than 200 men, was at the request of General Birney, now commanding the Tenth Corps, attached to his command. They were taken to Deep Bottom by steamer, and on the 15th engaged and after an hour's fighting drove back an obstinate skirmish line of the enemy along a branch of Bailey's Creek known as Four Mile Run. Next day there was more fighting, in which the regiment suffered severely, though company F escaped serious loss. The division took four guns, but the movement was without result beyond the discovery that Richmond was as strongly defended as ever. On the 19th the corps returned to the lines of Petersburg. August 21st the little band left of company F, drove the enemy from a rifle-pit in their front, taking 40 prisoners, four times their own number. For three weeks following they were almost constantly on the picket line. September 10th

[1] An Alabama rifleman, who was taken prisoner here, said of the shooting, that, on their side, it was only necessary for a man to hold up his hand to get a furlough, and he was lucky if he got to the rear without an extension.

[2] Killed—Barney Leddy and Peter Lafflin.

the regiment occupied some hitherto neutral ground surrounding a well, capturing 85 of the enemy, who made repeated unsuccessful attempts to repossess the well, in resisting which company F had two men wounded.

September 13th their term of service expired. But 26 were now left of the original members. Of these, six had re-enlisted.[1] The remainder turned in their trusty rifles, which they used in a sharp skirmish on the last day of their service; bade adieu to their comrades; and turned their faces toward home. Captain Merriman and Lieutenant Kinsman having been mustered out with the rest, the remnant of the company left was commanded by Sergeant Cunningham, and was engaged with the regiment and DeTrobriand's brigade in the battle of Hatcher's Run, or Burgess's Farm, on the 27th of October, and lost two killed and two wounded. On the 1st of November it lost another mortally wounded.[2] December 23d, the First Sharpshooters, with the exception of the Michigan men, who were transferred to a Michigan regiment, were transferred to the Second Sharpshooters, and the 34 men remaining of company F were transferred to company E of that regiment. With it they participated in the affair at Hatcher's Run on the 15th of December, and at other points along the line. On the 25th of February, 1865, the battalion, now reduced to a skeleton, was broken up and its members transferred to other regiments, the Vermonters being assigned to company G, Fourth Vermont Volunteers, with which company they served with credit until the close of the war.

[1] Re-enlisted—David Clark, James H. Guthrie, Samuel J. Willams, Stephen B. Flanders, John Kanaan and Lewis J. Allen.

[2] Killed—Daniel E. Bessee and Charles Danforth.
Died of Wounds—Friend Weeks.

THE BATTLES OF COMPANY F, FIRST REGIMENT U. S. SHARPSHOOTERS.

Big Bethel,	March 28, 1862.
Siege of Yorktown,	April 5 to May 4, 1862.
Hanover Court House,	May 27, 1862.
Mechanicsville,	June 26, 1862.
Gaines' Mill,	June 27, 1862.
Charles City Cross Roads,	June 29, 1862.
Malvern Hill	July 1, 1862.
Gainesville,	Aug. 29, 1862.
Second Bull Run,	Aug. 30, 1862.
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862.
Blackford's Ford,	Sept. 19 and 20, 1862.
Fredericksburg,	Dec. 13, 1862.
Richards' Ford,	Dec. 31, 1862.
Chancellorsville,	May 2 to 5, 1863.
Gettysburg,	July 1 to 3, 1863.
Wapping's Heights,	July 23, 1863.
Cedar Run,	Oct. 13, 1863.
Kelly's Ford,	Nov. 7, 1863.
Orange Grove,	Nov. 27, 1863.
Mine Run,	Nov. 30, 1863.
Wilderness,	May 5 to 7, 1864.
Todd's Tavern,	May 8, 1864.
Po River,	May 10 to 11, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 12 to 16, 1864.
North Anna,	May 23 and 24, 1864.
Totopotomoy,	May 30 and 31, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 3 to 5, 1864.
Petersburg,	June 16 to 20, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	June 22, 1864.
Deep Bottom,	July 27 and 28, 1864.
Four Mile Run,	Aug. 15 and 16, 1864.
Hatcher's Run,	Oct. 27, 1864.

The final statement of company F is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT OF FIRST COMPANY SHARPSHOOTERS.

Original members—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 113; total.....116

GAINS.

Recruits—enlisted men,..... 74

Aggregate..... 190

LOSSES.

Deaths—killed in action—enlisted men, 17; died of wounds received in action—enlisted men, 13; died of disease—enlisted men, 12; died in prison—enlisted men, 3; total..... 45

Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 3; com. officers (for disability), 2; enlisted men, 62; enlisted men (for wounds received in action), 7; total..... 74

Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps—enlisted men, 7; to U. S. A. and other regiments—enlisted men, 35; total..... 42

Deserted..... 6

Total loss..... 167

Mustered out— com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 21; total..... 23

Aggregate 190

Total wounded 43

Total re-enlisted..... 6

COMPANIES E AND H, SECOND UNITED STATES SHARPSHOOTERS.

The Second Vermont Company of Sharpshooters was recruited at West Randolph by H. R. Stoughton. It organized with Homer R. Stoughton as captain; Frederick Spaulding of Brattleboro, first lieutenant; Henry M. Hall of Danby, second lieutenant; and Seymour F Norton of Burlington, first sergeant; and was mustered into the United States service at West Randolph, November 9th, 1861, with 91 officers and men. November 23d it left the State for Washington, where it was assigned to the Second regiment of United States sharpshooters and became company E of that regiment. The regiment consisted of eight companies from the States of Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire,

Pennsylvania and Vermont, New Hampshire and Vermont each furnishing two companies.

The Third company of sharpshooters was recruited in November and December, 1861; rendezvoused at Brattleboro; organized December 24th, with Gilbert Hart of Dorset, as captain; Henry Herbert of Middlebury, first lieutenant; Albert Buxton of Londonderry, second lieutenant; and William Newell of Dorset, first sergeant. It was mustered in at Brattleboro, December 31st, and left the same day for Washington. It was the last company to arrive at the Camp of Instruction on Meridian Hill, at Washington, and became company H of the Second regiment.

The winter was spent in drill and target practice. March 19th, 1862, the regiment, commanded by Colonel H. A. V Post, marched for the field, having been assigned to the First (Augur's) brigade, of the First (King's) division, of the First Army Corps, under General McDowell. After two weeks in camp near Cloud's Mills, it marched with the corps by way of Fairfax and Centreville, to Bristoe Station, where it remained nine days. Leaving there April 15th, the division marched to Catlett's, and on the 17th the regiment led the column in a rapid march to Falmouth. Before reaching this point company E and another company of the sharpshooters were sent forward with a party of cavalry to try to save the bridge across the Rappahannock. They reached Falmouth just after sunrise, to find that the enemy had crossed the river and burned the bridge. In this its first forced march, the regiment went thirty miles in twenty-two hours. On the Stafford Heights at Falmouth the regiment camped in shelter tents, and here spent most of the summer.

From the 1st to the 25th of May company H was detached to guard the depot of supplies, on the railroad to he left of the camp. On the latter date the regiment broke camp and was moving with McDowell's corp towards Rich-

mond when the corps was recalled in consequence of Banks's reverses in the valley. Starting back on the 29th the regiment moved back to Falmouth, and thence to Catlett's, where they took cars, and were taken by way of Manassas Junction toward Front Royal, whither the division was hurrying in the hope—which was destined to be disappointed—of cutting off the retreat of Stonewall Jackson. In the night of May 31st, near Rectorstown Station, the train, while stopping, was run into by a train behind and one man of the regiment was killed and 40 wounded. Almost every man in the car occupied by the men of company E was hurt, some of them so severely that they were never able to return to duty, and Captain Stoughton could report only 31 men fit for duty next day. Company H being well forward in the train escaped unhurt. The movement to the Shenandoah Valley ended here for the regiment. June 2d the regiment was taken back to Haymarket. On the 6th the brigade moved to Warrenton Junction and the next day to Warrenton. On the 8th the return to Falmouth began, and after a halt of five days, five miles below Catlett's, the sharpshooters marched to Falmouth and reoccupied their old camp on the 15th. On the 16th the men received Sharpe's rifles, in place of the unpopular Colt's. The bayonets attached to the new arm were kept for a time; but having no occasion to use them and as the practice of stacking arms was dropped, since each man wished to keep his gun by his side, the bayonets passed away. As the days grew sultry and the nights wet, fevers began to prevail, and the men sickened till on the 1st of August, only 41 of company H reported for duty, with 29 on the sick list.

When the summer campaign opened under General Pope, General Augur had been given a division in Banks's corps and General John P Hatch commanded the First brigade of King's division.

July 25th company E accompanied a reconnoissance

made by General Gibbon with three regiments of his brigade, from Fredericksburg to Orange Court House, which had been reported to be occupied by Confederate cavalry. The expedition went within three miles of the Court House, when, learning that the enemy were in heavy force near by, it returned to camp. General Gibbon says in his report that the sharpshooters were "conspicuous during the march for their well-filled ranks, losing very few men by straggling, though the weather was very warm and the marching on the way out rapid."

August 5th the regiment accompanied an expedition sent under General Gibbon to cut the Virginia Central Railroad; but meeting Stuart's cavalry, which had started on a raid, after some skirmishing each retired. The sharpshooters spent two days in Spottsylvania Court House, and had a hot march back to camp August 9th. Next day they started with King's division, which had been ordered up by General Pope after the battle of Cedar Mountain; forded the Rappahannock at Ellis's Ford; and, marching by way of Stevensburg, on the 29th recrossed the river on a ponton bridge near Rappahannock Station and went into line of battle on the north bank between the railroad and Freeman's Ford. Here it was soon under fire in the artillery duel which on the 21st opened the fighting of Pope's campaign. Next morning the regiment supported a battery at Freeman's Ford, and suffered its first loss in action, from a shell which burst over the colors, and killed Corporal Warren Stevens of company H and a man (of another company) of the color-guard. Two men of company H were wounded by fragments of shells. Later in the day the sharpshooters were on the skirmish line along the river bank, and were attacked by a small force of the enemy's cavalry, which crossed the river and was soon driven back by the fire of the breech-loaders, with the loss of a captain and several men captured. Next morning the regiment was posted in a piece of pine timber and was

again under artillery fire. In Pope's withdrawal of his right wing, King's division moved to Warrenton by a moonlight march on the night of the 23d. The sharpshooters rested near Warrenton till the morning of the 26th, when, leaving behind their hair knapsacks, which they never recovered, they marched with the division nine miles to Sulphur Springs, through which place Early's division had passed two days before. The enemy occupied the opposite bank of the river and opened with shell from the bluff. The sharpshooters were deployed as skirmishers on the river bank and soon drove the enemy back a hundred yards to the shelter of a rail fence. Sharpshooting from the opposing lines followed, in the course of which Daniel Willis of company H was killed, shot through the head. After an hour of close firing, during which the loss of Willis was fully avenged, the enemy sent forward a flag of truce, and while their ambulances collected their wounded their line withdrew. The sharpshooters were withdrawn later, and the men of company H buried their dead comrade, and bivouacked in a grove near the blackened ruins of the hotel, which had been burned. Here Captain Hart of company H resigned on account of ill health, and Lieutenant Herbert, who was sick and resigned later, also left the company. Lieutenant Buxton succeeded to the command of company H and three months later was commissioned as captain.

On the 27th the Second sharpshooters marched with the brigade and division toward Gainesville, in the movements preliminary to the Second Bull Run. On the 28th King's division moved toward Manassas Junction, but after several hours' march was ordered back to the Warrenton turnpike, north of which Jackson now lay. King reached the pike and, at five o'clock P. M., was following it toward Centreville, when he was attacked, near Groveton, by the two divisions of Ewell and Taliaferro. In the bloody battle which followed, the brigades of Gibbon and Doubleday sustained and repulsed Ewell's attack, while Hatch's brigade, to which the

sharpshooters were attached, guarded their right flank. The Second sharpshooters had passed the point of the main attack before the battle opened, and though under artillery fire, the Vermont companies sustained no loss.

Starting next morning before light King fell back to Manassas Junction, where, being seriously ill, he relinquished the command of the division to General Hatch, and Colonel Sullivan took temporary command of the brigade. This day General Porter, who was on his way to Centreville, was ordered about noon to take King's division in addition to his own corps and move to Gainesville, near which point Reynolds and Sigel were fighting Jackson. The execution of this order took the sharpshooters back, in the rear of Porter's column, over the sun-scorched plains of Manassas, to the ground which they had left in the early morning. When they arrived on the field, about 6 P. M., Longstreet and Jackson, having united, were re-adjusting their lines of battle under the personal direction of General Lee, after the hard and inconclusive fighting of the day. Under the supposition that the enemy was retreating, Hatch's division was hurried along the pike in pursuit, when it encountered Hood's division advancing to meet it, and had a severe contest, lasting nearly an hour. In this, the sharpshooters, who had made the last mile of the advance at double-quick, were halted with the brigade, and placed in line in the pike, on the slope of a slight hollow, beyond the opposite ridge of which was the enemy's line. While the rest of the brigade was forming on their left, four companies of the sharpshooters were sent to the right of the pike, while the other four, among which were the Vermont companies, advanced to the top of the hill to hold the road, which the enemy threatened from the right. Taking position behind a rail fence which bordered the road, they saw a line of the enemy advancing across the field and opened upon it, at short range, a deliberate and effective fire which quickly scattered it. Soon bullets began to come from another direction, and they saw in the gathering twilight

a compact line of men formed across the pike, with a standard in the centre. The sharpshooters now divided their attention between this body and the force still lurking beyond the fence. The flag of the regiment on the pike went down under their fire, was then raised, and again disappeared as the line over which it floated crumbled and fell back. Meantime the rest of the brigade had fallen back and the sharpshooters must go too or be surrounded. The word was accordingly passed from man to man and they went back through the hollow to some high ground beyond. Half an hour's desultory firing followed from the opposing lines, and then the fighting ceased in the darkness and the brigade held the second ridge. Company E lost this day Charles A. Keith killed and a man wounded. Company H had two men, James B. Clark and Curtis Abbott, wounded, and Allen P Miller captured. The brigade suffered heavily.

Next morning the Second sharpshooters found near them the First regiment, which had moved up with Morrell's division of Porter's corps during the night, and greetings were exchanged between the Vermonters in the two regiments, for the first time since leaving the Camp of Instruction. In the battle of the 30th, they took an effective part in the repulse of the counter-charge with which Lee answered Porter's advance, in the latter part of the day. That night the regiment retired, with the brigade and army, beyond Bull Run. General McDowell in his report of this battle, says of the Second sharpshooters: "This valuable regiment was much exposed and rendered most excellent service."

In the reorganization of the army under McClellan's restored command, Hatch's division, to which the Second sharpshooters was still attached, became part of the First Corps, under Hooker. Being the first regiment of the First brigade of the First division of the First Corps, the regiment would have had the right of the entire line, if the army had been aligned in order of numbers. The strength of the regi-

ment had become greatly reduced by death, sickness and discharge. Of company E, twenty men had been discharged for disability and as many more were on the sick list. Company H was without a commissioned officer, Lieutenants Herbert and Buxton being sick, and had less than 20 effective men present for duty. But the non-commissioned officers were equal to the command; the men were of the kind that could fight without officers; and with stout hearts they marched into the Maryland campaign. September 13th the regiment crossed the Monocacy with the brigade, now commanded by Colonel Walter Phelps, and next day marched with the corps to force the passage of the South Mountain at Turner's Gap.

In the battle of South Mountain, that afternoon, the sharpshooters, deployed as skirmishers, led the way up the heights for Hatch's division, which carried the ground on the right of the pass. By nightfall Hill and Longstreet had been forced from the crest of the gap, which they abandoned that night, with a loss of 3,000 men. In this movement the Twenty-first New York, which had been sent up a ravine leading to the crest, having taken a wrong direction and gone astray, the Second Sharpshooters was sent forward in its place. While the First Vermont brigade was storming Crampton's Gap, six miles south of them that afternoon, the Vermont sharpshooters were scaling height after height and driving the enemy's skirmishers from covert to covert of the other pass, whose rocky and wooded sides reminded them of their own Green Mountains. General Hatch says that the regiment "came early into action and rendered very important service during the day." It bivouacked on the summit of the Gap, and next morning with the division passed down its west side to the valley, too late to relieve Harper's Ferry; but in time, if McClellan had acted promptly, to assist in crushing Lee at Sharpsburg. On the 15th the sharpshooters passed through Boonesboro to the Antietam.

In the afternoon of the 16th they led the column of Hooker's corps, in the detour and attack upon Lee's left, which was the first offensive movement of the battle. Coming under fire as they forded the Antietam, the regiment was deployed as skirmishers in advance of the brigade, and shortly before dark drove Hood's pickets back upon his main line, northeast of the Dunkers' Church. The men lay on their arms that night, during which Jackson's division was substituted for Hood's in their front, and the battle began in earnest at dawn. In the fighting on the right, Phelps's little brigade, numbering less than 500 men, supported Gibbon's advance through the cornfields, and when Gibbon was flanked, the Second Sharpshooters was sent by Colonel Phelps around the right of the Seventh Wisconsin to drive the enemy back. This it did and pursued them across the Hagerstown pike and through a cornfield beyond. Jackson then advanced a fresh line. The sharpshooters received this with a deadly fire. The standard-bearer of a Confederate regiment in front of them fell and a rush for the fallen colors followed, in which Lieutenant Parmelee, the tall and gallant adjutant of the regiment, was killed. Borne back by superior numbers, the regiment retired, the sharpshooters carrying with them their dead and wounded. Company E lost one man, Byron McClallen, killed, and seven wounded. Company H had five men wounded, one of whom, William H. Benson, died of his wound. The regiment lost 54 killed and wounded—Colonel Post being among the latter—being nearly half of the men it had in line.

In October the thinned ranks of the sharpshooters were partially filled by the return of convalescents and by accessions of recruits, of which company E received 35 and company H 13. When, at last, the army moved again toward Richmond, the Second Sharpshooters marched October 30th from their camp north of Sharpsburg, with the division, and, passing through Crampton's Gap, crossed the Potomac at

Berlin, moved to Warrenton, lay near there till the army under Burnside started for Fredericksburg, and reaching Falmouth October 18th, went into camp near Brooks's Station.

November 18th Colonel Post resigned, and Major Homer R. Stoughton, who had been recently promoted to be major, vice Jones transferred to staff duty, succeeded to the command of the regiment. Lieutenant F D. Sweetser was promoted to be captain of company E; First Lieutenant Spaulding was discharged for disability; Second Lieutenant Henry M. Hall resigned; First Sergeant S. F Norton was promoted to be first lieutenant, and was appointed adjutant of the regiment; and Sergeant John F Law was commissioned as second lieutenant. Lieutenant Herbert of company H returned from sick leave; but resigned on account of ill health November 24th, and died soon after at his home in Philadelphia. Lieutenant Buxton was thereupon promoted to be captain of company H; Quartermaster Sergeant William P Shreve, of Salem, Mass., was appointed first lieutenant of company H,[1] and Sergeant William Newell was appointed second lieutenant.

In December, 1862, the First Corps received a new commander in the person of General John F Reynolds, and General Doubleday commanded the First division.

In the first Fredericksburg the Second Sharpshooters crossed the river December 12th, and on the morning of the 13th were thrown forward as skirmishers in front of the extreme left of Franklin's grand division. In the duty of protecting the left while Meade and Gibbon attacked in front, Doubleday advanced his line to the east. "The Seventh Wisconsin and Twenty-fourth Michigan," says General Doubleday in his report, "led the advance, preceded by the Second United States Sharpshooters, and carried the woods in gallant style, taking a number of prisoners and

[1] Lieutenant Shreve was soon detailed as aid on the staff of General Berdan, and did not thereafter serve with the company.

horses." All or most of these prisoners, who were of Stuart's cavalry, surrendered to the men of company H. Driving the enemy's skirmishers toward Massaponax Creek, the sharpshooters occupied a redoubt armed with a heavy gun, and cleared the way for the division. Severe artillery firing followed, but Doubleday held his position till after the failure of the main assaults on the heights. At nightfall the sharpshooters were withdrawn from the skirmish line, and in marching to and fro on the plain, came under the fire of the enemy's artillery, which was active till after dark.

On the 15th the regiment was again on the skirmish line, along the Bowling Green road. Its opponents this day, of Stonewall Jackson's division, were skilled marksmen, and the shooting was close till noon, when it was ended by a truce for burying the dead. Several Vermonters were wounded. At dark Burnside began to withdraw his army, weakened by the loss of 12,000 men, and after midnight the sharpshooters fell quietly back from the skirmish line, and crossed the river.

On the 28th of December, the regiment was attached for a short time to General Meade's division of the Fifth Corps. But on the 14th of January, by order of General Burnside, the two regiments of sharpshooters were detached and constituted a distinct arm of the service, reporting directly to army headquarters. The Second regiment of sharpshooters accordingly bade farewell to Phelps's brigade, which was paraded in its honor, and pitched its camp by the First regiment near Stoneman's Switch. On the 18th the regiment marched back to the vicinity of the headquarters of the Left Grand Division. On the 20th and 21st it took part in the famous mud march, and at the close of it returned to camp near Franklin's headquarters, where it remained till the 2d of February, when it marched back to Stoneman's Switch and went into winter quarters, in log cabins roofed with canvas, beside the First regiment of sharpshooters.

The Second Sharpshooters was during this period under the efficient medical care of Assistant Surgeon Horace F. Hanks of the Thirtieth New York, a native Vermonter. With light duty and improved commissariat the health of the men improved and at the opening of the Chancellorsville campaign not a man of company H was on the sick list. The part taken by the Vermont sharpshooters in the battle of Chancellorsville has been already mainly related.

On Sunday morning, May 3d, the Second regiment held an exposed position in front of Whipple's division between the left of the Third and right of the First Corps. Monday forenoon, it relieved the First regiment on the skirmish line in front of the Fifth Corps, to the right of the Bullock house. When it came upon the line, the enemy had driven in the pickets, and his sharpshooters had killed General Whipple and were picking off the Union gunners from across the bottom in front; but they were soon driven back by the Sharpe's rifles to a line of rifle-pits and for some distance into the woods beyond, where the sharpshooters held them during the day. Toward night sharp musketry firing rolled around from the right and the pickets began to fire. Construing this to mean an advance of the enemy, the batteries back of the sharpshooters opened without waiting for the skirmish line to be withdrawn, and began to rake the woods in which the sharpshooters were posted. To escape this fire the sharpshooters fell back to the rifle-pits. The Eleventh New Jersey which had been posted in their rear as a picket reserve, followed the example of the batteries and began firing on the sharpshooters, who sought shelter as best they might in the rifle-pits. Shouts and gestures proving of no avail, several men tried to creep back to the Union lines to tell them to stop firing on their own skirmishers; but they were taken for crawling rebels and driven back to the pits. At last, after five of the sharpshooters had been wounded the Jersey-men fell back; the batteries discovered their

error; the firing ceased; and the sharpshooters returned to their position in the woods, to find that the opposing skirmish line had disappeared. At ten P. M. they were recalled and allowed to rest in the rear. Company H lost three men wounded this day, two of them by the Union fire.

Colonel Berdan, in his report, claims for the sharpshooters the capture of 683 prisoners, and says: "Both officers and men behaved splendidly. I would make special mention of Major Stoughton, commanding my Second regiment. * * * Lieutenant Norton, the adjutant of the regiment, also deserves great praise." General Birney, in a special order, also complimented the sharpshooters, praising especially their capture of the Georgia regiment on the 2d of May.

The regiment remained at Falmouth till the opening of the Gettysburg campaign. June 24th Major Stoughton was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of the Second sharpshooters, vice Peteler, assigned to staff duty.

The regiment marched to the north with the Third Corps, in June, making on the 26th perhaps the hardest march of its history, of thirty-two miles, from Gum Springs, Va., to Point of Rocks, Md. In the evening of July 1st it bivouacked with the First regiment back of Little Round Top, at Gettysburg.

GETTYSBURG.

In the early morning of the second day the regiment, numbering 200 rifles, was placed at the extreme left of the line of the Third Corps. A little later Major Stoughton was ordered to report to General Ward, commanding the Second brigade of Birney's division, who directed him to cover the ravine of the Devil's Den. For that purpose he posted company H for a time on the slope of Little Round Top, and stationed company E with three other companies along the cross-road leading to the Emmittsburg pike. They remained here until two

P. M., when in the advance of Sickles's corps and the swinging out of Birney's division, the regiment moved to the southwest to the cross-road leading past the Slyder house, and were deployed as skirmishers from the base of Round Top, athwart the southern opening of the gorge of the Devil's Den. Company H was posted near the Slyder house, behind a low stone wall topped with rails, which bordered the south side of the road, and company E was a short distance to its right. Scouts were called for and Sergeant Scribner of company H and Corporal H. C. Congdon of company E and 25 picked men were sent out to reconnoitre. Adjutant Norton accompanied them and they went out to the Emmittsburg road, scouted down it for a short distance without discovering any enemy, and returning reported the fact to Captain Cooley of General Sickles's staff, who rode out to meet them. Soon after General Sickles advanced his line to take up his new position. Longstreet's lines were then deploying in the woods back of the Emmittsburg road, and in their advance soon after, Corporal Congdon and Ira Carr, two of the scouting party who had remained too long on the pike, were cut off and captured.

Deployed along the cross-road, supported by a company of infantry in the gorge and three pieces of Smith's (Fourth New York) battery on the hill above, the sharpshooters met the advance of Law's brigade of Hood's division. As its lines emerged from the fringe of trees along the crest of the continuation of Seminary Ridge across the Emmittsburg road, the sharpshooters opened fire. The front line was checked and thrown into disorder by their accurate shooting as it descended the slope. It rallied and again advanced, its men falling fast under the fire of the Sharpe's rifles, which grew more and more deadly as the butternut lines drew near. Colonel Stoughton sent his horse back, and on foot directed the action of his command. He says, in his report, of this resistance to the enemy's advance: "The Second regiment

did splendid execution, killing and wounding a great many. One [Confederate] regiment broke and rallied three times before it would advance." Meantime, the sound of the artillery and musketry to the right, where Hood and McLaws were breaking in Sickles's exposed angle and driving back Birney and Humphreys, was swelling to a constant roar. The sharpshooters held their position till Law's line was within 100 yards, when the order to fall back firing was given and the sharpshooters retired, a few of the bull-dogs of the regiment lingering to fire one more shot, till they were fairly crowded in before the advancing bayonets. The regiment fell back in detached parties, some through the Devil's Den, others—including most of company H—along the east side of the gorge, others over Round Top. The enemy occupied the mouth of the gorge, and pushing up the rocky hill-side soon captured Smith's pieces; not without loss, however, for the sharpshooters, within easy range on the slope of Round Top, sprinkled the guns with the blood of the men who crowded around them.

That Law's advance upon Round Top was so slow was in large part due to the sharpshooters, who fell back slowly from rock to rock, while the enemy to his surprise found his numbers diminishing steadily before an almost invisible skirmish line. But in time the riflemen were forced back to the northerly border of the defile, and were barely holding their own, when a Union regiment appeared on the eastern slope of the ridge and drove back the foremost of the intruders. Another regiment followed and then other regiments to defend Little Round Top, and after a severe struggle the enemy drew off to the southeastern base of Round Top. In the contest for the Round Tops, the critical importance of which is recognized by all historians of the battle, the sharpshooters took an important part. Many of the enemy fell by their rifles, and in the course of the fighting at the base of Round Top a party of sharpshooters,

under Adjutant Norton, captured and sent to the rear Lieut. Colonel Bulger of the Forty-seventh Alabama, with 22 men of his regiment.[1]

After dark, and after the safety of the Union left was secured, the regiment gathered near the Taneytown road, behind Round Top.

On the third day the regiment lay back of the front lines on the left centre during the great artillery contest, and moved to the right and front in the general rush of troops to resist Pickett's charge; but that had failed and the prisoners were filing in when they reached the stone wall. Here they were joined by a portion of the First regiment of sharpshooters. Volunteers from the sharpshooters were soon called for by Captain Nash of the First regiment to go out and silence a couple of guns which from a position back of Codori's house were keeping up a troublesome fire on Doubleday's division. A dozen Vermonters went out with the party, under Adjutant Norton, and accomplished the object with the loss of one man killed and one wounded, driving back the obnoxious pieces with serious loss of cannoneers. The party returned through the line of the Second Vermont brigade and were praised by General Stannard for their achievement.

[1] In an article on "The Battle on the Right" by Colonel W. C. Oates of Alabama (Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. VI.), he reports a colloquy between Colonel Bulger and the captain who summoned him to surrender, in which Bulger is represented as refusing to yield his sword except to an officer of rank equal to his own, and as replying, when threatened with instant death: "You may kill me, sir. Bring your colonel to me and I will surrender to him; but never to you!" "Whereupon," adds Colonel Oates, "the captain, struck by the old rebel's high notion of military etiquette, sent for his colonel (Rice, of New York) to whom the sword was gracefully surrendered." Nothing like this took place. Captain Norton informs the historian that he found Bulger sitting propped against a tree, severely wounded by a ball through the breast, and that the latter was glad to surrender and be taken where he could receive surgical attention, and did so without making any objection. His sword is still in the possession of Captain Norton, though somewhat changed from having passed through the great Chicago fire in 1871.

On the 4th the two companies participated in the skirmishing in front of the Peach Orchard, in which Lieutenant Law of company E and one or two men were wounded. Including the casualties in this skirmish company E had four or five men wounded and four captured, and company H had four wounded and two captured at Gettysburg. The service rendered by them was as important as it was dangerous, and was performed with the utmost coolness and spirit.

Later in July Colonel Berdan bade good-bye to the sharpshooters and did not return to the command; and the two regiments separated—the Second remaining in Ward's brigade, while the First was transferred to DeTrobriand's. But brief space remains for the subsequent record of these companies. They were engaged at Wapping's Heights in Manassas Gap, July 22d, 1863. They accompanied the movements of the Third Corps and the army, during the summer and fall. September 14th Lieutenant S. F. Norton was promoted captain of company E, vice Sweetser discharged for disability, and Second Lieutenant Law of the same company was advanced one grade. October 13th they were on the left flank of the corps and aided in repelling an attack of the enemy's cavalry, at Auburn, in the march of the army to Centreville. At Kelly's Ford, November 6th, with the regiment, they supported the First regiment, and took a number of prisoners, and next day were sent forward near Brandy Station and drove the rear-guard of the retreating enemy for some distance, and that night picketed the front along Mountain Run. In the battle of Orange (or Locust) Grove November 27th, in the Mine Run campaign, the Second sharpshooters supported a battery, and company H had four men injured by the falling upon them of a pine tree which was cut down by a shell. The Vermont companies had their share of skirmishing by day, in which one or two Vermonters were wounded, and did picket duty on three successive

cold and inclement nights of this arduous and unsuccessful campaign.

The regiment spent the winter at Brandy Station. December 21st the original members of the Vermont companies re-enlisted, almost to a man. Of company E 21 and of company H 19 thus re-enlisted, and received veteran furloughs in January. January 1st, 1864, Sergeant Thomas T. Tarbell was appointed second lieutenant of company E. Lieut. Colonel Stoughton was commissioned as colonel January 19th, but the regiment did not have the requisite number of men to permit him to be mustered as such. In February 87 recruits, divided between the companies, filled their ranks. In the reorganization of the army in March, the Second sharpshooters, with Ward's brigade, became part of the Third (Birney's) division of the Second Corps.

In the first day of the battle of the Wilderness the regiment was on the Brock road. On the second day it fought in line of battle—though the men could have done better service with less loss as skirmishers and sharpshooters— on the left of the Orange Plank road, where Captain Buxton of company H fell and a number of good men of both companies were killed and wounded. Later in the day it took part in the grapple over the burning breastworks at the Brock road. On the 7th it went out as skirmishers over the field and was under heavy fire. In this battle company E lost three killed and 18 wounded, three of them mortally, and company H had four killed, 19 wounded, of whom four died, and two missing.[1] Half of the loss of the regiment in the battle of the Wilderness occurred in these two companies.

Captain Buxton, a brave and valuable officer, had a leg

[1] Company E—Killed—Samuel Maxham, William J. Davis and W. E. Robinson. Died of Wounds—Daniel T. Davis, James N. Leach and Alvin L. Walker.

Company H—Killed—George A. Currier, George M. Jones, James L. Maynard and Myron T. Sheldon. Died of Wounds—Captain A. Buxton, Samuel L. Bigelow, Lewis Pike and George T. Brown.

shattered, and died an hour later, under the shock of amputation, in the field hospital.

The Vermont companies skirmished with the enemy's cavalry at Todd's Tavern on the 8th, and were again engaged, with Birney's division, on the 10th at the crossing of the Po at Spottsylvania. In this action General Ward, commanding the brigade, and Lieut. Colonel Homer R. Stoughton, commanding the regiment, were wounded. On the 12th the Vermont companies took prominent part with the regiment in Hancock's attack on the salient at Spottsylvania, fighting in front and taking many prisoners and having several men wounded. On the 13th, Sergeant Scribner of company H and three other Vermonters were wounded on the skirmish line, and on the 14th, 15th, 17th and 18th the sharpshooters were again in action as skirmishers. On the 18th Lieutenant William Newell was appointed captain of company H, vice Buxton killed. They were again engaged at the North Anna May 23d, and led the brigade (now commanded by Colonel Egan) in the charge which carried the Telegraph road bridge. In this, company H had three men wounded, one of whom died of his wounds, and company E had a man killed and two mortally wounded.[1] On the 31st the regiment made a dash on the opposing rifle-pits at Totopotomoy Creek, and took 85 prisoners.

After the arrival of the corps in front of Petersburg the sharpshooters were employed in almost constant skirmishing in the attempts to carry the place by direct assault. June 16th company H had four men wounded, and on the 17th it had two men killed and others wounded. On the 18th Lieutenant John F. Law of company E received a wound of which he died, a month later, and company E had several men

[1] Killed—Calvin Hinkson of company E. Died of wounds—George A. Brown and John Law, Jr., company E, and Joseph C. Barton, company H.

wounded, two of them mortally. Company H had one man killed and one captured on the 18th.[1]

In the movement against the Weldon Railroad June 21st, the Second sharpshooters reported to General Barlow, and, leading the advance of his division, a portion of the regiment pushed through the enemy's line and had some difficulty in getting back. Lieut. Colonel Stoughton was here captured; but company H offset his loss by bringing in a Confederate colonel and a lieutenant as prisoners. Sergeant Howard of company H received a mortal wound in this affair and Lieutenant Newell received a wound which occasioned his discharge four months later.

The command of company H then devolved on Sergeant Walter W. Smith. Next day the sharpshooters were summoned to surrender by the force which flanked and captured a portion of Barlow's division; but most of them got away. Company H had two men captured.

The Vermont companies, under General DeTrobriand as brigade commander, took part in the actions on Bailey's Creek near Deep Bottom, July 27th and 28th. They had almost constant picket and skirmish duty during the summer. September 10th the Second sharpshooters, with two other regiments of the brigade, by a night attack, carried a portion of the enemy's rifle-pits, known as "The Chimneys" on the Jerusalem Plank road, in front of Fort Sedgwick. General Walker, the historian of the Second Corps, calls this "one of the most creditable operations of the siege." The regiment did its share in the dangerous and unwholesome service in the trenches in the fall of 1864.

October 11th, by the choice of the company, Sergeant

[1] Killed—Leavitt F. Burroughs, Amos B. Chase and Edward W Demary of company H. Died of wounds—Henry J. Eldred, Asa J. Sanborn and Silas F. Whitcomb of company E. Missing—G. R. Tower of company E. After six escapes and as many recaptures, and after many exciting and painful experiences, Tower finally escaped from Augusta and made his way to the Union lines at Savannah in February, 1865

William H. Churchill was appointed captain and Corporal Edgar A. Beach second lieutenant of company H; but under the exigencies of the service neither was mustered as such.

In November, Sergeant William H. Humphrey was commissioned as first lieutenant and Sergeant William F. Tilson as second lieutenant of company E.

October 1st the Vermont companies marched with the regiment in the movement of the division (now commanded by General Mott) to the Peebles Farm, and October 27th they took part in the unsuccessful movement against the South Side railroad and in the battle known by the titles of the Boydton Plank Road, Burgess's Mill and Hatcher's Run. In this, company H suffered severe loss. While advancing on the skirmish line, early in the action, Captain Churchill fell mortally wounded and Lieutenant Beach received a severe wound. Later the regiment assisted in the recapture of two Union guns and in the capture of many prisoners during the repulse of Heth's division. Churchill died November 11th in the enemy's hands, and Beach was a prisoner for several months. Five other men of company H were wounded.

Sergeant Walter W Smith was appointed captain of company H, November 11th. December 8th the regiment took part with the Fifth Corps in the raid upon and destruction of the Weldon railroad at Jarrett's Station, returning to their quarters on the 12th.[1]

In January, 1865, the aggregate of company E was increased to 95 by transfers of men from company F of the First regiment and accessions of recruits. January 31st, 54 men were reported for duty and 40 on the sick list. Company H also received a dozen men from company F, First regiment, and a few recruits, and January 31st it had 38 men for duty and 37 sick. Colonel Stoughton, having been

[1] This affair appears in Adjutant General Washburn's official list under the erroneous date and title of "Hatcher's Run, December 5th."

exchanged, was mustered out January 23d, his three years' term having expired three months before. January 22d First Sergeant Curtis Abbott was promoted to be first lieutenant and Sergeant Willis F. Keeler to be second lieutenant of company H.

February 5th to the 7th the Vermont companies participated with the regiment and division in the movement and extension of the Union lines to the left, and were engaged at the Vaughan Road crossing of Hatcher's Run on the 5th, driving the enemy from their works across the stream. A man of company H was wounded.

On the 25th of February the sharpshooters were disbanded, much to the disgust of officers and men, and the second and third Vermont companies were transferred to companies G and H of the Fourth Vermont, retaining their officers.[1] They were cordially received by their brother Vermonters and served with high credit in the Fourth during its term of service, participating in the capture of the picket line in front of Fort Fisher, March 25th; in the storming of the lines of Petersburg, April 2d, in which Lieutenants Humphrey and Tilson each lost a leg and Lieutenant Keeler was wounded; and in the pursuit of Lee.

THE BATTLES OF COMPANIES E AND H, SECOND REGIMENT U. S. SHARPSHOOTERS.

Rappahannock Station,	Aug. 21 to 24, 1862.
Sulphur Springs,	Aug. 26, 1862.
Groveton,	Aug. 28, 1862.
Second Bull Run,	Aug. 29 and 30, 1862.
South Mountain,	Sept. 14, 1862.
Antietam,	Sept. 16 and 17, 1862.
Fredericksburg,	Dec. 12 to 16, 1862.
Chancellorsville,	May 2 to 4, 1863.
Gettysburg,	July 2 to 4, 1863.
Wapping's Heights	July 22, 1863.

[1] General DeTrobriand issued a justly complimentary order on the occasion of their departure from his command, acknowledging their long and efficient service, and alluding to the glorious record they had made on many battle-fields.

Auburn,	Oct. 13, 1863.
Kelly's Ford,	Nov. 6, 1863.
Brandy Station,	Nov. 7, 1863.
Orange Grove,	Nov. 27, 1863.
Mine Run,	Nov. 28 to 30, 1863.
Wilderness,	May 5 to 8, 1864.
Po River,	May 10, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 12, 1864.
North Anna,	May 23 and 24, 1864.
Totopotomoy,	May 31, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 11, 1864.
Petersburg,	June 16 to 23, 1864.
Deep Bottom,	July 27 and 28, 1864.
Petersburg,	Sept. 10, 1864.
Boydton Plank Road,	Oct. 27, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	Dec. 7 to 10, 1864.
Hatcher's Run,	Feb. 5 to 7, 1865.

The final statements of the Second and Third companies of sharpshooters are as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT OF COMPANY E.

Original members—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 88; total	91

GAINS.

Transfers from other regiments—enlisted men, 32; recruits—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 115; total	148
Aggregate	239

LOSSES.

Killed in action—enlisted men, 9 died from wounds—com. officers, 2; enlisted men, 11; died of disease—enlisted men, 13; died (unwounded) in Confederate prison—enlisted men, 1; total	36
Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 1; (disability), 2; enlisted men (disability), 61; (for wounds), 6; total	70
Promoted to U. S. A.—com. officers, 1; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, etc., 117; total	118
Deserted	8
Total loss	232
Mustered out—enlisted men	7
Aggregate	239
Total wounded	50
Total re-enlisted	19

FINAL STATEMENT OF COMPANY H.

Original members—com. officers, 3; enlisted men, 97; total..... 100

GAINS.

Transferred from other regiments and recruits—enlisted men..... 91

Aggregate..... 191

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 11; total..... 12
Died of wounds—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 5; total..... 6
Died of disease—enlisted men..... 18

Total by death..... 36
Honorably discharged—com. officers (resigned), 2; enlisted men (disability), 47; com. officers (for wounds), 2; enlisted men (for wounds), 1; total..... 52
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, etc.—com. officers, 4: enlisted men, 82; total..... 86
Deserted..... 4

Total loss..... 178
Mustered out—com. officers, 1; enlisted men, 12; total..... 13

Aggregate..... 191
Total wounded..... 40
Total re-enlisted..... 20

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE STAFF—VERMONTERS IN OTHER THAN VERMONT ORGANIZATIONS—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF DEATHS IN ACTION AND FROM ALL CAUSES.

No class of men contributed more of labor, thought and courage to the National cause than the staff. Upon it devolved the duties of the supply of the troops; the medical and surgical care of the soldiers; the keeping of the regimental, brigade and corps accounts and records; the preparation and transmission of orders in camp and in the field—services second to none other in importance. The real commander in many a trying spot, was not the general in whose name the orders were given and who took the credit of what was accomplished, but some member of his staff. In the limited space remaining of this volume nothing like a full record of the service of Vermonters on the staff can be given; but it will be seen that some of them occupied prominent and responsible positions.

Among the Vermonters who rendered distinguished services in the field, as members of the army, corps or division staff, were Lieut. Colonel Albert V Colburn, who was General McClellan's assistant adjutant general during almost the entire period of his command of the Army of the Potomac, and in that capacity conducted most of his headquarters correspondence, and was one of his most trusted aids; Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General Orville E. Babcock, who was inspector general of the Sixth Corps and aid on the staff of General U. S. Grant and high in his confidence during the entire period in which he was general-in-chief of the United States armies; Lieut. Colonel Edward R. Platt, who was chief of artillery of the Sixth Corps and of the Left Grand Division of the Army of the Potomac, and judge advocate

general of the army under Hooker and Meade, an officer whose modesty alone kept him from more rapid and higher promotion; Lieut. Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General and Brevet Major General Amos Beckwith, who was General Sherman's assistant commissary general of subsistence in the Atlanta campaign, on the march to the sea, and till the surrender of General J. E. Johnston's army in April 1865; Captain and Brevet Brigadier General Edward W Smith, assistant adjutant general on the staffs of Generals Hunter, Gilmore, Butler and Weitzel, and chief of staff to General Terry; Captain and Brevet Colonel Daniel D. Wheeler, who rendered brilliant service on the staffs of Generals W T. H. Brooks, Ord and Weitzel, and as assistant adjutant general of the Eighteenth and Twenty-fifth Army Corps; and Captain and Brevet Lieut. Colonel George W Hooker, who after service on the staff of the Second Vermont brigade, under Generals Stoughton and Stannard, became assistant adjutant general of Stannard's brigade of the Eighteenth Corps and of the Third Division of the Twenty-fourth Corps under General Devens.

In the Quartermaster's department, Perley P Pitkin, of Montpelier,[1] went out as regimental quartermaster of the Second Vermont Volunteers and was then for a time Brigade quartermaster of the First Vermont Brigade. In April 1862, he was promoted to be assistant quartermaster of volunteers with the rank of captain, and reported to General Rufus Ingalls, chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, at White House, Virginia. The work assigned to Captain Pitkin was the receiving of supplies at the army base from the fleet of army vessels and distributing them to the several army corps. In this labor Captain Pitkin had under him over *twelve hundred* civilian employes at a time. When the army was withdrawn from the peninsula he was ordered to Washington with his brigade of subordinates and thence (during

[1] General Pitkin's native town is Marshfield, Vt.

the Antietam campaign) to Harper's Ferry, where he was chief depot quartermaster in charge of all the supplies for the army. This most responsible position he held at the bases of supply of the army established successively at Warrenton Junction, Falmouth, Belle Plain and Acquia Creek, Washington, Frederick, Md. (during the Gettysburg campaign), and Alexandria, from which point the army was supplied during the winter of 1863–4, its principal supply station being at Brandy Station, fifty-seven miles from the base, with branch depots at Bealton and Culpeper. When Grant's overland campaign began, in May, 1864, the surplus supplies having been sent back to Alexandria,[1] Captain Pitkin was placed in chief charge of the immense train of 4,000 wagons which carried ten days' rations for the army, with ammunition and other supplies. While at Spottsylvania, Captain Pitkin was selected to be the bearer of despatches from General Grant to the War Department, which could be entrusted only to a most responsible messenger. With an escort of regular cavalry he made the journey to Washington and back in four days, and then resumed his duties as chief depot quartermaster at Belle Plain. Here, to the care of the enormous quantities of supplies which were provided for the further overland march of the army, were added the duties attending the arrival of thousands of recruits and reinforcements; the receipt of many thousands of prisoners, arriving from the front to be forwarded to Alexandria and Annapolis; and the care of the army of wounded and sick soldiers, on their way to the general hospitals. Captain Pitkin moved with the supply depot, successively to Port Royal on the Rappahannock, White House on the Pamunkey, and City Point on the James, where he remained as chief depot quartermaster during the summer of 1864. July 8th, 1864, he was promoted to the rank of colonel and assistant quartermaster. During this period the army numbered upwards of 100,000 men, with

[1] In charge of Captain John W Clark, A. Q. M.

50,000 horses and mules. For the subsistence of the former 100,000 pounds of bread, 125,000 pounds of meat, 10,000 pounds of coffee, 10,000 pounds of sugar, and when obtainable large quantities of vegetables, were furnished each day; while the latter consumed over 600,000 pounds of grain and an equal quantity of forage, daily. Once in three or four months 100,000 pairs of shoes and 200,000 pairs of stockings and at a little longer interval as many coats and pantaloons, and twice as many changes of under-clothing, were distributed. For each periodical shoeing of the animals Colonel Pitkin received and distributed 200,000 pounds of horse-shoes. Add to all this the care and transportation of the enormous quantities of ordnance and surgical supplies required where armies of such magnitude were in constant collision, and it may be realized that the duties of chief quartermaster in charge of the army base were such as could be borne only by a man of great physical vigor, as well as superior executive ability and untiring industry. They were performed by Colonel Pitkin with an ability and fidelity which won for him the unvarying commendation of his superiors. The successive commanders of the army all recognized his value, and relied on him with a confidence which was never disappointed. The opinion of his immediate superior is expressed in the annual report of General Rufus Ingalls, chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac for the year ending June 30th, 1863, in the following words:

> To the quartermasters of this army I feel under a great weight of indebtedness, especially to those who have had charge of the great depots. I have referred to them in the body of this report; still I would be doing much injustice if I did not mention Captain P. P. Pitkin, assistant quartermaster, who has had charge of great depots, and whose business for the year has been extremely heavy. He is a most meritorious, energetic and trustworthy officer.

This is the highest praise accorded to any man in the report. In November, 1864, after two years of such service, in positions second only to the highest in responsibility, and

second to none in labor and care, Colonel Pitkin resigned his position in the army, to enter upon his duties as Quartermaster General of the State of Vermont.

John G. Haskell, born in Milton, was in Lawrence, Kan., at the outbreak of the war, and was appointed quartermaster of the Tenth Kansas infantry; was promoted to be captain and A. Q. M., in June, 1862; and served on the staffs of Generals J. G. Blunt, John McNeil, Frederick Steele and Joseph Reynolds. Captain Haskell was chief quartermaster of the Army of the Frontier, which guarded the Missouri and Kansas border, during the year 1863. From April, 1864, to September, 1865, he was depot and purchasing quartermaster of the Department of Arkansas and of the Fifteenth Army Corps, with headquarters at Little Rock, Ark. He was mustered out in December, 1865, and was brevetted as major and A. Q. M. for faithful and meritorious service. Captain Haskell did staff duty in the field in various border campaigns, and was engaged in the battle of Prairie Grove, Ark., December 7th, 1862. His accounts as depot and purchasing quartermaster amounted at times to a million dollars a month.

Gardner S. Blodgett, of Burlington, was appointed assistant quartermaster of volunteers with rank of captain, in August, 1861, and was first stationed at Burlington, where he purchased the horses for the First Vermont cavalry, and provided the equipment for the regiment. In May, 1862, he was ordered to Annapolis, Md., and was made chief depot quartermaster of that important depot. He held this position during most of the remainder of the war. Here he had charge of the great parole camp, where the many thousand prisoners of war paroled at Richmond and Belle Isle were received. Here the Ninth Corps, of 25,000 men, was reorganized and equipped in April, 1864, and here large numbers of Union troops were quartered, on their way to the front. Captain Blodgett was for a time chief quartermaster of the Eighth Army Corps under General Lew Wallace, with

headquarters at Baltimore, leaving that position in the spring of 1864, to attend to the outfit of the Ninth Corps at Annapolis. During his service at that depot he issued 150,000 uniforms, 50,000 tents, 300,000 blankets, immense quantities of camp and garrison equipage; 9,000,000 pounds of grain and forage; 200,000 tons of coal for the government steamers and the enormous quantities of lumber required for the barracks for the parole camp, army hospitals and other camps. Captain Blodgett provided transportation for many thousands of paroled prisoners forwarded from Annapolis. His accounts, aggregating millions of dollars, bore the rigid tests of the department, and his services were highly commended by his superior officers. In July, 1864, he was appointed assistant quartermaster in the regular army with the rank of captain; and in March, 1865, he was brevetted major, for faithful and meritorious service during the war. He resigned in October, 1866.

After the expiration of the term of service of Asa P Blunt, of St. Johnsbury, as colonel of the Twelfth regiment, he was appointed, by President Lincoln, assistant quartermaster of volunteers with rank of captain, and in April, 1864, was assigned to duty as depot and issuing quartermaster of General Butler's expedition up the James river. In October, 1864, Captain Blunt was stationed at Norfolk, Va. Here for six months he had charge of the immense quantity of Government property, extensive wharves and stores at that point, having on his pay-roll over 1,300 employes. After this he was successively chief quartermaster of the Department of Virginia, of the Department of the Potomac, and in responsible positions at Fortress Monroe and Charleston, S. C.; and was brevetted colonel and quartermaster of volunteers and brevet brigadier general of volunteers, for faithful and meritorious service. He was subsequently appointed captain and A. Q. M. in the regular army, and since the war has served with high credit as commandant of the United

States Military Prison at Fort Leavenworth for many years, and in other responsible positions.

Captain H. C. Hodges, deputy quartermaster general U. S. A. in 1862, had charge of the extensive business of chartering vessels for army service, at the port of New York. He was afterward, in 1864, in charge of the base of supplies for all the troops in the Department of Kansas and New Mexico. He expended here over $4,000,000, and the report of Q. M. General Meigs testifies that he managed his important department "with fidelity and ability." He was brevetted lieutenant colonel in March, 1865, for faithful and meritorious service during the war.

Edmund A. Morse, of Rutland, was quartermaster of the First and of the Seventh regiments. In August, 1862, he was appointed captain and A. Q. M., and placed in charge of all the railroads in the Department of the Gulf, including the building of the military railroads from the Mississippi river to Lake Pontchartrain, and from Brazos to the Rio Grande. The ship yards were also under his management, where at that time 500 carpenters were employed, and he had 25 saw-mills getting out lumber. Three thousand men were on his rolls, besides a large number of colored laborers. In this important position not less than $20,000,000 passed through his hands; and his services were warmly commended by his superior, General Holabird. Captain James H. Platt, Jr., of Hartford, was acting chief quartermaster of the Sixth corps in 1864; and other Vermonters held positions of high responsibility in this department of the service.

The brigade and regimental quartermasters and commissaries of the Vermont organizations were, as a class, remarkably efficient officers. They labored night and day. When the troops were sleeping they were in the saddle, and their fidelity and merit were recognized by frequent promotions for faithful and meritorious service. Of the 34 regimental quartermasters and commissaries of Vermont regiments, 16 were

thus promoted to the rank of captain or to higher rank in the quartermaster's department, viz.: Adoniram Austin, Harry Brownson, John W Clark, Frederick Crain, A. L. Carlton, A. S. Dewey, Edward Dewey, John Q. Dickinson, George E. Jones, E. A. Morse, P P Pitkin, Charles H. Reynolds, C. V H. Sabin, F O. Sawyer, A. B. Valentine, Mark H. Wooster. Assistant quartermasters G. S. Blodgett, H. Brownson and F. Crain received the brevet rank of major, A. P. Blunt the brevet rank of colonel and brigadier general, and P P Pitkin the full rank of colonel—the highest grade but one in the quartermaster's department.

Vermonters held important positions on the medical staff of the army. Early in the war a State Board of Medical Examiners was appointed to examine candidates for appointment as surgeons and assistant surgeons of Vermont regiments. It consisted of three eminent physicians, Dr. S. W Thayer, Jr., of Burlington, Dr. Edward E. Phelps of Windsor, and Dr. Charles L. Allen of Rutland. In February, 1862, Dr. Phelps was commissioned by the Secretary of War as brigade surgeon of volunteers, and was succeeded on the board of examiners by Dr. Hiram F Stevens. This board practically determined all the appointments and promotions of the surgeons and assistant surgeons of the Vermont regiments, and secured for the troops superior medical care.

In December, 1861, Dr. Phelps was sent by the governor to Camp Griffin, to investigate the causes of the sickness prevailing in the First Vermont brigade. In February, 1862, he was appointed brigade surgeon of that brigade. At a later date he was placed in charge of the general hospital at Brattleboro, at which over 4,000 sick and wounded soldiers were received during the war. Thousands of the Vermont troops were inspected by Dr. Phelps for admission to the service, and his services throughout the war were of the highest importance and value.

The first of the United States general hospitals estab-

lished in Vermont was the Baxter Hospital at Burlington, opened after the engagement at Lee's Mill in April, 1862, under the charge of Dr. S. W Thayer, Jr. At this hospital over 2,000 sick and wounded soldiers were subsequently received, over 60 per cent. of whom were returned to duty, a larger proportion than was returned to duty from any other United States general hospital, so far as is known; the average of men so returned from the Washington and Philadelphia hospitals being about 25 per cent. Dr. Thayer's services throughout the war were of the utmost value.

The third United States general hospital established in Vermont was the Sloan Hospital, which was opened in June, 1864, at Montpelier, under the charge of Assistant Surgeon William B. Casey, who was soon succeeded by Surgeon Henry Janes. At this hospital about 1,500 sick and wounded soldiers were cared for in the last year of the war, with a very high average of men returned to duty.

In all some 7,500 sick and wounded men, including a thousand or more soldiers of other States, were received and cared for in the Vermont hospitals, with results considerably above the highest elsewhere recorded. As a result of this superior care, while the ratio of the Vermont troops killed in action exceeded that of any other State save one, the proportion of Vermonters who died of their wounds was much less than the general average, and perhaps less than that of any other State.

Among the Vermont surgeons who rendered eminent service in the field was Henry Janes of Waterbury. He went out as surgeon of the Third Vermont. After the battles of Crampton's Gap and South Mountain, in September, 1862, he was detached from the First Vermont brigade by the medical director of the Sixth Corps, and placed in charge of an extensive army hospital in Frederick, Md. In May, 1863, he was appointed surgeon of volunteers, with rank of major, and placed in charge of the Sixth Corps hospital, which after

tho Chancellorsville campaign was filled with wounded men. After the battle of Gettysburg, Dr. Janes was placed by Dr. Letterman, medical director of the Army of the Potomac, in chief charge of the immense hospitals established in and about Gettysburg, in which were placed upwards of 20,000 wounded Union and Confederate soldiers left upon the field. In this most responsible position Dr. Janes had upwards of 250 surgeons under his direction and command. Among other things he organized a special hospital of 2,000 beds, for the more dangerously wounded men, in which was illustrated the conservative treatment (as opposed to amputation) of hundreds of gunshot fractures of the femur, with a higher average of recoveries than has been attained in any army hospital before or since. In this hospital over 450 amputations of the lower extremities and a still larger number of the upper extremities were performed, and great numbers of penetrating wounds of the head, chest and abdomen were treated. In the following winter he was transferred to the charge of the extensive South Street United States General Hospital in Philadelphia. During the summer of 1864 he had charge of the United States hospital steamer State of Maine, which was occupied in transferring many thousands of sick and wounded men from the Army of the Potomac to the general hospitals. In the fall of 1864, at the request of Governor Smith, Surgeon Janes was assigned to the charge of the Sloan Hospital at Montpelier and remained there till the end of the war. In all, between 49,000 and 50,000 sick and wounded men passed under his care—a record hardly equalled in the army.

Dr. Charles L. Allen of Rutland, in June, 1862, was appointed by President Lincoln surgeon of volunteers, with the rank of major, and was assigned to duty as a member of the National Examining Board, at Washington, by which the candidates for appointment as surgeons and assistant surgeons of volunteers, U. S. A., were examined.

Dr. Allen's services in this responsible position continued for two years, when he was appointed medical purveyor of the Department of the South, being the second medical officer in rank in the department, and serving with high credit.

Surgeon Jed H. Baxter, son of Hon. Portus Baxter of Derby, after meritorious service in the field under General Banks and on the staff of General McClellan during the peninsular campaign, was placed in charge of the great Campbell Hospital in Washington, having 1,500 beds, which position he held for eighteen months, till advanced to the position of chief medical officer of the provost marshal general's bureau. Not less than 15,000 sick and wounded men passed under his care during the war. He remained in the army after the close of the war, and as chief medical purveyor, U. S. A., with the rank of colonel, is second in rank only to the surgeon general.

Dr. Samuel J. Allen of Hartford, went out as surgeon of the Fourth Vermont. In December, 1862, he was promoted to be brigade surgeon, and then surgeon-in-chief of the Second division of the Sixth Corps. November 1st, 1864, he was appointed surgeon of volunteers, U. S. A., with the rank of major, and was appointed medical inspector of the Sixth Corps on the staff of General H. G. Wright. In all these positions he rendered faithful and eminent service.

Want of space forbids detailed mention of the valuable and devoted service of the regimental surgeons, as well as of the services of the Vermont commissioners for the care of sick and disabled soldiers. Of these, Commissioner Frank F. Holbrook, during the last three years of the war, visited and attended to the wants of 12,000 Vermont soldiers in over a hundred different hospitals; and Commissioner Daniel L. Lyman rendered similar service for four months, from December, 1862, to April, 1863. Thousands of sick and disabled Vermont soldiers in the army hospitals in New York received attention and care from Colonel Frank E. Howe,

military agent for the State of Vermont in that city. Robert R. Corson, Esq., military agent for Vermont at Philadelphia, also gave unremitting attention to the wounded Vermonters, brought by thousands from the front to Philadelphia; and his humane care of the hundreds of living skeletons who were shipped from the Confederate prison pens to Annapolis, is worthy of especial mention.

VERMONTERS WHO SERVED IN OTHER THAN VERMONT ORGANIZATIONS.

The limits of this work do not permit any adequate account of the services of Vermonters who served in the regular army and in the regiments of other States. An incomplete list of native Vermonters who held commissions in other than Vermont organizations, prepared with much labor for these pages and doubtless the only such list in existence, is reluctantly omitted from this volume for want of space in which to present it. It comprises the names and condensed records of *six* native Vermonters who held the full rank of major-general; of *fifteen* brigadier-generals, seven of whom also held the brevet rank of major-general; of *twenty-five* colonels, eight of whom held the brevet rank of brigadier-general; of *thirteen* lieutenant colonels; of *forty-five* majors, including surgeons and paymasters; and of *two hundred and six* captains and lieutenants. Many of these officers fell in battle, and many served with high distinction. Among them were Major General Israel B. Richardson, born in Burlington, who commanded the First division of the Second Army Corps and fell at Antietam; Major General William F. Smith, born in St. Albans, who commanded a division of the Fourth Corps in the original organization of the Army of the Potomac, and the Second division of the Sixth Corps in the Antietam campaign; who commanded the Sixth Corps in the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg campaigns and the

Eighteenth Army Corps before Petersburg, and won high fame as chief engineer of the Department of the Cumberland and of the Military Division of the Mississippi; Major General Joseph A. Mower, born in Woodstock, who commanded a division of the Sixteenth Corps, and distinguished himself at Vicksburg and in the southwest; Major General George C. Strong, born in Stockbridge, Vt., who commanded the storming column at Fort Wagner in July, 1863, and fell in that fruitless assault; Brigadier and Brevet Major General Thomas E. G. Ransom, born in Norwich, who commanded the Thirteenth Corps in the Red River campaign and the Sixteenth Corps in the Atlanta campaign, and the Seventeenth Corps in Sherman's march to the sea, upon which he died; Major General William B. Hazen, born in Hartford, Vt., who commanded the Second division of the Fifteenth Corps in the Atlanta campaign and who stormed Fort McAllister, the fall of which gave back Savannah to the Union; Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, and Generals Truman Seymour, Charles C. Hovey, John C. Caldwell, Benjamin S. Roberts and other brigade and regimental commanders, whose names appear on many bright pages of the history of the war. The records of many of these are obtainable from the registers of the United States Army and of other States;—but of the services of the native Vermonters enrolled among the rank and file of the regiments and batteries of the regular army and of other States, who were numbered by thousands,[1] no chronicle can be made. It is believed that they sustained the reputation of their native State wherever they fought.

LOSSES OF THE VERMONT TROOPS.

A careful statistical exhibit of the numbers of deaths in the United States Army, during the war, by States, compiled from the records of the adjutant general's office at Washington, by Mr. Joseph H. Kirkley of that office, was published

[1] The enlistments in the regular army credited to Vermont were 720 in number.

by the adjutant general in May, 1865. From this and from a supplementary official statement of the number of men furnished by the several States, reduced to a three years' basis, the following table has been prepared, to the official figures being added an unofficial computation of the percentages of deaths and fatal casualties in action.

STATEMENT OF MEN FURNISHED AND OF DEATHS.

States.	Total No. Troops.	Killed in Action.	Killed in Action & Died of Wounds.	No. Deaths from All Causes.	No. Killed per thousand.	No. per 1,000 K'l'd & Mortally W'n'd in Action.	No. per 1,000 of Deaths from all Causes.
Maine	64,973	1,773	3,184	9,398	27.28	49.00	146.18
New Hampshire	32,930	1,074	1,903	4,882	32.55	57.78	148.25
Vermont	32,549	1,061	1,809	5,224	32.59	55.57	160.49
Massachusetts	125,781	3,705	6,115	13,942	29.45	48.61	110.84
Rhode Island	19,521	296	460	1,321	15.16	23.56	67.67
Connecticut	51,937	1,102	1,947	5,354	21.21	37.48	103.08
New York	409,561	12,101	19,085	46,534	29.79	46.59	113.61
New Jersey	67,500	1,664	2,578	5,754	24.65	38.19	85.24
Pennsylvania	315,017	9,351	15,265	33,183	29.68	48.45	105.30
Ohio	304,814	6,835	11,588	35,475	22.42	38.01	116.38
Illinois	255,057	5,874	9,894	34,834	23.03	38.79	136.57
Indiana	193,748	4,272	7,243	26,672	22.04	37.38	137.66
Michigan	85,479	2,798	4,448	14,753	32.73	52.03	172.59
Wisconsin	91,029	2,385	3,802	12,301	26.20	41.76	135.13
Minnesota	23,913	394	626	2,584	16.47	26.17	108.05
Iowa	75,797	2,065	3,540	13,001	27.24	46.70	171.52
Kansas	18,069	518	737	2,630	28.66	40.78	145.55
California	15,725	73	108	573	4.64	6.86	36.43

These statistics assert that the deaths among Vermont troops in action exceeded those of any other northern State except Michigan—whose regiments comprised many native Vermonters; and that of the Vermont troops more died from all causes in proportion to numbers, than of the troops of any other northern State but Michigan and Iowa. Taken in connection with the facts, shown by the census of 1860, that a larger proportion of natives of Vermont were residents of other States, than of any other State, and that there were in the other States included in this table in 1861 more than half as many native Vermonters as there were within the borders of Vermont,[1] and the fact that the Vermont troops were natives of the State in larger proportion than those of either of the other three States named,[2] these official figures confirm the assertion made in the introduction to this history that in proportion to population more sons of Vermont fell in battle and more gave their lives to the cause of the Union than of any other northern State. They show that adding to the killed those who died of wounds Vermont's proportion of fatal casualties in action exceeded that of every other State save her sister mountain State of New Hampshire, more of whose wounded men died, in proportion to the number killed in battle than of the wounded Vermonters—owing probably to the policy which Vermont was the earliest State to adopt, of bringing home her wounded men, and to the superior percentage of them who recovered. The number of Vermont troops killed in action exceeded the general ratio of

[1] Population of Vermont in 1860, 315,098. Natives of Vermont residing in California, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Maine, 168,781.

[2] The official records show that the proportion of native Americans among the Vermont troops was 82.23 per cent. and among the New Hampshire troops 71.08 per cent. Of the 85,479 Michigan troops but 21,517 were natives of Michigan. Of the Iowa troops the proportion of native Iowans doubtless was still smaller.

killed in the army by 25 men in every thousand. Vermonters killed and those who died of wounds exceeded the general ratio by 20 in every thousand. The deaths from all causes among the Vermont troops exceeded the general ratio by 24 in every thousand.[1]

The records show that of the two brigades of the Army of the Union which had the most men killed and mortally wounded, one was the First Vermont brigade, and that of the 54 regiments of the army which had over 200 men killed in battle, *four* were Vermont regiments[2]—a number largely in excess of Vermont's proportion of regiments and of troops. The significance of such statistics as indicating the fighting character of the troops will hardly be questioned. Soldiers at least know that in the long run and as a general rule, the greatest losses in action will be found among the troops that are oftenest put in places of danger, that do not know when they are beaten, and that fight when others fly.

[1] Killed in action in the army, 22.87 in each thousand; killed and died of wounds in the army, 37.67 in each thousand; deaths from all causes in the army, 123.12 in each thousand.

[2] The Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments.—Colonel William P. Fox, Century Magazine, May, 1888.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VERMONTERS IN THE NAVY.

A wholly inland State, Vermont furnished comparatively few men for the navy. The number of Vermonters enrolled as such, in the Navy and Marine Corps, during the war, was 619. Few details of their service have been obtainable; but there were Vermonters in every rank from seaman to commodore. One of them[1] was on the steamer Star of the West and under the fire of the first hostile guns fired, January 9th, 1861, three months before the war fairly began. Several participated in the fight of the Merrimac with the Union fleet, in Hampton Roads, March 8th, 1862, and the body of one of them,[2] killed by a shot from the Merrimac, was burned with the frigate Congress. Others took part in the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi; in the naval operations in the Gulf; in the blockade of Southern forts; in the reduction of Fort Fisher, and in other notable naval engagements.

In the inland naval service Captain Gilbert Morton took active part on the gunboat Pittsburg, at Fort Donelson, Island No. 10, Memphis, Fort Pillow, Helena, Arkansas Post, Vicksburg, and other naval engagements. He was on the gunboat Conestoga when she was sunk by the General Price, was on the iron-clad Cairo when she was blown up by a rebel torpedo, was standing on the deck of an ammunition boat when it blew up at Vicksburg, and had other narrow escapes. In 1864 he commanded the gunboat General Thomas, which took an important part in the defense of

[1] Jacob H. Putnam, subsequently of the United States engineers.

[2] Edward O. Garrity, a native of Benson, private in the United States Marine Corps.

Decatur, Ala., running the gauntlet of the Confederate batteries and contributing essentially to the repulse of Hood's army, for which service he received the thanks of General Thomas and Rear Admiral Lee. He received severe personal injuries at Fort Donelson and on the Red River expedition in 1864, but served till the close of the war. Details of his interesting record, and of others alike worthy of preservation, must be left for some future nistorian.

The following Vermonters held commissions in the navy during the war:

COMMODORES.

JOHN H. GRAHAM.—Entered the navy in 1812; was captain in 1861; appointed commodore July '62; and placed on the "Reserved List."

SIMON B. BISSELL.—Midshipman 1824; lieutenant in Mexican war; commander, sloop Cyane, Pacific squadron '61-2; commissioned as captain July, '62; in charge of navy yard, Mare Island, Cal.; promoted commodore Oct., '66; commanding sloop of war Monongahela; employed on special service after the war.

GEORGE F. EMMONS.—Midshipman 1828; lieutenant in Mexican war; com. as commander '56; in command of U. S. steamers Hatteras, Cuyler, Monongahela and Brooklyn '61-2; captured Cedar Keys and Pass Christian and twenty prizes while commanding Hatteras; at New Orleans assisted in destruction of the Confederate ram Webb; com. as captain Feb., '63; fleet captain under Admiral Dalghren off Charleston and in attack on Fort Sumter, Sept., '63; commanded U. S. sloop Lackawanna and a division of blockading squadron in the Gulf '64-5; pro. commodore Sept., '68; subsequently promoted Rear Admiral.

CAPTAINS.

THEODORE P. GREENE.—Midshipman 1826; lieutenant 1837; master and lieutenant during Mexican war; commander 1855; captain July, '62; in command of steamers Santiago de Cuba and San Jacinto, and for a time in command of the East Gulf squadron '62-3; in command of U. S. sloop Richmond and engaged in reduction of Mobile, '65. Subsequently com. as commodore; commanding at Pensacola navy yard, and pro. rear admiral.

GEORGE M. COLVOOORESSES.—A waif of the Greek revolution of 1823; found floating when a boy in an open boat in the Mediterranean by an American vessel; adopted by Captain Alden Partridge of Norwich University; midshipman 1832; commander 1861; commanded store-ship Supply, South Atlantic blockading squadron '62-3; commanded U. S. sloops Saratoga and Wachusett of same squadron and captured many prizes '64; in command U. S. sloop St. Mary's '65. Retired in 1867 and was murdered by a highway robber in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1872.

WILLIAM G. TEMPLE.—Midshipman 1840; engaged in Mexican war; lieutenant 1855; in command of U. S. steamer Flambeau '61; inspector of ordnance '62; lieut. commander '62; in command of U. S. steamer Pembina '62; fleet captain of West Gulf blockading squadron '63; in command of U. S. steamers San Jacinto and Pontoosuc '64; engaged in capture of Fort Fisher and Wilmington, N. C., '65; com. as commander March, '65; engaged in bombardment of fortifications on James River and at capture of Richmond, April, '65; in command of flag-ship Tacony, of Atlantic squadron '65. Subsequently promoted captain and appointed assistant judge advocate, and chief of staff of European squadron.

LIEUT. COMMANDERS.

GEORGE DEWEY.—Midshipman 1854; lieutenant April, '61; on U. S. sloop Mississippi '61-3; engaged in capture of New Orleans April, '62; at Port Hudson March, '63; on steamer Agawam, '64-5; engaged at Fort Fisher Dec., '64, and Jan., '65; com. as lieut. commander March, '65. Subsequently promoted commander.

GEORGE M. BLODGETT.—Midshipman 1856; master '59; lieutenant 60; instructor in gunnery Portsmouth navy yard, '61; com. as lieut. commander '62; in command of gunboat Conestoga of Mississippi flotilla; engaged at Forts Henry and Donelson; at Columbus, Ky., March, '62; at Island No. 10, April, '62, and St. Charles, Ark., June, '62; died of disease Nov., '62.

HENRY L. JOHNSON.—Midshipman 1859; on steam sloops Mississippi and Tusearora '61-3; brevet ensign Sept., '63; lieut. commander July, '66, and subsequently com. as commander.

MORTIMER L. JOHNSON.—Midshipman 1853; on U. S. sloops Mississippi and Tusearora '63; ensign Sept., '63; lieut. Feb., '64; steamer Nipsic, '65; lieut. commander July, '66. Subsequently promoted commander.

EDWARD P. LULL.—Midshipman 1851; lieut. '60; on steam frigate Roanoke '61; engaged at Hatteras Inlet, July, '61; lieut. commander July, '62; on U. S. sloop Brooklyn '62-4; engaged in Mobile Bay, at Fort Morgan and capture of iron clad Tennessee '64-5. Subsequently promoted commander, captain, and app. commandant of Pensacola navy yard; died March, '78.

EDWIN T. WOODWARD.—Midshipman 1859; on U. S. sloop Mississippi '61; on gunboat Sciota at capture of New Orleans; opening of the Mississippi to Vicksburg, and engaged with ram Arkansas, '62; on U. S. sloop Cyane, 63; pro. lieut. Feb., '64; engaged at Fort Fisher Dec., '64 and Jan., '65, and assisted as one of landing party in storming of the fort; on U. S. sloop Kearsage '65; pro. lieut. commander '66. Subseqently promoted commander.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

LYMAN C. GRANGER.—App. June, '63; on U. S. steamer Cambridge died Sept., '64.

STEPHEN S. GREEN.—App. March, '64; West Gulf blockading squadron; honorably discharged, Dec., '65.

R. H. GREEN.—App. Nov., 1863; on steamer Seneca; res. May, '65.

HENRY S. PITKIN.—App. July, 1862; on steamers Mahaska and Brooklyn, '63-4; died, '74.

JOHN PAUL QUINN.—App. May, 1861; on gunboat Sebago, '62; at naval hosp., Norfolk, '63; steamer Minnesota, '64; pro. surgeon, Dec., '64; on steamer Frolic.

DANIEL G. GILBERT.—App. Jan., 1863; on steamer Maratanza; res. Aug., '64.

CHARLES O. CARPENTER.—Res. March, 1863.

JOB CORBIN.—App. May, 1861; on U. S. sloop Savannah; Monitor; steamers Onondaga and Iroquois, '63-4; promoted surgeon March, '64; res. '67.

CHARLES J. S. WELLS.—App. Nov., 1861; Mississippi squadron '64; naval asylum, Phila., '65. Subsequently pro. surgeon.

LIEUTENANTS.

GEORGE WELLS.—Midshipman, 1833; lieut., '45; on sick leave, '63; died at Bellows Falls, Oct., '64.

FRANOIS LOWRY.—Midshipman 1831; lieut., '43; on duty at naval rendezvous, Portland, '61; retired for disability incurred in service, '55; promoted captain '67.

MASTERS.

ROBERT Y. HOLLEY.—Com. Sept., 1861; commanded supply steamer Newbern '63-5.

A. E. HUNTER.—Com. act. master Aug., 1861; on steamers Stars and Stripes and Vincennes '63-4; honorably discharged '66.

GILBERT MORTON.—Gunner 1862; act. ensign '61; act. master Oct., '63; on gunboat Conestoga, Mississippi flotilla, '63; in command of gunboat General Thomas '64; honorably discharged Sept., '65. Subsequently ensign U. S. N.

ENSIGNS.

GEORGE M. BOGART.—App. Oct., 1863; on gunboat Pinola '63-4; honorably discharged Oct., '65.

CHARLES CASE.—App. June, 1864; Potomac flotilla; honorably discharged Dec., '65.

HENRY G. COLBY.—Master's mate Jan., 1863; ensign Feb., '64; steamer Nyack, 64-5.

JOHN A. FRENCH.—App. Aug., 1863; on steamers Calypso and Sophronia '63-4; honorably discharged Nov., '65.

ABRAM H. HICKS.—App. June, 1863; on steamer Lockwood '63-4; res. March, '65.

LEWIS KENNY.—Com. Oct., 1863; on steamers Tuscumbia and Kate '63-5.

GEORGE E. MILLS.—Com. Sept., 1864; steamer Mahaska '64-5; honorably discharged Sept., '65.

W. O. PUTNAM.—Com. Aug., 1862; on steamer Montgomery '63-4; honorably discharged Sept., '65.

EDWARD A. SAWYER.—Com. July, 1863; on gunboat Sassacus '63–4; on iron-clad duty '65.

STEPHEN R. TYRRELL.—Com. Dec., 1862; on steamer Granite City '63; captured at Calcasieu, Tex., May, '64, and died in Confederate prison.

F. H. WAITE.—Com. July, 1863; on steamer Fort Hindman '63–4; stationed at Mound City, Ill., '66.

HENRY H. PIERCE.—App. act. ensign June, 1863; steamer Silver Lake, '63; pro. acting master, '64; hon. discharged Sept., '65.

JACOB M. SMALLEY.—Master's mate Aug., 1861; ensign on U. S. sloop Ticonderoga '62; in command of steamer Clover, South Atlantic squadron, '63; pro. master; in command of gunboat Glaucus '64; resigned Feb., '65.

F. H. WAITE.—App. acting ensign July, 1863; on steamer Hindman '63–4; stationed at Mound City, Ill., '65.

PAYMASTERS.

GEORGE W. BEAMAN.—On steamers Seneca and Algonquin of blockading squadrons.

HENRY G. COLBY.—On Gem of the Seas and U. S. steamers.

B. F. D. FITCH.—On U. S. steamer Tennessee, 1863.

CHARLES S. HALLADAY.—On U. S. steamer Nyack, 1864.

ALBERT S. KENNY.—On U. S. steamers South Carolina and Santiago de Cuba, South and North Atlantic blockading squadrons, '62–5.

HENRY H. PANGBORN.—On sloop Constitution '63–4; at Pensacola '65.

HOMER E. RAND.—On steamer Potomska '64–5.

LUTHER L. PENNIMAN.—On U. S. gunboat Kanawha '62–4.

J. JULIUS RICHARDSON.—On U. S. steamer Harriet Lane '62–3; on steam frigate Wabash '64.

GEORGE A. SAWYER.—On U. S. sloop Marion '61; on U. S. steamer Port Royal '62–4.

WILLIAM L. G. THAYER.—On U. S. steamer Wando '64–5.

CHARLES C. UPHAM.—App. 1853; at Washington navy yard '61–2; fleet paymaster North Atlantic squadron on flag-ship Minnesota '63–5; U. S. agent to obtain supplies of tar and turpentine within enemy's lines in North Carolina in Oct., '63.

ENGINEERS.

EDWARD DUNHAM ROBIE.—App. 3d asst. eng. 1852; 2d asst. '55; chief eng. Sept., '61; on U. S. sloop Mohican, at capture of forts at Port Royal and Fernandina; senior eng. of North Atlantic blockading squadron '62; superintendent of construction of iron-clad Dictator '64–5.

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON.—Second asst. eng., steamer Iuka, '64–5.

THOMAS BLANCHARD.—First asst., steamer Argosy, '63–5.

ISAAC BUCK.—Third asst., steamer Mystic, '64–5.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.—Second asst., '64–5.

ENOCH B. CARTER.—Third asst., steamer Gettysburg, '64–5.

A. S. CHIPMAN.—First asst., steamer Galatea, '63–4.

DANIEL W. CHIPMAN.—First asst., steamer Proteus, '63-5.

JAMES. M. CHURCHILL.—Second asst. steamer Hendrick Hudson, '63-5.

BLINN CONVERSE.—Third asst., steamer Little Ada, '64-5.

EDWARD FARMER.—Second asst., steamer Mohican, '61; Kanawha, '62-4; First asst. '63; steamer Alabama, '64-5; subsequently chief engineer.

JOHN GILMORE.—Third asst., steamer Cherokee, '64-5.

LUTHER R. HARVEY.—Second asst., gun-boat Maratanza, '63-4.

FREEMAN A. HURD.—Second asst., strs. Antona and Milwaukee, '63-4.

THEODORE F. LEWIS.—First asst., steamer Galatea, '63-4.

EDWIN F. LEWIS.—Second asst., steamer Alabama, '64-5.

JAMES LONG.—Second asst., steamer Powhattan, '63-4.

ALFRED LAPOINT.—First asst., steamer Conemaugh, '62-5.

GAD LYMAN.—First asst., steamer Neptune, '64-5.

JAMES L. MARSHALL.—Second asst., steamer Rhode Island, '63-4.

EUSEBIUS MINCE.—Second asst., strs. Lockwood and Calypso, '63-5.

LEMUEL H. MOORE.—Steamer Florida, '65.

ANDREW J. PIXLEY.—Second asst., steamer Gettysburg, '64.

FRANKLIN C. PRINDLE.—Second asst., steamer Ottawa, '63; special duty, '64-5.

STEPHEN RAND.—Third asst., steamers Merrimac and Tioga, '64-5.

CHARLES W RUGG.—Third asst., steamer Rhode Island, '64.

JAMES E. SORIBNER.—Third asst., steamer Virginia, '64-5.

E. H. SEYMOUR.—Third asst., waiting orders, '63-4.

JESSE WRIGHT.—Third asst., strs. Jonquil and Valparaiso, '63-5.

MARINE CORPS.

HORATIO B. LOWRY.—Appointed first lieut. Nov., 1861; on frigate Wabash, '62; bvt. captain, Sept., '63; on store-ship New Hampshire, '64-5; captain and asst. quartermaster, 65.

CHARLES H HUMPHREY.—App. second lieut. March, '63; on duty at Marine Barracks, Cairo.

EUGENE A. SMALLEY.—App. first lieut. Nov., '61; on steamer San Jacinto, '63-4; at Marine Barracks, Phila., '65.

MIDSHIPMEN.

GEORGE A. CONVERSE, GEORGE P. COLVOOORESSES, CHARLES D. GEISWOLD.

MASTER'S MATES.

THOMAS KENNEDY.—Gunboat Chocura, 1863-5.

F. W. KIMBALL.—Strs. Jasmine, Release and Conemaugh, 1863-5.

GEORGE EDMONDS was gunner on the steamers Dacotah, Shenandoah and St. Mary's; and GEORGE H. M. BRADLEY on the New Ironsides. Hundreds of other Vermonters did good service on the gun-decks or as seamen.

CONCLUSION.

The Vermont regiments, batteries and companies whose history has thus been sketched, comprised about twenty-nine thousand men. Of their original members nearly two thousand re-enlisted to serve till the close of the war, and nearly two thousand conscripts paid the commutation fee which would secure the enlistment of a volunteer and was accepted by the military authorities as equivalent to furnishing a man. The final aggregates upon the books of the Adjutant General of Vermont were as follows:

Enlisted in Vermont organizations,	28,967.
Veterans re-enlisted, - -	1,961.
Enlistments in the regular army and navy,	1,339.
Drafted men who paid commutation, - -	1,971.
Whole number of men furnished by the State,	34,238.

This total was less by 1,004 than the number credited to the State by the War Department, which was 35,242, many enlistments of Vermonters in the regular army and navy having apparently been reported at Washington, which were not reported to the State authorities. At the close of the war the State stood credited with a surplus of 1,513 men over her quotas under all calls.

This number was furnished from a population comprising less than the average proportion of men of military age. The general percentage of males between the ages of 18 and 45 in the country in 1860 was 20.80. In Vermont the percentage was 19.27. The total population of Vermont at the outbreak of the war was 315,098; the total number of men subject to military duty was 60,719. Thus of the total population of Vermont one in every ten enlisted. Of her able-bodied men of military age every other one shouldered his musket and went to fight for his country. With a total valuation of property for taxation in 1861 of a little over $85,000,000, the State expended $9,887,353 for war purposes, of which amount $5,215,787 was expended by the

towns without expectation or realization of repayment. In treasure as in lives Vermont gave something more than her share to the country's cause. Little or much, however, her people have never regretted what they gave and suffered and did to preserve the Union and make the republic free in fact as in name. The brilliancy and value of the service rendered by the Vermont troops is denied by no student of the history of the War; and impartial judges admit it to be remarkable that the troops of one of the smallest of the States, who constituted but an eightieth part of the army, should have had such a leading part in so many of the most decisive campaigns and battles of the war; that in so many crises of the strife the result should have so largely rested on their valor, steadfastness and skill; and that in not one of these did they fail through any fault of theirs. If some of this distinction was their good fortune, it will not be denied that most of it was due to their quality as fighters.

Yet brute courage is not a very laudable quality, and military glory is surely not the highest glory. If these pages have illustrated no higher trait and principle than these, the labor spent on them has been wasted. It is because these Green Mountain bayonets were *thinking* bayonets; because the courage of these men was *manly* courage; because its underlying principle was devotion to *duty;* because the service was *patriotic* service, that it is worth commemorating. And this history is submitted to the people of Vermont in the hope that it may commend to generations to come the noble virtue of Patriotism, at whose root lies the ennobling principle of self-sacrifice, honored on earth and in Heaven; and in the trust that the children of the patriots who thus bore the stress of the support of the government in our great civil strife, will in time of need exhibit in lofty exercise, as did their fathers and forefathers, the passion which makes it "sweet and honorable to die for country."

NOTES.

LEE'S MILL.

In support of his statements quoted on p. 138 of Vol. I, Captain F. C. Harrington has submitted to me six affidavits from members of his company, who say, in the same terms (on a printed blank provided for their signatures), that "from personal knowledge" they know that Captain Harrington crossed Warwick Creek with and commanding the four companies of the Third Vermont; and that the colors of the regiment were sent with the charging party and were brought back by Captain Harrington. With these were similar affidavits from a man of company F and a man of company H, which companies did not form part of the battalion. Thereupon I sent inquiries to every surviving member of the battalion whose address could be procured, and received seventy replies from officers and men who crossed the creek and took part in the fighting. The testimony thus given is as conflicting as that originally obtained upon the point in question. Seven men, six of them members of Captain Harrington's company, in addition to those who gave affidavits to the same effect, say that he crossed the creek and commanded the detachment throughout. Seven others think that he crossed the creek, but did not exercise any command of the battalion. Thirty-four others, including twelve men of Captain Harrington's company, say that they did not see Captain Harrington across the creek, did not hear him give any command after the battalion entered the water, and do not believe he crossed the creek or exercised any command of the detachment during the action. Several say they "know" he did not command it. The remainder have no positive knowledge or recollection upon the subject. Assuming that all have tried to tell the truth, and weighing the testimony on each side of the question with as impartial judgment as I am capable of, my conclusion is that Captain Harrington entered the water and probably crossed Warwick Creek that day; but that he followed rather than led his command. It is plain that the colors were taken to and into the creek. Colonel Hyde, in a letter to Captain Harrington, says the colors were ordered to follow the detachment "as a blind"—that is to cause the enemy to suppose that a regiment was following—also that they were "dropped" shortly after the heavy firing began, and were returned to him by some one, he had forgotten whom. In a later letter Colonel Hyde says the colors were handed to him by some one whom he cannot positively recall; but he thinks it was Captain Harrington. Captain Harrington's own statement, in writing, is that he "brought the colors across" and "presented them to General Brooks in person." With the exception of the doubt expressed in reference to the presence of the colors, the account of the affair of Lee's Mill given in Vol. I, does not seem to require essential modification.

SICKNESS AT CAMP GRIFFIN.

A tabular exhibit of 878 cases of sickness which occurred in the Sixth regiment, during the months of November and December, '61 and January

and February, '62, furnished by Surgeon C. M. Chandler, shows that 278 were cases of typhoid fever (of which 38 proved fatal); 330 of measles; 180 of mumps, and 90 of diphtheria. As home-sickness could not cause these contagious diseases, this table seems to disprove, so far as that regiment is concerned, Dr. Tripler's suggestion, quoted on p. 239, Vol. I, that the sickness among the First Vermont brigade was due to a "nostalgic element." Dr. Chandler does not believe that such an element had anything to do with the sickness and mortality in the First brigade. The men, he says, were generally happy and well contented. The locations of the camps were not bad; and the remarkable amount of sickness he attributes to the prevalence of these contagious diseases, and of mortality to the fact that in many cases two or more of the diseases attacked the man at the same time or in quick succession.

SAVAGE'S STATION.

To the list of killed of the Sixth regiment, Vol. I, p. 215, may be added the names of George A. Jones and George Shedrick of company G, who stand recorded on the Adjutant General's books as having deserted at that time. This correction is made upon the testimony of Sergeant D. E. Boyden, who says he saw Shedrick's dead body, and that he knows that Jones was killed. Boyden was not wounded at Savage's Station; but at White Oak Swamp.

GEN. STEPHEN THOMAS.

The statement, Vol. II, p. 177, that Gen. Stephen Thomas did not return to the field after February 1st. 1865, is erroneous. Subsequent to that date Gen. Thomas was assigned to the command of a brigade of New York, Indiana and Ohio regiments, of General Hancock's corps, in the Shenandoah Valley. He was mustered out August 24, 1865.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 83, in list of wounded, in note, for Royce read Noyes.
Page 130, 17th line, for nephew read cousin.
Page 143, 6th line, for Fifth read First.
Page 208, 11th line, for Grant read Greut.
Page 146, 8th line of note, for Sabine read Sabin.

VOL. II.

Page 173, 22d line, for forenoon read afternoon.
Page 216, 26th line, for Ninetieth read Ninety-ninth.
Page 223, 20th line, for east read west.
Page 266, 15th line, for on read over.

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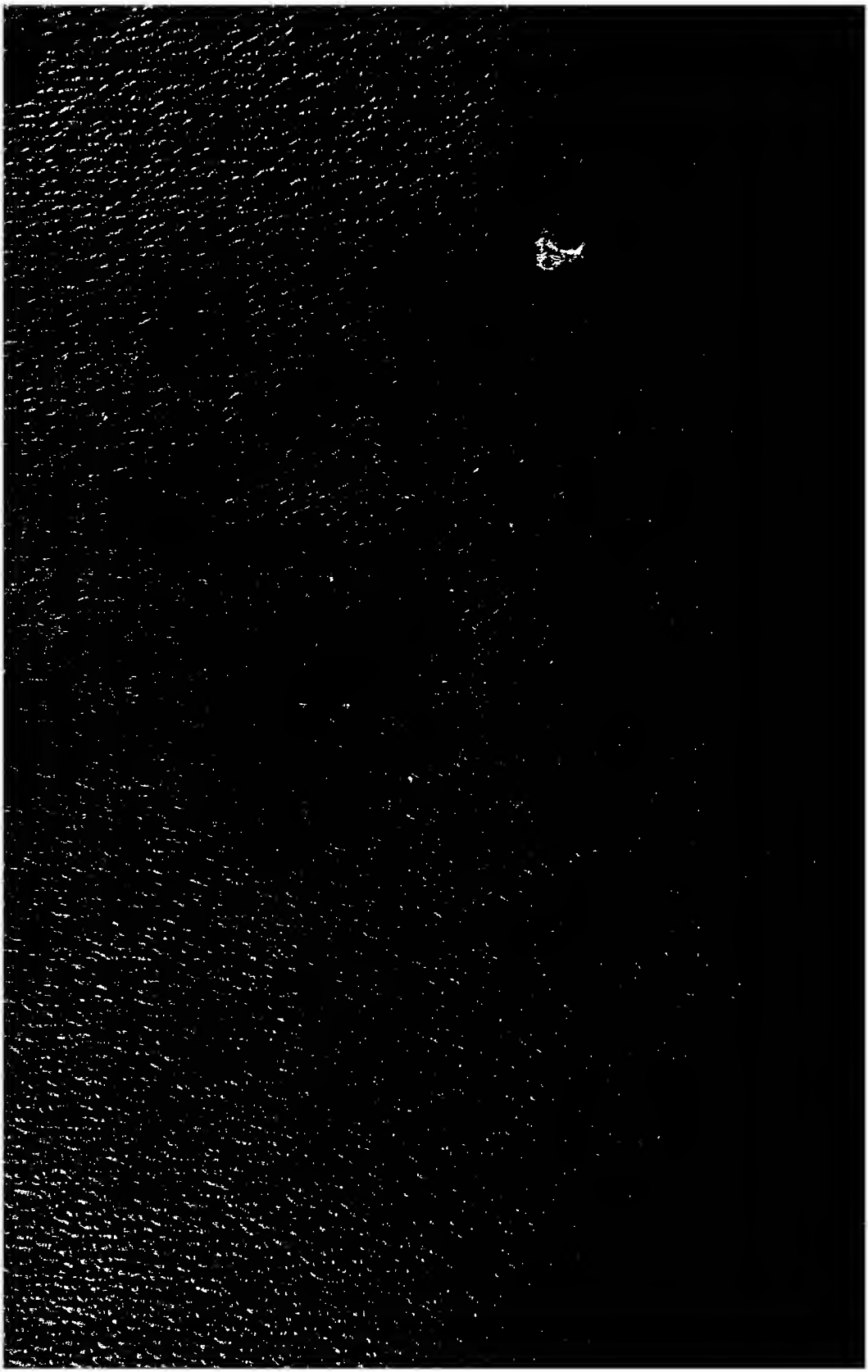
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